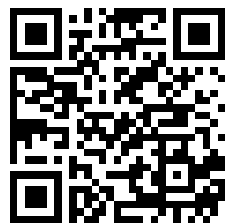


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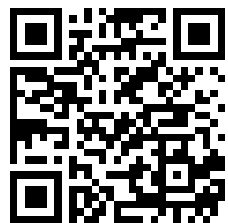


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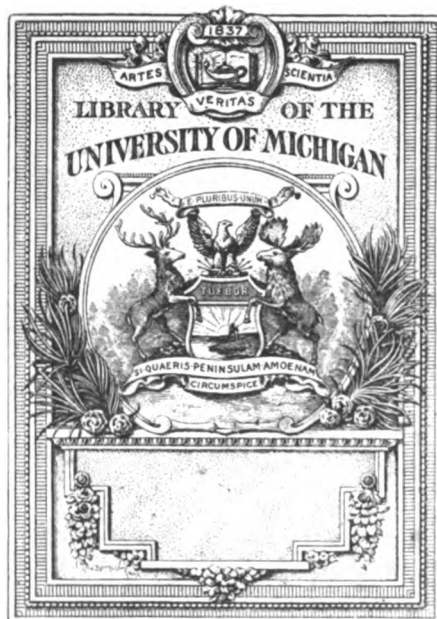
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# **THE ROMANIC REVIEW**



# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH, THE PUBLICATION OF TEXTS AND  
DOCUMENTS, CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS, NOTES, NEWS AND  
COMMENT, IN THE FIELD OF THE ROMANCE  
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

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## THE YOUNG KING, HENRY PLANTAGENET (1155-1183), IN PROVENÇAL AND ITALIAN LITERATURE

### I. THE SIRVENTES AND THE PLANH

WHILE, in England and in Northern and Central France, there were numerous chroniclers to celebrate the comeliness and liberality of Henry Plantagenet, son of Henry II. of England, known commonly as the "Young King," in the South of France his memory rested chiefly upon the *sirventes* of Bertran de Born. The relations between Bertran and the Plantagenet family appear to have grown out of a quarrel which he had with his brother Constantine. At the beginning of his career, Bertran seems to have shared with Constantine the ownership of an obscure château in Périgord, called Hautefort. By treachery, according to the testimony of Geoffrey de Vigeois, Bertran succeeded in expelling Constantine from his portion of the fortress. Constantine responded by making complaint to Richard Cœur-de-Lion, who was engaged in quelling the recalcitrant barons of Aquitania by fire and the sword. Richard, who had fallen out for a time with Ademar V. of Limoges, appears now to have become reconciled to him, making common cause with him against Bertran de Born. Around the lonely castle of Hautefort all was ashes and ruined fields.

It must be borne constantly in mind that these statements rest solely upon the words of Bertran de Born, which, with a few extracts from the cartulary of Dalon, form the sole basis for his biography. The Provençal biographies, or *razos*, appended to his poems, are themselves based for the most part upon the text of the

troubadour. Never a chronicler except Geoffrey de Vigeois (an obscure monk) mentions him, and then only in a single and unimportant passage.

Bertran had already published a *sirvente* against Richard Cœur-de-Lion to champion the cause of Raymond V. of Toulouse against Richard and his ally Alphonso II. of Aragon. The first direct contact between Richard and Bertran de Born appears, however, to have been at the time of the joint invasion by Richard and Ademar V. He then sent forth his *sirventes*, "Un sirvente cui motz non falh," complaining that he was obliged to withstand Richard's assaults single-handed, although it was he who had been the leader of the organization against the oppressor. In particular, he condemned William of Gordon for making no preparation to defend his castle; while Talleyrand he considered "as idle as a merchant."

According to Geoffrey de Vigeois, Richard seized Hautefort and restored it to Constantine. This calamity seems to have called forth the *sirventes*, "Ges eu nom desconort." Undismayed by Richard's demand that he deliver up Hautefort, Bertran expresses his determination to recover it. He resents the faithlessness of his allies from Limousin, Périgord, Gascogne, Guyenne and Toulouse, who had broken their solemn vows to co-operate with him. As these have broken their plighted faith with him, he is ready to stand up for Richard now, if only he will restore to him his property, or even give him charge of the castle, without actually surrendering it. As Ademar V. of Limoges has again become an avowed enemy of Richard, Bertran feels that the latter has need of as many friends as he can muster.

It appears that shortly afterward Bertran regained possession of the castle.

From the testimony of the *razos*, and from Bertran de Born's own statements, it would seem that his acquaintance with the Plantagenet family rapidly grew intimate. Although such a conclusion must be accepted with the greatest caution, especially in view of the startling omission of Bertran's name from the list of the Young King's knights given by William Marshal, there were many things in the history of the Plantagenets which would tend to make them hospitable to the troubadours. Queen Eleanor herself, as has frequently been pointed out, was a granddaughter of the celebrated



troubadour, William IX. of Poitiers. She herself spoke the Provençal language fluently. In honor of her Bernard de Ventadour wrote some of his most famous love-verses, and he is believed to have followed her into England after her marriage to Henry Plantagenet. Richard Cœur-de-Lion himself wrote Provençal verses, in which the French element rather predominates. One poem was on the occasion of his captivity in Austria; the other relates to his last war with the King of France.

These facts would lend color to the statement of the *razos* that Bertran de Born became a suitor of Mathilda, a daughter of Henry Plantagenet, and the wife of Henry II., Duke of Saxony. According to the *razos*, which are for once almost accurate in their historical matter, Henry the Lion had lost almost all his possessions in a struggle with Frederick Barbarossa, and was sentenced to a three years' exile from Germany. Towards the end of the summer of 1182, he appealed to his father-in-law for aid (Lyttelton, III, 349 ff.; Stimming, 1879 ed. of Bertran de Born, p. 22). After being entertained by Henry Plantagenet, the son-in-law made a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella. On returning, he remained in Normandy until June 2, 1184, when the Duchess accompanied her father to England, followed later by her husband.

Richard, as well as the other princes of the family, exerted himself to the utmost to keep his sister from brooding over her misfortunes. As Provençal was almost her mother tongue, he is said to have introduced Bertran de Born to amuse her by paying her court in the manner of the troubadours. Stimming believes that Richard and Bertran had become sufficiently reconciled to account for this abrupt change in their relations. To substantiate his view, he cites from the *sirventes*, "*Ges de disnar non fora oimais*," the following lines

Gens, joves cors, francs e verais e fis,  
D'aut paratge et de rejau,

in honor of Richard.

The difficulty, however, is no sooner disposed of, than another arises. The *razos*, with all their glib account of Bertran's love-affair with the wife of William the Lion, have her name wrong. She is called "Helen," when her proper cognomen is "Mathilda."

This *razo*, explains Stimming, is based upon the *sirvente*, "Cazutz sui de mal en pena," which speaks of her as "una gaja, lisa Lena." The "Lena" is meant for a figurative comparison with Helen of Troy, and the fact that Bertran calls her a Saxoness (Saissam) should leave no further doubt as to the identity of his lady-love.

The difficulty, nevertheless, arises in more aggravated form, a second time, for Bertran now calls her "Helen" directly, without reference to the wife of Menelaus. In the poem "Ges de disnar non fora oimais maitis," Bertran says

c'aitan, volgra, volgues mon pro na Lana.

This difficulty Stimming explains by calling it a reference to the preceding comparison with Helen of Troy.

Perhaps the argument of Stimming might seem more convincing if Bertran de Born had not had another love-affair, substantiated by the same sort of evidence. The lady was Maëuz de Montanhac, wife of Lord Talairan, brother of the Count of Périgord, and the story of his affection for her corresponds in every essential detail with tales told about other troubadours and other ladies, as will be shown later.

Bertran de Born has often been credited with instigating the Young King in the last rebellion against his father, which ended in the death of the Young King at Martel in 1183. The evidence has rested upon the same sort of stuff as the evidence of the love-affair with "Helen," sister of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, and history furnishes us its own reasons for the rebellion, which have little connection with the obscure Bertran de Born, for all his southern bragadocio. We are only safe in concluding that Bertran followed the struggle between father and son with interest, tried to derive what personal profit he could from the conflict, and wrote two beautiful laments over the death of the Young King, which furnish certain materials for a later lament over Geoffrey.

The *sirventes* and the *planh* of Bertran de Born made it a convention among Provençal poets to refer to the Young King, especially in his capacity as a champion of chivalry. Apparently not much was known about his character, and his name was ordinarily sung in connection with that of Geoffrey and of Richard. Gaucelm Faidit, Raimon Vidal des Beziers, Pierre du Vilar, Peire Vidal, and

the Spanish Guiraut de Calansó spread the report of the extraordinary excellence of the Young King.

Echoes of the young monarch's fame crossed the Alps, for the relations between the troubadours and the Italians were very close. Stories of philanthropy, for lack of a definite hero, were connected with the Young King's name, and are found in some of the Italian collections of prose tales. The information about the Young King, so far as it existed, may be supposed to have been transmitted orally, by the troubadours themselves. Towards the beginning of the fourteenth century, the troubadours had been lost from sight, and their works were studied in much the same spirit as Homer and Virgil are now treated in college. It was then that Dante, delving in the poems of Bertran de Born, found, in addition to notions about the structure of the *Vita Nuova*, a tale of an Absalom and an Achitophel which fitted into the twenty-eighth canto of his *Inferno*.

#### THE YOUNG KING IN ITALIAN LITERATURE

Italian prose activity manifests itself during the second half of the thirteenth century to a considerable extent in collections of tales and moralizing anecdotes, such as the Italian form of the *Sette Savj*, and the *Dodici Conti Morali*. There was also the *Novellino*, or *Cento Novelle Antiche*, compiled between 1280 and 1290, according to D'Ancona, which consisted originally of one hundred tales, but was later considerably expanded. A similar collection was the *Conti di Antichi Cavalieri*, frequently supposed to be earlier than the *Novellino*, but really somewhat later, in the opinion of Gaspari, who believes that the Aretine dialect of the tales has misled many critics.

The opinion was once pronounced by Count Galvani that the *Novellino* was nothing more than a translation, pure and simple, from the Provençal. Since the publication of D'Ancona's essay *Del Novellino e delle sue Fonti*, the judgment of critics regarding the Provençal origin of the tales has been considerably modified, and the current notion is that both the *Novellino* and the kindred *Conti di Antichi Cavalieri* were taken from various sources, though the Provençal element was very important. No conclusive proof

for a direct Provençal origin of any of the tales has ever been offered, but it was noted first by Nannucci, later by Bartoli and others, that certain tales are found both in the *Novellino* and in the *Conti di Antichi Cavalieri*, and these concern the "Young King," son of Henry II. of England. Since it has been regarded as axiomatic that the tales dealing with the Young King in the *Novellino* were of Provençal origin, it would seem to follow, according to the argument, that the same tales in the *Conti* must be of similar source. It will be our task presently to analyze this view more closely.

While it seems to me that D'Ancona has not yet sufficiently broken the shackles of the tradition which would derive all the *Novellino* from the Provençal, yet due honor must be allowed him for the extensiveness of the analogues which he has proposed for certain of the *novelle*. Bartoli has shown, furthermore, that the *Novellino* has three tales in common with the *Fiore di Filosofi*, another collection, besides having numerous characters in common; while his contributions to the study of the *Conti* have been no less valuable. He has demonstrated beyond cavil that the story of "Re Tebaldo" (Table XX of the *Conti*) is merely a rude outline of the French romance *Foulque de Candie*. In fact, some of the passages in the Italian text are unintelligible without reference to the French original.<sup>1</sup>

However, despite the marked reaction against the theories of direct borrowing from the Provençal, once so much in evidence, nothing has yet come to light to dispel the rooted conviction that the tales in the *Novellino* which relate to the Young King, Henry Plantagenet (1155-1183), were all of indubitable Provençal origin. These tales are of particular importance because upon them must stand or fall the whole theory of a Provençal origin for the *Conti*, while their significance with regard to the origins of the *Novellino* is almost equally decisive. Heretofore, perhaps the only dissenting voice against the theory of a Provençal origin for these legends has

<sup>1</sup> Very important for the study of the sources of the *Novellino* is also the article by A. Thomas, entitled *Richard de Barbezieux et le Novellino*, in the *Giornale di Filologia Romanza*, III, no. 7, p. 12. Thomas finds a Provençal source for Tale LXIV (Gualteruzzi ed.) of the *Novellino*, but against the opinion of those who would allow qualities of imagination least of all to a tale-teller, he has given proofs of very considerable originality on the part of the Italian writer.

been that of D'Ancona, who ventured the conjecture that they might have come from the French, as well as from the Provençal. Moreover, just as Barberino has thrown light on Provençal authors and manuscripts otherwise unknown to us, the tales by the Italian novelists have seemed to indicate lost Provençal sources, known to the *novellieri* and to certain early Dante Commentators. This theory, which has met the approval of Bartoli, Chabaneau and Thomas, has been resorted to in order to explain the generally admitted fact that the known Provençal sources are insufficient to account for all the Italian tales which concern the Young King.

Let us now depart from speculation, and make a minute examination of the Italian texts as we have them. In the *Conti* there is not a single statement that could have come from the *razos*. Bertran de Born is mentioned in one tale. "Maestro del Re giovane foe," we are told in Tale I. Yet this scrap of information can hardly come directly from the *razos*, which inform us that Bertran was a baron, a warrior, a politician capable of turning Henry II. of England in any direction he chose, but not a preceptor, or governor.

Nevertheless, while it is perfectly evident that the statement of Bertran's relations to the Young King was not taken directly from the *razos*, it is also true that we have here to deal with no simple individual blunder. The misinformation, from whatever source, was spread over Italy. Conde D. Cristóforo Zapata de Cisneros, P. Baldassare Lombardi, Christophoro Landino Fiorentino, Alessandro Vellutello, Benvenuto da Imola and other Dante commentators have the same notion. Although there is a striking uniformity of error among these authorities, we may not charge this fact to simple plagiarism, owing to the great difference in the details of their versions. Beltramo is from England, or perhaps from Gascony. He may have been in the service of the King of England, or perhaps, as the Torri commentary has it, in the service of Richard. Certain it is that he was the preceptor of the Young King.

If these reasons were insufficient, the narrative found in the first of the *Conti*, which romantically depicts Saladin as the lover of a Christian lady, and as desirous of receiving advice from Bertran de Born on the subject of love after the manner of the Christians, would furnish abundant proof of the extent to which the



Bertran of Italian legend differed from the historical Provençal warlord and poet. While it is true that Saladin is frequently a hero in French romances of chivalry, there is never anything to couple his name with that of Bertran de Born.<sup>2</sup>

If our novelist was acquainted with the name of Bertran de Born, his information must have ended there. As has been remarked, there is nothing in the Provençal matter which makes him a tutor of the Young King. Nor could this idea have come from any historical confusion. The tutor who was appointed for the Young King by Henry II. was many times more celebrated than Bertran de Born. Out of all the wails that went up, in the remotest parts of the Catholic world, after the blood of Becket was shed, there was never any hint of confusion of the martyr with the Provençal warlord. The rôle of Bertran de Born as preceptor to the Young King seems clearly to have been given to him in Italy, and probably by the Italians themselves. Their speculations regarding his nationality—some calling him an Englishman, some a Gascon—apparently preclude all supposition of any direct connection with Provençal sources.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Récits d'un Ménestrel de Reims*, in the *Chronique de Flandres*, in the Fr. Ms. 9222 of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and in the *Chronique de P. Cochon*, we are told of the expedition of Eleanor of Aquitaine, famed also for her band of Amazon women, into the Holy Land with her husband, Louis VII., of France. She fell in love with Saladin, who was the handsomest man in the world, as the Fr. Ms. 9222 informs us. Or, as in the version of the *Ménestrel de Reims*, she compared her weak, slothful husband with the strong, resourceful Saladin, and loved him very much in her heart. Saladin, sending a messenger to the lady, found that she was ready to renounce her Christian faith and become his bride. This caused him immense joy, for she was the greatest lady in Christendom. Saladin prepared a galley for the elopement, and Eleanor was on the point of making her escape, when one of the chambermaids slipped away and reported the state of affairs to the sleeping King. The King awoke, and overtook her when she had already put one foot in the galley.

Such is the account found in the *Récits d'un Ménestrel de Reims*, and copied directly by Pierre Cochon. The Fr. Ms. 9222, which seems to have a different source from that of the *Ménestrel*, agrees with him in all the essential points. The *Chronique de Flandres* differs in some of the details, and makes Eleanor's lover another Mohammedan sultan, Rehaudin, "souldan de Babilone." For further illustration of the manner in which the character of Saladin was treated in accordance with the chivalrous ideas of the age, see *La Légende de Saladin* by Gaston Paris, published at Paris: Imprimerie Nationale: 1893 (Extrait du *Journal des Savants*—Mai à Août, 1893).

However, if the one tale in the *Conti* concerning Bertran de Born seems to be of the sort easily fabricated in a land where *Questioni d'Amore* and *Documenti d'Amore* were popular, some of those which relate to the Young King were certainly manufactured with equal facility. Tale VIII, for example, has striking Scriptural reminiscences. "The Young King asked of his knights: 'What do people say of me?' And one knight replied: 'All say that you are the best man in the world.' The King replied: 'I do not ask you the opinion of them, but of two or three.'"<sup>3</sup>

Another Scriptural parallel is found in Tale IX of the *Conti*: "The Young King, because of the war which he had waged with his father, and of other great expenses which he had incurred, had become indebted to the merchants. When he came to die, the merchants demanded payment of him. He replied to them that he had not silver, nor gold nor land to satisfy their demand, but said: 'With what I am able will I satisfy you.'"<sup>4</sup>

While there is nothing here to indicate a Provençal origin, the notable use of the Scriptures is entirely in accord with the Italian style of the period. The historians Dino Compagni and Giovanni Villani make a great deal of use of the Scriptures in their writings. The pompous letters of Pier delle Vigne are filled with Scriptural references. The *Novellino*, which is frequently associated with the *Conti*, contains a score of tales about Scriptural characters. The Scriptural influence upon the *Vita Nuova* is very manifest in such passages as: "O vos omnes, qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte, si est dolor sicut dolor meus," and "Ego vox clamantis in deserto: parate viam Domini." Dr. Edward Moore has counted more than 500 Scriptural allusions in the *Divine Comedy*, many of them couched in Scriptural language. An excellent example of Scriptural influence is found in the Epistle Introductory to the *Vision of Frate Alberico*, cited by H. W. Longfellow in his transla-

\* The Authorized Version, S. Matthew, XVI, 13-16, reads: When Jesus came into the coasts of Caesarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, saying, Whom do men say that I, the son of man, am?

And they said, Some say that thou art John the Baptist; some Elias; and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets.

He saith unto them, But whom say ye that I am?

\* The words of the Young King are almost exactly the language of St. Peter, "Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have, give I unto thee."

tion of the *Inferno*, page 181. The author concludes with the words of St. John: "If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book; and if any man shall take away from these things, God shall take away his part from the good things written in this book."

Bartoli has cited, as an argument for the Provençal origin of our tales in the *Novellino*, the fact that tales about the Young King are found there which are not in the *Conti*. What are the tales which are not found in the *Conti*? One is in Novella XXIV.

The Young King of England refused nothing to poor knights of noble breeding. One day it happened that a poor knight noticed the cover of a silver bowl, and thought to himself: If I can conceal it, my household will fare well for many a day. So he secreted it about him. The seneschal, setting the tables, raised a hue and cry about the lost bowl, and searched the knights at the gate. The Young King observed the one who had the bowl, and approaching him unnoticed, said quietly: Put it under my clothes, which will not be searched. The knight was mortified with shame: he did as he was told. Outside the gate, the Young King returned the bowl cover to the knight, then sent for him and courteously presented him with the bowl in addition.

Totally diverse from any of the tales in the *Conti di antichi cavalieri*, this narrative of generosity may seem to afford an excellent argument for a lost Provençal manuscript. Or could one venture to argue that the story presents features of so general a nature, so far apart from chronology or even nationality, that it would be vain to look for an original in the *langue d'oc*? We might find an original in India, if we may judge by the fate of certain folklorists, only to be chagrined in later life to see another and better one discovered in Japan.

One "original" is here submitted, in the confidence that the reader can furnish numerous others. The original is printed in the *Recueil des Historiens de la Gaule et de la France*, vol. I, page 102 (*Helgadi Flor. Epitome*), and concerns King Robert the Pious:

A certain poor clerk went forth from the kingdom of Lothair, and coming to the servant of God, of whom we are speaking, was received by him: the clerk was called *Clericus Oggerius*. . . . On his face shone the likeness of Judas, the betrayer of the Master, who kept the money bags and stole what was placed in them; for

one day at dusk, after taking supper with his comrades . . . the King proceeded to the house of God as was his custom, his clerks going before him, bearing candlesticks of no small weight. These being put in position . . . the King stood in a corner, and silently offered thanks to God. As he was meditating thus in the sight of God, he beheld the aforesaid Oggerius going to the altar, laying aside the wax taper, and concealing the candlestick in his bosom. The clerks grew alarmed. . . . They asked the King about the theft, and he replied to them that he knew nothing about it. The matter reached the ears of Constance the Queen. . . . Incensed, she swore that she would deal severely with the custodians, tear out their eyes, and disfigure them with other injuries, unless they returned the property stolen from the treasury of the holy and just man. When he, in whose soul was the peace of piety, heard it, addressing him who was the thief, he spoke to him thus: *Friend Oggerius, depart hence lest my inconstant wife Constance consume you. For the things which you already have will suffice you, until you enter the country of your nativity. God be with you wherever you may go.* When the perpetrator of the theft heard this, he fell at the feet of the most pious King, and cried, rolling about: *Succor me, O Lord, succor me.* The King truly desiring to snatch him away, said: *Away, away, do not remain here,* giving him other things to carry away with him, lest he should lack on the journey. A few days afterward the same servant of God, believing that the thief could have safely reached home soil, turning to his own servant said pleasantly and most jocosely: *Good Theudo* (for so his body-servant was called), *why do you labor so long searching for the candlestick, when God the omnipotent has given it to one of his poor? For let thee and thine know that his need was greater than ours, for God has given into the hands of us sinners everything which is in the earth, that we may succor the poor, the orphans, the widows and all the people of God.*

Another tale about the Young King is found in the *Novellino*, which differs enough from anything in the *Conti* to afford excellent proof of a Provençal origin, if there be any virtue in such arguments. In Tale XXIV is the narrative:

And another example of courtesy he showed one night, when some poor knights entered his chamber, and, being certain that he was asleep, gathered together his armor and other effects to steal them. When they had taken all, there was one of their number who was very loath to leave a handsome coverlet which the King had upon his back. Seizing it, he began pulling it. The King, not to remain uncovered, started pulling, on his part. The knights, to

make short work, went to the aid of their fellow and laid hands on the coverlet. Then the Young King spoke and said: "That is robbery, and not theft," and tried to seize it by force. When the knights heard him speak, they fled; because in the first place they had believed that he was asleep.

It seems scarcely necessary to observe that the foundation of this story is a simple sentence: "*Questo si è ruba et non furto.*" There is nothing new in this type of King, who indulges in an incognito of one sort or another, and confounds the strangers who abuse him without suspecting his identity. That the Young King is the hero instead of Havelock is quite accidental.

A specific parallel is cited for this story from the *Recueil*, page 101, where King Robert the Pious is once more the hero:

Once as he was starting to church, and had prostrated himself in prayer before God, like one of his menials, the King, mild and humble of heart, remained in such attitude. As he poured out prayers to God, Rapaton the thief came from a neighboring place, (not that very brave prince of thieves, who gathers the high places in the Book of Kings). For as he seized the middle of the border of the King's cloak, he received from the King these most gentle and dulcet commands: "Depart hence, depart; let what you have taken suffice you, for another will need what is left. Abashed, the robber departed . . .

Another tale not found in the *Conti* is in Novella XXIII. of the *Novellino*:

Again it took place that the aforesaid Young King gave to a young man two hundred marks and the seneschal or treasurer took those marks, put a carpet over the hall, and spread the marks out upon it, placing under the coins a carpet bundle that the pile of money might seem greater. And as the King passed through the hall, the treasurer showed him the money and said: "Look, Sire, how much you are giving. Do you see how great a sum are the two hundred marks which you hold as naught?" The King observed them and said: "That seems to me a trifling sum to give to so worthy a man: give him four hundred, for I was certain that two hundred were a larger sum, and a greater sight to behold."

The tale is not found in any known Provençal manuscript, nor in any of the chronicles? Shall we wait for an undiscovered Provençal manuscript before settling the origin of this story?

One of the first things to be observed about the narrative, as



about nearly all the other Italian stories relating to the Young King, is that it has neither time nor place. The one trait, that of prodigal generosity, corresponds with the character given to him elsewhere. A reference to a Dante passage which is much discussed (*Convivio* IV, 11) will reveal seven equally good examples of generosity, to which our tale could be applied equally well: "Who does not remember in his heart Alexander, for his royal largess? Who does not remember still the good King of Castella, or Saladin, or the good Marquis of Monferrato, or Galasso da Montefeltro, when mention is made of what they bestowed?"

As Bartoli remarks, a slightly similar story is told of Saladin in *Novella XXV*.

Saladin was Sultan and a very noble lord, brave and generous. It happened that in a battle he captured a French knight with many others, and the Frenchman met his favor above all the others, so that he loved him more than everything in the world. While he held the others locked up in prison, he took his favorite forth with him, and clothed him in noble raiment. It seemed that Saladin could not live without him, so much did he love him. One day it happened that this knight was very pensive. Saladin perceived it, sent for him, and declared that he wished to know why he brooded thus. The knight not wishing to tell, Saladin said: "Yet you shall tell it." The knight, seeing that no other resource was left, said to him: "Sire, my mind goes back to my people, to my country." And Saladin said: "Since you do not desire to remain with me, I will pardon you and let you depart." He sent for his treasurer and said: "Give him two thousand silver marks." The treasurer wrote them down as he passed before Saladin, to depart; his pen slipped, and he wrote three thousand. Then said Saladin: "What are you doing?" The treasurer said: "I made an error." He was about to erase the thousand. Saladin, to prevent the erasure, said to him: "Write four thousand." And he remarked: "Woe be if your pen should be more generous than I."

It is quite evident that the Italian novelists knew the name of the Young King, and had a notion of his reputation for liberality. They attached to his name current stories of liberality that had no more real connection with any historical, or literary originals in France, than the tale of the two thousand marks had with the historical Saladin. The very monotony of the theme should put us on our guard. In every one of the stories, the Young King is

represented as extremely lavish. If he has any other characteristic, it is a certain cunning in accomplishing his philanthropic designs. Aside from the occasional coupling of his name with that of Bertran de Born—which occurs only in the *Novellino*—there is never any feature which would serve to distinguish him from any other liberal prince.

Let us next consider the story which belongs to the “legend of the youth of the Young King,” as Bartoli supposes. It is found in Tale VII of the *Conti* and in Tale XXIII of the *Novellino*. The following quotation is made from the latter, which preserves the essentials, but is somewhat briefer than the narrative in the *Conti*:

A court-dependent asked him (the Young King) to give him something. The Young King answered that he had given away everything. “However,” he said, “there remains to me this resource, that I have a decayed tooth; wherefore my father promised two thousand marks to anybody who could persuade me to have it extracted. Go to my father, have him give you the marks, and I will draw the tooth in answer to your request.” The jester went to the father, got the marks, and the tooth was extracted in return.

What are these “legends of the youth of the Young King” whence this tale of the decayed tooth is derived? One tale which clearly relates to the youth of the Young King is found in the “History of the Life of Henry II.,” of George Lord Lyttleton, vol. IV., page 298. When Henry II. had the young Henry crowned during his own lifetime at Westminster (1170), it is said that he served the boy at the table with his own hands. At this signal honor, the Archbishop of York complimented the Young King, who replied “that it was not a great condescension for the son of an earl to serve the son of a king.”

Another tale, relating to the youth of the real Young King, is reported in William of Newburgh’s *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, Rolls Series, under date of 1173.

The father . . . sent distinguished ambassadors to the King of the French to speak pacifically, demanding that the son be given up in conformity with a parent’s right, and promising to fulfill any obligations he might have towards the French sovereign at once, by means of a royal council. To these words the French King answered, “Who sends such a message to me?” “The King of

the English," they said. He answered, "You speak falsely. The King of the English is here present; he sends me no message through you. If however you continue to call King this young man's father, formerly King of the English, know that that King is dead."

Nowhere does there seem to be any tale outside of Italy which mentions a decayed tooth in connection with the Young King. The tales which relate to the Young King have a distinctly different flavor, as the foregoing comparison shows.

Apparently nobody has claimed for Tale CXLVIII, the longest relating to the Young King, a Provençal origin. Chabaneau, in his *Biographies des Troubadours*, noted that the story has nothing to do with Bertran de Born. Yet it is possible that some one may be tempted to find in it a romantic charm which places it near to Old Castile, and to believe that the narrative of the courtesy of the Young King, who was willing to descend from his regal dignity to help a knight's horse out of the mire, must have been written in the shadow of the Pyrenees.

However, the similar stories told about captains or Kings are innumerable, and the *genre* is so universal that any assumption of exclusive Provençal origins must be hazardous. Caesar, it is said, did the work of a common soldier during the Gallic war. Napoleon relieved a sleeping soldier of guard duty during the Italian campaign. The late Edward VII. of England, according to a very recent *novella*, assisted a fireman in saving a building. One of the closest analogues is very remote from the *langue d'oc*. The hero is another Young King, who also died at an early age, and whose "planh" were sung by Xenophon.

But, it may be reasoned, if the tales about the Young King in the *Conti* and in the *Novellino* are, for the most part, not of Provençal origin, may there not have been some which came from historical sources? To reply to this question, the story of the testament of the Young King has been reserved for special consideration.

And when he had besieged a certain city which is called Altaforte, says Benvenuto da Imola, the Dante commentator, the Young King made a sortie one day, and while fighting bravely, received a mortal wound from a crossbow shaft, and was brought back to cover of the fortress. When his followers asked what disposition

he would make of his affairs, the Young Man said: "What shall I dispose of, when I have nothing?" Then a certain *factor* of a great society of Florence . . . who had loaned to him a very great sum, perhaps a hundred thousand gold pieces, said tearfully: "And I, Sire, what shall I do?" Then the Young King said sighing: "Only you will force me to make a will." And forthwith, having called a notary, he made a will, and among other things made one wretched bequest, saying, "I leave my soul to the devil, unless my father pay off all my debts."

In Tale IX of the *Conti* is found the same tradition of the consignment of the Young King's soul to the devil. Instead of a single "factor," there were numerous "mercatanti" to whom the Young King was hopelessly indebted:

At the death of the Young King, the father, entering a church one day, found the body of the Young King in a casket in the hands of the merchants. He demanded an explanation. They told him what the will had been. Then he said: "May it not please the Lord God that the soul of such a man rest in the power of the demons, nor his body in the hands of such men." Then he paid off the debt, which was many hundreds of thousands, to each and every creditor.

In Tale XXIV of the *Novellino* the testament is presented in a different manner to the father. The Young King's creditors have demanded satisfaction for the Young King's debts. The Young King assigns his soul to the devil in payment therefor, making the testament legally before a notary. The creditors go to the Old King to present their claims. At first he orders them away in anger, but seeing the letter of the Young King, exclaims: "May it not please God that the soul of so worthy a man remain in prison because of money."

Strange as it may seem, this is the only tale concerning the Young King in the Italian collections which has any semblance of an historical parallel. It bears no relation to Bertran de Born, nor to anything to be found in the *razos*. Is it possible that the authors of the *Conti* and of the *Novellino*, in common with certain early Dante commentators, were acquainted, in some other manner, with the historical fact that the Young King died in the direst poverty?

From the idea of the Young King's letter to his father, as recounted by Geoffrey de Vigeois, the transition to a testament in

regular form is simple. It is already present in the chronicle of William Marshal. In *Les Annales d'Aquitaine* of Jean Bouchet (Poitiers, 1644), while there is scanty mention of the Young King otherwise, there is the tale of a testament. By the theory of an historical origin, the statement of Jean Bouchet, who occupied himself often with popular historical traditions, represents the form which the story would have on reaching Italy. We have the Young King's indebtedness, the will—or draft on the father,—and the presumption of the payment by the father. To the Italian mind, an element would be lacking. A simple plea to the father for mercy hardly sufficed: there must be a stronger bond. The early *motif* of the sale of the soul to the devil, found in the *Disciplina Clericalis* and in the *Castigos* of D. Sancho, would naturally be added.

The author of the *Conti* gives the story other religious coloring. The creditors of the Young King are not his Brabanters, but money-changers, who seem to be established in a Temple, as in the New Testament. The Old King finds the casket of the Young King, containing the will, in the church, beside the “mercantanti.”

This setting is in keeping with the other religious expressions already alluded to in the *Conti*.

The author of the *Novellino* has less religious atmosphere and more art in his narrative, a change which corresponds to what has happened in the history of the religious drama. He leaves out the words of the Saviour: “Whom do men say that I am?” He omits the words of St. Peter, “Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have, give I unto thee.” He does not place his money-changers in the Temple. Instead, he tells us of a will drawn up before a secular notary, and presented in perfectly legal form before the father. The father respects it because of its legality.

Coming down to the Commentary of Benvenuto da Imola (died 1391), we are farther than ever away from the religious story, and have even more local color. Instead of a troop of money-changers, there is an individual creditor, “factor” of a great society. About this individual there appears to be much more certainty than about the mysterious Bertran de Born, who lived in “a certain city which is called Altaforte,” and came originally from Gascony, or England. The “factor” is from the beloved city of

Florence! *Re giovane* has become modernized. The philanthropist is named *Re Giovanni* (Johannes), though Benvenuto, perhaps guided by the text of Dante, is aware of the title "Juvenis" at the same time.

The objection to a lineal historical ancestry for the Italian tale is single but fatal: none of the Italians had the faintest notion of English history. A search through the entire Muratori collection has revealed hardly a line referring to the Young King. The only reference worthy of any mention is in the great Villani, *Storie Fiorentine*, vol. II, page 14 (Milan, 1803): "... and after Stephen reigned another Henry, who had two sons, King John and King Richard. This King John was the most courteous lord in the world, and was induced to wage war with his father by one of his barons, but he lived a short time and left no heir." Villani makes Richard I the successor of John, and to Richard is born a son, "Henry."

This, so to speak, is the one oasis of knowledge in the vast desert of ignorance! Giovanni Fiorentino, after narrating a few tales, draws the remaining narrative in his "Pecorone" from quasi-historical extracts. On the subject of the ancestry of Richard, in Novella II of the nineteenth day, he repeats the passage quoted from Villani.

Giovanni Fiorentino got his information from Villani. Where Villani got it can perhaps be surmised by comparing his text with those of a few of the Dante commentators.

The story of the soul assigned to the devil, therefore, is clearly not historical. It seems, furthermore, not to be Provençal. It is rather an anticipatory Don Juan version of the countless examples of "courtesy" and "generosity" which stud the literature of the Middle Ages.

There is a later tradition in Italy regarding the poverty of the Young King which will be found on inspection to have no connection with the assignment of the soul to the devil. The ultimate source of the tradition was doubtless certain passages in the *sirventes* of Bertran de Born. For example, in the one beginning "D'un sirventes nom cal far lonhor ganda" (Stimming, ed. of Bertran de Born, 1889, p. 55), we find

“pois na Enrics terra non ten ni manda,  
sia reis dels malvatz.”<sup>5</sup>

The *sirventes* was intended to arouse Henry's ire against his brother Richard, to whom he had become reconciled in obedience to his father's orders. We are to find, however, that neither the Italian novelists nor the early Dante commentators seemed familiar with the text of the *sirventes* of Bertran de Born. They got their material from the *razos*, or biographies of Bertran de Born, which appeared anonymously many years after his death, and consist largely of a bald repetition of matter found in the verses which they undertook to explain, or of floating rumors about the troubadours. One of these biographies reads:

Now it came to pass at the time when the Young King made peace with his brother Richard, and ceased to make claim upon his inheritance, even as King Henry his father had willed, that his father gave him fixed sums for meat and drink, and for all his needs, yet no whit of land did he hold, and no man came to him for maintenance, nor for his aid in battle. Then Sir Bertran de Born, and all those barons that had aided him against Lord Richard, were sorely grieved. And the young king departed and went into Lombardy, and gave his days to tourneys and vain pleasures, leaving all these barons at war with Lord Richard. And Lord Richard laid siege to castles and to towns, and destroyed them, and took lands and burnt and laid them waste; and the young king held tourneys, and lived at ease, and slept and disported himself, whereat Sir Bertran made the *sirventes* that begins, “D'un sirventes nom cal far lonhor ganda.”<sup>6</sup>

From such passages as this the idea may have gone into Italy that the cause of the quarrel between the young Henry and his father was a lack of land. The Dante commentators, D. Cristóforo Zapata de Cisneros, Alessandro Vellutello, Benvenuto da Imola, and Christophoro Landino Fiorentino, give accounts of the closing days of the Young King which are close enough to the thought of the *razos* to represent in all probability a Provençal tradition. At the same time, this story is never to be confused with the earlier Italian story of the assignment of the soul to the devil. The

\* “Since Lord Henry neither holds nor governs over land  
Let him be King of the cowards.”

<sup>6</sup> To make *sirventes* I'll no longer stay. (Ida Farnell's trans.)

manner in which the matter received later from the Provençal was blended with the legends already current in Italy may be observed by a comparison of the *Conti* and the *Novellino*. The *Conti* seem a disjointed series of anecdotes—in so far as they concern the Young King—grouped around one name, or figurehead. Whatever the opinion of Gaspary with regard to the Aretine dialect of the *Conti*, it assuredly is more natural to suppose that the choppy, unliterary anecdotes about the Young King in the *Conti* are more primitive in form than the tales in the *Novellino*. The author of the *Novellino* would give to the tales a certain unity, adding at the same time other tales, like that of the wager with the father, or of the knight who stole the silver bowl-cover. To give an appearance of unity, he attempts to connect this matter with that newly acquired from the Provençal. For example, he begins Tale XXIII thus:

A story is told of the generosity of the Young King while waging war with his father through the counsel of Bertran de Born. The said Bertran boasted that he had more sense than any other man. That gave origin to many sayings, of which a few are written here. Through Bertran's devices the young man attempted to obtain from his father his share of the treasure, and he was so insistent in his demands that he was successful. Bertran caused him to bestow it all upon persons of noble breeding and poor knights, so that he was left with naught, and had no more to give.

Then follows the tale of the tooth, which in the *Conti* is told without any relation to Bertran de Born.

The frame once constructed, it is easy to insert the other tales, of the two thousand marks doubled, of the stolen bowl-cover, of the reply to the robbers, "That is robbery and not theft," and of the son's wager with his father as to which possessed the greater treasure. All these tales are made to depend as far as possible on Bertran de Born. The war with the father of the Young King finally breaks out as a consequence of the Young King's capture of the Old King's tent and treasure, a tale which in reality, so far from representing a probable Provençal tradition, is nothing more than a simple trick, the morality of which is that of a game of childhood.

One of the best-known of the tales regarding the Young King is probably invented to explain a maxim of courtesy, no doubt put into the mouths of various philanthropists. The following is a translation of the form found in Tale VI of the *Conti*:



One day, as the Young King stood with his other knights, another knight came into the presence of the father, . . . and timidly asked him for a gift. As the King did not reply, the knight stood before him awaiting very fearfully his response. And the knights who were with the Young King now said together: "Truly it is the greatest shame in the world to beg of another." The Young King answered: "Greater shame is it to refuse a gift to one who has need of it."

Francesco da Barberino's *Latin Commentary* (Thomas's ed., p. 183) has the same anecdote in an abridged form.

The question being asked of the Young King, son of the King of England long ago, who received his title because his father was yet alive, whether there was anything more disgraceful to a man than to beg a favor, not deserving it, he replied: "Yes; to deny the favor."

So far, there is no mention of Bertran de Born in this tale. Bertran is introduced by the commentator Christophoro Landino Fiorentino, in his annotation of the concluding lines of the *Inferno*, XXVIII:

This person, he says, was Bertran de Born of England. Others say he was from Gascony, and entrusted with the care of John, whose surname was "Young," son of Henry, King of England. He was supported at the court of the King of France. And it happened that one day the King denied a favor asked of him. The youth who had asked it departed, mortified with shame. Thereupon the King, turning to the bystanders, asked which was the more reprehensible, to beg a favor or to refuse it. Then John responded that to a generous lord the refusal was the more difficult, a reply which appealed to the King as wise, so that he supposed that John would develop into a very wise man from the instruction of his great preceptor. On reaching man's estate John became so liberal that his father could not endure his great expenses. Perhaps the youth would have regulated his conduct if Bertran had not applauded his prodigality. Etc., etc.

We have already discussed the method by which Bertran de Born was added to the old Italian legends in connection with the *Novellino*. The same process is attempted here with less art. The story itself has no attributes of time or place, except such as are added in the Dante commentary in order to make an artificial connection with Bertran de Born.

Nevertheless, one may object, does not the author of the *Novellino* utilize other Provençal sources? Perhaps it is quite accidental that his references to the Young King seem so vague and general.

The tales cited by D'Ancona as probably of Provençal origin are (Gualteruzzi's edition) XIX, XX, XXVI, XXXII, XXXIII, XLII, XLIX, LX, and LXIX. "But no Provençal text is now extant to verify this opinion with authoritative analogues," he concludes (page 287).

In fact, let us review the evidence for Tales LXXVI, XLII, and XLIX, the only tales of supposed Southern French origin for which D'Ancona gives analogues. For Tale LXXVI, which concerns Richard Cœur-de-Lion, D'Ancona contents himself with a quotation from the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (XXIII, 162): "The anecdote, in *fabliau* form, can easily come from our rhymers; but we have not found it in their manuscripts."

Tale XLII seems to be of Provençal origin because Guglielmo di Bergdan di Provenza is the hero, and the name is Provençal. So is "reis joves" Provençal! D'Ancona notes (page 317) that our story is told of Jean de Meung, of Gonnella, of Marot, of Bartoldo, and is found in the *Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry*. In fact, analogues are found everywhere except in the land of the troubadours!

In Novella XLIX a doctor of Tolosa marries the niece of an archbishop, and in two months the young wife becomes the mother of a son. The doctor sends back his wife, complaining that one son a year is the highest rate of birth that his means can afford. D'Ancona cites a statement by Chabaneau in the *Rev. des lang. romanes* (3d series, vol. ii. n° 9-10. Sept.-Oct., 1879), to the effect that the Italian tale is possibly derived from two verses of Pier Cardinal:

Tals cuja ben aver filh de s'esposa  
Que no i a re plus que cel de Tolosa.

And substantially on this one analogue, together with a tale about Richard de Barbezieux which had an exceptionally wide currency, must rest the whole case of Provençal origins if we leave out of account the matter of the Young King.

What about the tales coming from the French? D'Ancona names Tales IV, IX, XIII, XVIII, XXVII, XXVIII, XLV, XLVI, LXIII, LXV, LXXXI, and LXXXVII as probably of French origin, but gives analogues only for Tales IV, IX, XXVII, XLVI, and LXV.

For Tale IX D'Ancona says: "Many stories are found similar to this one, as for example that of the music paid for by the sound of words (Las Aradañas, *Contes et apologues indiens*, trans. St. Julien, Paris, Duprat, 1859, I, 108): that of the indemnification granted the courtesan Tonide against the young man who had enjoyed her in sleep. (Plutarch, ed. Reiske, V, 48; VI, 150; VII, 318, etc.)

Evidently our French original will have numerous competitors here.

For Novella XXVII, D'Ancona, while not noting any veritable analogues, points out a similarity to the general manner of the books of moral examples, such as the *Gesta Romanorum*.

Novella XLVI is the tale of Narcissus at the fountain. While the origin is classic, D'Ancona thinks that the chivalrous form given to the story may indicate a relation with the *Lai de Narcisse* (Le Grand d'Aussy, *Fabl.* I, 250; Barbazan-Méon, IV, 143).

Novella LXV is the story of Tristan and Isolde.

Novella IV, attributed by Favre to the troubadours, is given a French origin by D'Ancona (Poem by Lambert le Tort and Alexandre de Bernay, edition of Michelant, Stuttgart, 1846, page 222).

To summarize, then, out of nine tales of "probable" Provençal origin, there is satisfactory evidence for not one. Out of twelve tales of "probable" French origin, there is satisfactory evidence for three.

Let us examine in detail what there is in the *Novellino* which has led to the supposition that all of the tales there relating to the Young King go back to the Provençal. We are told in Tale XXIII of the *Novellino* that the Young King made wars with his father through the counsel of Bertran de Born. This agrees with the statement in the *razo* that Bertran de Born "was ever anxious that father, son and brothers should be at war with one another, and that the Kings of France and of England should engage in per-

petual strife." On the other hand, the statement could scarcely have had an origin purely historical, even with the best of lights on the English and French chroniclers. Bertran de Born, so far from playing the mighty rôle attributed to him by his biographers, is mentioned by only one of the chroniclers, the obscure Geoffrey de Vigeois, who makes a brief allusion to his name. We need not carry the argument from silence so far as to claim here that Bertran took no part in the troubles between France and England; but it is at once evident that we cannot look to any written historical source to account for Bertran's reputation in Italy, even if we could overlook the imperfect knowledge of English history betrayed by the Italian historians of this period. We are practically forced, either to fall back upon the *razos* as origins, or to suppose that traditions similar to the *razos* were spread in Italy by the troubadours. We may assume with D'Ancona a possibility of *trouvères* who were the tale-bearers, but we must remember that our supposition is supported by no scrap of poetry or of prose.

The next statement that appears to come from the Provençal is as follows; "The aforesaid Bertran boasted that he had more wit than any other man." At the conclusion of Tale XXIV, which, according to Bartoli, is really a continuation of Tale XXIII, the author reverts to the same idea:

Then came Bertran de Born . . . The King said to him: "You said that you possessed greater wit than any man in the world; where is that wit of yours?" Bertran replied and said: "Sire, I have lost it." "When did you lose it?" asked the King. "Sire, I lost it when your son died." Then the King knew that the vaunted intelligence was all due to the goodness of his son. He pardoned Bertran, and allowed him to depart, and made him gifts.

The *razo* says:

Bertran de Born used to boast that he believed himself to be so competent that all his wit was not necessary to him. Then the King captured him, and when he had captured him, said to him: "Bertran, you will need now all your wit." And he replied that he had lost it all when the Young King died. Then wept the King for his son and pardoned him, and gave him raiment, lands, and honors.

Such a resemblance, as Chabaneau remarks, almost constitutes a translation. Nor need it surprise us that the tale was well remembered, for there was none relating to the famous Provençal warlord which made a profounder impression upon the times. Note for example the beginning of Tale XXIII of the *Novellino*, where the author is evidently so impressed with the boast of Bertran that he introduces it without justification: "We read of the generosity of the Young King while waging war with his father through the instigation of Bertran de Born. The aforesaid Bertran boasted that he had more wit than any other man." Thus would the author begin the story of the decayed tooth, and thus does he forget that the story may well come in a more fitting place in Tale XXIV, which, according to Bartoli, is a continuation of Tale XXIII.

Benvenuto da Imola also knew the story of Bertran's losing his wit, as well as Francesco da Barberino.

Such is the extent of the material which the *Novellino* has in common with the *razos*. The manner in which it was introduced into the *Novellino* has already received comment. It is noteworthy that the tales in the *Novellino* are concerned chiefly with the virtues of the Young King, Bertran de Born being introduced rather awkwardly, as if by an afterthought. In the *razos*, on the other hand, whatever details may be given about Bertran de Born, only the vaguest and most inaccurate generalities can be obtained about the Young King. His sister Mathilda's name is given as Helen; his father, who, so far as our evidence goes, may never have had any acquaintance with Bertran de Born, is made to be absolutely under Bertran's dominion. The account of the death of the Young King, which was tragic enough to be the object of considerable notice from the better chroniclers, and evoked from Bertran de Born two laments which were probably his best-known poems, is confused with that of Richard.

Nor can we appeal to any other known Provençal tradition for better information regarding the Young King. Most of the Provençal poets who make mention of the Young King apparently are acquainted only with his name, and fail to discriminate in any wise between the virtues of Richard and Geoffrey. Our Provençal

traditions, if the undiscovered ones prove to bear much resemblance to those that we have, can hardly have given more than a mere name to the Italians. Whatever scanty connection with history may exist in our Provençal accounts was doomed to be lost in crossing the Alps.

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*(To be continued)*

## BARTHELEMY ANEAU: A STUDY IN HUMANISM

(Continued from Vol. II, page 185)

### XI

HOWEVER numerous may have been the publications of Aneau previous to 1548, that date really marks the beginning of his literary activity. Thereafter, his works appeared in much greater number and bear the impress of a more mature mind. The scholarly principal of the Collège de la Trinité was no longer so much concerned with popular approval as had been his wont. His aims were now higher and more worthy of a man of his talents. The titles of his volumes alone suffice to show his altruistic spirit. Like a true humanist, his aim was now to produce works that would tend to instruct and ennoble the mind and elevate the moral spirit. He no longer addressed himself to his pupils alone: his message was intended for all of his fellow-citizens to whom he was grateful for many services rendered him in the past. In other words, we are now brought face to face with the greater Aneau—the Aneau who was to have an extensive influence on the literature of his time.

The first work belonging to this period of productivity was a revision of Desdier Christol's translation of the *Opusculum de obsoniis ac honesta voluptate* of Baptiste or Bartolommeo Platina of Cremona, the well-known historian and librarian of the Vatican. This little volume was originally published by Platina in 1475, the year of his nomination to the charge of librarian for which he is better known.<sup>1</sup> It proved so popular that several editions appeared

<sup>1</sup> The first edition appeared in Venice: *Impressum Venetiis, . . . duce inclyto Petro Mocenino, idibus juniis M. CCCC. LXXV*. Small folio of 32 lines to the page and 94 unnumbered leaves. Brunet, *Manuel*, IV, 690-3. Platina's real name was Sacchi but he was born in Piadena, i. e., Platina. For further information concerning this interesting personage, see Bissolati, *Vite di due illustri Cremonesi, Bartolommeo Platina e M. Gir. Vida*, Milano, 1856, and Motta, *Bartolommeo Platina e papa Paolo II*, *Arch. Soc. Rom. stor. patr.*, 1884, VII, 555-9, as well as Nicéron, *Mém. hom. ill.*, 1729, VIII, 218-234; X, ii, 260-1.

before the end of the century. Desdier Christol, a native of Montpellier, was the first to translate it into French. His version, which appeared at Lyons in 1505,<sup>2</sup> was so successful that the printer Benoist Rigaud of the same city requested Aneau to prepare a revised edition of it in 1548.<sup>3</sup> We can readily understand why the principal of the Collège de la Trinité was selected for this honor. Not only was he widely known as a translator, but the name of so erudite a man did not fail to have weight with the public. This explains to a certain extent why Guillaume Rouillé, the famous printer, urged him to prepare the dedicatory Latin verses of a medical work which he published the year before.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The publisher was François Fradin. Brunet, *Manuel*, IV, 690-1.

<sup>3</sup> British Museum 8409aa. According to the notes of Mercier Saint Léger, this is the second edition of Aneau's translation, the first edition having been issued by Arnoullet in 1546. This is probably a mistake, for no copy of any earlier edition has thus far been discovered, nor has any other bibliographer besides Saint Léger noted its existence. Baudrier, X, 1913, p. 119. The title of the 1548 edition of Arnoullet, which has become very rare, is thus conceived: *Baptiste Plati-/ ne de Cremonne, de l'Hon-/ neste volupté, liure tres necessaire/ à la vie humaine, pour ob-/ seruer bonne santé./ Diligemment reueu & corrigé comme il est fait/ mention à la page suyante./ A Lyon./ Par Balthazar Arnoullet/ M. D. XLVIII.* 8vo, 352 pp. Aneau's preface on the verso of the title-page is as follows:

B. A. Au lecteur salut: Pour ce que aucuns ont leurs plaisirs et occupations à lire la sainte escripture: par laquelle on peut substanter lesprit Chrestien: et veu qu'il est plusieurs scrupuleurs et gens qui cuydant tant sçauoir, prennent la puissance et l'audace d'eux mesmes pour nuyre au gens de bon esprit: lesquels sont entre eux blasmez. Dont (amy lecteur) estant admoneste que tu ne peux estre sans aucune leurre, ie t'ay bien voulu ramender cest œuvre pour ten bailler esbatement: duquel le nom ne te doit estre odieux, s'il traite d'honneste volupté et santé, afin que ton corps et esprit y soit, car le corps en malaise lesprit n'est point dispos ny incité à vertu. Et que amiablement tu excuses l'impropriété que y pourras trouuer: veu que par cy deuant estoit cy incorrect, de sorte que il me semble qu'il ny auoit nul plaisir au langage qui estoit au preiudice de l'Auteur, lequel ten a fait present, te laissant adieu à qui tu soys.

It is interesting to note that because of the great popularity of Aneau's translation, the publisher Macé Bonhomme was prompted to issue a translation of the same work by Laurent de la Graviere in 1554. Baudrier, X, p. 241. Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 6116 bis; Brit. Mus. 8409aa4. Another edition of Aneau's version appeared in 1571 under the following title: *Baptiste Pla/ tine de Cremonne,/ de L'Honneste Volupté,/ liure tres necessaire à la vie hu-/ maine, pour observer/ bonne sante./ Diligemment reueu et corrigé comme/ est fait mention à la page suyante./ A Lyon,/ par Benoist Rigaud,/ 1571.* At the end: *A Lyon,/ de l'imprimerie de/ Francois Durelle/ 1571.* 16mo of 667 pp. and 2 fols. blank. Verso of title: "Barthélemy Aneau, Au Lecteur Salut." Baudrier, *Bibl. lyonn.*, III, 1897, p. 271; X, 1912, pp. 119; 325. *Bibl. Nationale*, Rés. V2620.

<sup>4</sup> The verses of Aneau bear the following title: "In Annotationes D. Philii-



With his usual conscientiousness, Aneau carefully revised this work, adding all the necessary corrections. In his preface, he states that the reason why he undertook to *ramender c'est œuvre* was in order to *en bailler esbatement au lecteur*. On page 3 is the table of contents—*s'ensuyvent les parties contenues en ce present liure*. Farther on (p. 12), he remarks that this book, *très nécessaire à la vie humaine pour observer bonne santé*, was first composed in Latin *par Platine en la court de Rome*. The work treats principally of meat and vegetables, when to eat them, how to prepare them—in short, a sort of hygienic and culinary guide. The titles of some of the more interesting chapters may be cited: “d’eslire lieu et place pour habiter” (p. 12); “du souper ou de la cene” (p. 18); “du vin après souper, du dormir” and “comment on doit dormir” (pp. 22, 24); “du baing” (p. 25); “du cuysinier” (p. 44); “d’apprester et dresser la table” (p. 45); “du sel” (p. 46); “du pain” and “du gasteau” (pp. 48, 52). Certain chapters are devoted to fruits and vegetables with recipes for preparing them. Thus, on page 54, there is a chapter on cherries; plums (p. 56), melons (p. 61), cucumbers (p. 66), figs (p. 71), apples (p. 76), and pears (p. 79) are other topics treated. On the whole, this is a very interesting and useful book; and one feels that Aneau did not lack in sagacity when he prepared his version for the press, for his comments serve to enhance its value.

During the following year (1549), Aneau published another work which, judging from the meagre indications given by Haag and Brunet,<sup>5</sup> was of a very different character. It was entitled *Pasquil antiparadoxe*, and was a refutation of the *Paradoxe de la Faculté du Vinaigre contre les Ecrits des Modernes*, published early in the same year by Pierre Tolet, the celebrated Lyonnese physician. Although this pamphlet is cited by several authors and is noted in the *Catalogue des Foires de Francfort*, no copy can be found. For

berti Saraceni medici versionem Lat. simplicium Claudij Galeni Barptolemaeus Anulus Biturix.” They are to be found on the verso of the title of the following work: *Claudii Galeni de Simplicium Medicamentorum Facultatibus Libri XI. Theodorico Gerardo Gaudano interprete. Lugduni apud Gulielmum Rovillium, 1547*. Another edition of this work, containing the verses of Aneau, appeared in 1552. Baudrier, *op. cit.*, IX, pp. 133 and 195.

<sup>5</sup> *La France protestante*, 2d ed., 1877-1888, vol. 1; Brunet, *Manuel, Supplément*, I, col. 42.

t. . . . . the verso of the  
 if . . . . . first states  
 ha . . . . . Themistocles. Prince  
 An . . . . . à nommer un  
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 Lyons— . . . . . son usage et  
 in-law B. . . . . en propre nature,  
 the press . . . . . trans verbale et  
 tion of the . . . . . la philosophie  
 popularity at . . . . . Platon, Césars,  
 revival of the . . . . . Arabes,  
 been so thoroug . . . . . "For are we  
 unnecessary to ente . . . . . In the contrary,  
 say that in the Ren . . . . . "à  
 fables were largely me . . . . . "à  
 men, and their words and . . . . . "à  
 These fables, as has already . . . . . "à  
 from Eastern sources.<sup>8</sup> It was . . . . . "à  
 draw some moral lesson from the . . . . . "à  
 order to make such a work complet . . . . . "à  
 large part of it to animals. Guérout . . . . . "à  
 this task; and accordingly he and Arnou . . . . . "à  
 whose profound erudition was the subject . . . . . "à  
 ment among the Lyonnese, to undertake . . . . . "à  
 which demanded a very wide acquaintance . . . . . "à  
 mediaeval literature. Aneau, who was a correct . . . . . "à  
 of Arnoullet and Bonhomme, was practical enoug . . . . . "à  
 such a work would prove immensely popular, and . . . . . "à

\* The title as given by Brunet is as follows: *Pasquil antiparadoxe contre le Paradoxe de la faculté du vinaigre*. A Lyon, 1549, 8vo. Brunet cit. Colletet states briefly that Aneau composed "un Pasquil sur la ver vinaigre l'an 1548." *Vie des poètes françois*, Bibl. nat., ms. fr., nouv. acq., 3 fo 18 ro. Cf. also Nicéron, *Mém. hom. ill.*, XXII, p. 170 et seq.

<sup>1</sup> ROMANIC REVIEW, II, p. 174.  
<sup>2</sup> MacCulloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, London, 1905, p. 38. For bibliography of the subject, see the article on *Fable* by Joseph Jacobs in the Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics*, vol. V, 1912.

Or est le présent oeuvre intitulé Décades, qu'est à dire Dixaines par ce que les animaux y sont arrangez comme en parfaite numération arithmétique par dixaines, et dixaines de dixaines, car en chescune Décade sont dix dixains, en chescun dixain dix vers, en chescun vers dix syllabes croissantes et unissonnantes, l'e grave ou féminin dernier, pour nul compté comme aussi ne doit estre. Et vers tellement entrelacez alternement, que les graves féminins s'entresuyvent après les agus et masculins pour meilleure sonnorité, ne s'entresuyvent semblables sinon à la cinquiesme et sixiesme en fiance où il est forcé pour commencer nouvelle décade. La moitié du dixain à l'autre, et entrer en seconde décade quant n'ha iamais esté obserué en la perfection. Les vers sont conclus au dernier vers par une syllabe, tombant à propos et correspondant à la fin de la décade. Pour le présent nous ne mettons en l'oeuvre la dégustation de tout le vaisseau. Mais nous le laissons aux animaux raisonnables, et à l'homme, et de Dieu premièrement. (C'est ce que Platon) est dict par son philosophe. L'ame et vie à tous les animaux, et à l'ame du monde. Et l'homme est créé par l'homme pour

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that reason, Brunet inclines to the belief that it is lost.<sup>6</sup> However, if we may be permitted to judge from the work of Tolet, it must have been satirical and polemical in character—a vein in which Aneau was usually successful.

The next work to come from the pen of the illustrious teacher was for its time almost unique in kind. We have stated elsewhere that the reformer Guillaume Guérout, shortly after his arrival in Lyons—where he became corrector in the printshop of his brother-in-law B. Arnoullet,—began to prepare *Le Blason des Oiseaux* for the press of that publisher.<sup>7</sup> In form this little work was an imitation of the *blasons*, originated by Marot, which enjoyed such great popularity at that time. In substance it was nothing else than a revival of the bestiaries of the Middle Ages. The bestiary has been so thoroughly studied in its various ramifications that it is unnecessary to enter into a discussion of it here. Let it suffice to say that in the Renaissance as well as in mediaeval times, beast-fables were largely made use of by preachers; beasts symbolized men, and their words and actions were intended to teach a lesson. These fables, as has already been pointed out, were largely drawn from Eastern sources.<sup>8</sup> It was Guérout's intention therefore, to draw some moral lesson from the actions or lives of birds. But in order to make such a work complete, it was necessary to devote a large part of it to animals. Guérout did not feel himself equal to this task; and accordingly he and Arnoullet prevailed upon Aneau, whose profound erudition was the subject of much eulogistic comment among the Lyonnese, to undertake the more difficult part which demanded a very wide acquaintance with classical and mediaeval literature. Aneau, who was a corrector for the presses of Arnoullet and Bonhomme, was practical enough to see that such a work would prove immensely popular, and would amply

<sup>6</sup> The title as given by Brunet is as follows: *Pasquil antiparadoxe. Dialogue contre le Paradoxe de la faculté du vinaigre. A Lyon, 1549, 8vo.* Brunet, *loc. cit.* Colletet states briefly that Aneau composed "un Pasquil sur la vertu du vinaigre l'an 1548." *Vie des poètes françois, Bibl. nat., ms. fr., nouv. acq., 3073, f° 18 r°.* Cf. also Nicéron, *Mém. hom. ill.*, XXII, p. 170 et seq.

<sup>7</sup> ROMANIC REVIEW, II, p. 174.

<sup>8</sup> MacCulloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, London, 1905, p. 38. For bibliography of the subject, see the article on *Fable* by Joseph Jacobs in the *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics*, vol. V, 1912.

compensate him in royalties for the time he might devote to it. So he complied with the request of his friends and set to work at once to prepare the *Décades de la description, forme et vertu naturelle des animaux, tant raisonnables que brutz*, which appeared during the course of the year 1549.<sup>9</sup>

That Aneau was not deceived in his expectations is obvious from the large number of editions through which his work passed as well as the imitations it called forth, many of which, it seems, enjoyed a certain popularity.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Décades/ de/ la description,/ forme, et vertu/ naturelle des ani-/ maulx, tant raison-/ nables, que/ Brutz./ A Lyon,/ Par Balthazar Arnoullet./ M. D. XLIX (1549). On the ro. of the last leaf: Imprime./ par Balthazar/ Arnoullet./ 1549. 8vo of 32 unnumbered leaves, signed A-C by 8, D-E by 4, wood-cuts. Bibl. nat., Rés. Ye3468(1). A copy of this edition sold for 285 francs at the Yéméniz sale. Cf. Brunet, *op. cit.*, *Supplément*, *ibid.* See also Picot, *Cat. de la Bibl. Rothschild*, III, p. 419, no. 2599 (640b). Baudrier, *Bibl. lyon.*, X, 1913, p. 120.*

<sup>10</sup> I have been able to discover the following eleven editions of this interesting work: First, it was reprinted by Arnoullet in 1552 (8vo., 69 pp. and 2 pp. table; 58 wood-cuts, Arsenal 8480) and again in 1561 (8vo.) Cf. Brunet, *Manuel*, I, col. 284-285. The 1552 edition bears the following title: *Premier Li-vre de la Na-ture des Animaux, tant/ raisonnables, que Brutz./ A Lyon. / Par Balthazar Arnoullet./ M. D. LII./ Avec Priuilege pour cinq ans. Vo. of title-page, privilege to print, dated Fontainebleau, Feb. 10, 1549. Baudrier, X, 1913, pp. 104, 131. Two editions appeared in 1554, one at Rouen, *La Description . . . des Bestes* (*Catalogue de Fresne*, 1893, no. 221) and the other at Paris, *Premier (et second) Livre de la description philosophale de la nature et condition des animaux*, Magd. Boursette, 1554, small 8vo. Benoist Rigaud and Jean Saugrain issued an edition at Lyons in 1556 entitled *La Description philosophale de la nature et condition des animaux, tant raisonnables que brutz: avec le sens moral cōprins sur le naturel et condition d'iceux* 8vo. Baudrier, *Bibl. lyonn.*, III, p. 198. In 1568, two more editions with wood-cuts appeared, one at Paris, published by J. Ruel, 1568, 16mo, and the other at Lyons, by Jean d'Ogerolles, 16mo, containing the first book only. In 1571, J. Ruelle of Paris published the following edition: *Description philosophale, forme et nature des bestes tant priuées que sauvages avec le sens moral comprins sur le naturel et condition d'iceux*, 16mo, of 48 leaves, wood-cuts. Benoist Rigaud published the next important edition in 1586 under the title, *La Description/ philosophale/ de la Nature et condi-tion des animaux,/ tant raisonna-/ bles que bruts. // Avec le sens moral sur le naturel et/ condition d'iceux: et de nouveau/ augmentée de diuerses et/ estranges bestes.// A Lyon,/ Par Benoist Rigaud./ 1586./ 18mo, 64 pp. with wood-cuts. Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 8481. Other editions: Jean d'Ogerolles, Lyon, 1604, with wood-cuts; P. Ménier, Paris, 1605, 16mo, 48 leaves with wood-cuts; Rouen, 1641, 12mo, Arsenal, 8486. Cf. Graesse, *Trésor des Livres rares*, I, 1859, Dresden, pp. 125, 367, etc.**

The preface of the *Décades*, which begins on the verso of the title-page, explains the purpose of the author. Aneau first states that "comme grande gloire ha esté donnée à Themistoclés, Prince Athénien, de cognoistre en personne tous ses citoyens et nommer un chescun d'yceulx par son propre nom," so it should be given to man,—“roy de tous les animaux, et constitué Seigneur sur toutes les bestes viuantes à luy subiectes et créées pour son usage et seruice,”—to have a knowledge of them “par leur propre nature, forme, et uertu, sinon réale et corporelle, au moins verbale et imaginaire qui est une des meilleures parties de la philosophie naturelle.” But we can not all be “Alexandres, Ptolemées, Césars, Aristotes, ou Plines pour passer aux extrêmes Indes, Arabies, Aphricques et Aethiopies, Gaules et Germanies,” nor are we “nauigateurs, pescheurs, chasseurs, ne voleurs.” On the contrary, people are usually shut up in the “estroitcs fins de leurs lieux, à petite cognoissance visible de peu de bestes, ou priuées ou du pays,” even if they are anxious to see strange animals and to know them “par peregrination d'esprit.” So for the benefit of those who are unable to travel, Aneau has “extraict des meilleurs scripteurs de la naturelle histoire, tant Grecz que Latins, les natures, formes, qualitez, vertus ou vices d'icelles bestes, non plainement et au long (car ce heust esté une chose infinie), mais sommairement en peu de vers et briefz decasticques, comprenans le principal et plus notable de leur forme, nature et propriété.” Inasmuch as, “comme dict le roy Candaulés en Herodote, les yeulx sont plus certains à l'homme que les oreilles,” the author has had an artist “pourtraire et tailler au plus près du naturel veu ou iouxte la propre description, les figures d'icelles bestes, tant priuées que saulvages, paysanes que estranges, pour comparer l'image quasi vive avec la lettre demye morte, et délecter les yeulx corporelz en regardant la peinture, et l'entendement spirituel en apprenant par la lecture.”

Then follows the explanation of the title of the work which is most interesting. It has often been remarked that in the Renaissance the importance of form first began to be recognized; and, as one might expect, authors were fascinated with this novelty and soon began to indulge in puerilities that often put to shame the complicated rhyming tricks of the rhetorical school. M. Brunetière has called attention in one of his valuable studies to the almost caba-

listic construction of the *Délie* of Maurice Scève, showing how rigidly the poet observed his curious theories of composition to the minutest arithmetic detail.<sup>11</sup> However ridiculous these foibles may appear to us now, they were highly appreciated at that time, especially by the erudite Lyonnese who affected a taste for the inexplicable *dixains* of Scève. So in following out his peculiar plan of composition—one that would have appealed to the Hindoos of the classical epoch—Aneau was merely observing the established rules of taste. The quality of his publications obliged him to keep in close touch with all the new *modes* in literature. A poet, such as he, who excelled in the *pièce de circonstance*, was always forced, notwithstanding his personal desires, to consider popular taste. So, not wishing that the reader should be misled by the apparent simplicity of construction of his work, nor that he should overlook any of the intricacies of the composition, Aneau explains in full why he has given to his volume the title of *Décades*:

Or est le présent œuvre intitulé Décades, qu'est à dire Dixaines par ce que les animaux y sont arrangez comme en parfaite numération arithmétique par dixaines, et dixaines de dixaines, car en chescune Décade sont dix dixains, en chescun dixain dix vers, en chescun vers dix syllabes croissantes et unissonnantes, l'e grave ou féminin dernier, pour nul compté comme aussi ne doit estre. Et les vers tellement entrelacez alternement, que les graves féminins sont alternes après les agus et masculins pour meilleure sonnorité, et iamaïs ne s'entresuyvent semblables sinon à la cinquiesme et sixiesme unissonnance où il est forcé pour commencer nouvelle cadence, lyer la moitié du dixain à l'autre, et entrer en seconde croysure, ce que par auant n'ha iamaïs esté obserué en la perfection des dixains. Et finalement sont conclus au dernier vers par une sentence morale ou naturelle, tombant à propos et correspondant à la superieure description. Mais pour le présent nous ne mettons en auant que six Décades comme prégustation de tout le vaisseau. Desquelles la première est seulement des animaux raisonnables. Homme, Femme, et Enfans, et l'Androgine, et de Dieu premièrement. Lequel (comme hont escrit Pythagoras et Platon) est dict Animal animant qui anime, c'est à dire, donne âme et vie à tous les aultres animaux comme première et universelle âme du monde total. A la louenge duquel, en actions de graces par l'homme pour

<sup>11</sup> *Un précurseur de la Pléiade, Maurice Scève*, in *Etudes crit. sur l'hist. de la Litt. franç.*, 1899, vol. 6, pp. 79-95. Aneau adopted the *dixain* as the form of his verses, without doubt in imitation of Scève's *Délie*.

l'avoir préféré et constitué Seigneur sur tous les animaulx, nous auons faict troys dixains du huyctiesme Pseaulme de David, conforme à cest argument. Puis un de l'Aenigme de Sphinx à Oedipe, et un translaté du premier liure de la Métamorphose d'Ouide sur la droicte stature et eleuée face de l'homme, pour remplir la première Décade sans sortir hors de la Nature raisonnable. Les aultres Décades contiennent les Bestes brutes, commenceans aux plus grandes et fieres, chescune en son ordre et en droict de qualité. Car la seconde Décade est des Bestes fieres et cruelles, la tierce des sauuages non cruelles, la quarte des venaticques ou de chasse, la quinte des domestiques et priuées, la sixiesme des serpentines et viuantes és eaux. Lesquelles Décades, si nous voyons qu'elles soyent agréables et bien receues, nous faisons foy par la présente epistre qu'elles multiplieront et croistront de Décades en Centuries, de Centuries en Chiliades, de Chiliades par auenture en Myriades, Dieu aydant, qui nous doint grace de bien commencer, mieulx pour-suyure, et tresbien acheuer.

The dedicatory letter which follows is addressed to "noble, illustre et vertueux seigneur Claude de Damas, baron de Digoine, seigneur de Clecy, Chalard et Mareul" (fo. Aiiij, ro.). Being a follower of Marot, Aneau understood the art of turning a compliment; and this brief letter ranks among the most graceful that came from his clever pen. As an example of the flattering dedications put in vogue by Mellin de Saint-Gelais, it deserves to be quoted in full:

Pour estre de trop basse fortune, je n'ay peu par aultre meilleur présent ou plus riche don vous tester, mon Seigneur, une certaine bonne affection, amour, reuerence, et admiration que j'ay conceue premièrement, pour une seule fois auoir esté en la présence de vostre noble Seigneurie, et auoir congneu en vous par le certain sens de la veue et intelligence de la vifue voix parlant de l'abondance du coeur, ce que premièrement j'auois ouy, par le tesmoignage de bons et veritables personages. Donc pour satisfaire à mon désir de vous gratifier en quelque chose, je vous enuoye et présente du fruit de mon labeur et de l'ouurage de mon art. Car pource que les nobles Seigneurs gentils hommes françois, pour libéral passe-temps et exercice honeste, se délectent à chasser et prendre les bestes sauuages, et à eux aussi appartient: pour ce je présente icy à vostre Seigneurie maintes pièces de venaison et plusieurs bestes rouses et noires, lesquelles je n'ay prinses mais apprinses, et jà rendues si priuées que point ne s'ensfuiront deuant votre face, ains se tiendront tres heureuses d'estre courues, discourues et



prinses par vous; et au contraire, malheureuses de n'estre veues et par vous descouvertes. Il y en ha aussi maintes priuées et domestiques que bien vous recognoistrez, car vous y trouverez vostre chien, vostre cheual, vostre oyseau gentil. Je diray d'auantage, vous y trouverez vostre famille, vous mesme, et finalement vostre Dieu, et le mien et le Dieu de tous. Parquoy, mon Seigneur, vous plaise le recepuoir, combien que ce soit peu ou rien de celuy qui dedans et dehors n'ha sinon peu, ou rien, à Dieu.

In imitation no doubt of the Emblems of Alciat, which we shall discuss later, the volume contains wood-cuts to the number of 58, all very finely engraved. Each wood-cut is accompanied by a dixain, rhyming ababbccddc, in which the poet points out some characteristic of the animal in question and concludes by drawing a moral from it. The author of the engravings is unknown. The custom of introducing cuts of this kind was probably put in vogue by Salomon Bernard, or Le Petit Bernard, as perhaps he is better known. His executions were of very high quality, and many of the volumes he illustrated are justly celebrated. In order to compete with the presses to which Bernard was attached, other printers sought the services of less skilful artists whose work is often but a poor imitation of that of the master. Pierre Vacé, who worked for Guillaume Rouillé and of whom we shall speak presently, was among the most successful of his imitators. In the present volume, while most of the work is well executed, still we are forced to admit that at times the artist's conception of some of the animals is rather grotesque to say the least. In fact, the tiger, the giraffe or *camelopardalide*, and the cat would scarcely be recognized as such if the printer had not been so considerate as to place the name of the animal immediately under the engraving.

The first figure represents the emblem of God with a dixain below (fo. A2 ro.). This decade, as stated in the preface, is devoted to beings capable of reason. Then comes a *chapellet* of three dixains on "la preference et domination de l'homme sur toutes bestes à luy donnée par Dieu le Créateur." Of these, which, according to the poet, are a "translation du huyctiesme Pseaulme de David, *Domine Dominus noster*," the last is perhaps the best.

Tu has voulu à ses piedz tout submettre,  
Tous animaulx voulans, nageans, marchans,

Tu has soubmis à luy, (comme le maistre),  
 Brebis, et boeufz, toutes bestes des champs,  
 Oyseaux du ciel, poissons marins, trenchans  
 Des grandes mers le chemin desuoyable,  
 Brief, tu l'as faict image à toy semblable  
 Et par raison de tous le gouuerneur.  
 O que ton Nom en terre est admirable!  
 O Seigneur Dieu, O Dieu nostre Seigneur (f° A2 v°).

The next dixain is entitled "ainigme de l'homme, proposé par la Sphinge, monstre foeminin tressubtil, à Oedipe, souuerain Deuineur et Interprete." The verses are arranged in the form of a dialogue, or *dialogisme*, between the Sphinx and Oedipus. The Sphinx asks,

Quel animant est ce qui va (Oedipe)  
 A quatre piedz, deux et trois cheminant?  
 Oedipe.  
 C'est l'homme (O Sphinx) lequel enfant se grippe  
 De piedz et mains par terre se trainnant.  
 Puis sur deux piedz, homme droit se tenant  
 En fin vieillard courbé le baston porte.  
 Sphinge.  
 Resolu has ma question tant forte  
 Tes piedz persez te font prudence auoir  
 Par toy vaincue est ignorance, et morte,  
 Cognoistre l'homme est souuerain Sauoir (f° A4 r°).

Underneath the figure of a nude man on his knees praying in the midst of a group of animals (A4 v°), we find the curious "decade sur la droicte et eslevée stature de l'homme, vers du premier liure de la Métamorphose d'Ouide translatez." Aneau was ambitious to continue the translation of the *Metamorphoses* begun by his friend and master Clément Marot. This desire was realized, as we shall see, a few years later. The selection given here leads us to suspect that he had already begun it at this time. Preceded by the words *face d'homme porte vertu*, we have the dixain, conceived as follows:

L'Animal saint de hault entendement  
 Failloit encor: pour dominer le reste.  
 L'hors l'homme vint, ou bien diuinement

Ou de la terre encore non moleste,  
 Mais retenant de nature celeste,  
 Faict au patron des tout moderans Dieux,  
 Car toute beste ha la teste et les yeux  
 Vers terre enclins. Mais l'homme ha droit visage  
 Hault esleué, pour regarder les cieulx,  
 Et contempler des estoilles l'ouurage.

The next dixain treats of woman, companion of man, and concludes in the following manner:

L'homme est barbu: la femme ha longz cheueulx.  
 Brief ce n'est qu'un viuans en paix ensemble,  
 Mais quand par mal se battent: ilz sont deux  
 (f° A5 r° and v°).

Concerning the *Androgyne* (B r°), we are told,

Car de forger Nature point ne cesse  
 Contre la Mort (comme dict Iean de Meun),  
 Tant que souuent en forge deux en un  
 Masle et femelle . . .

As for the little children, the gentle-hearted poet speaks of them in the most affectionate terms. He loved children, as his success as rector of the Collège de la Trinité indicates. And it might be added that their devotion to him was equally great. "Petis enfans," he says,

Petis enfans ne sont hommes ne femmes,  
 Car d'homme ou femme, ilz n'ont raison ne sens.  
 Affections d'esprit, de chair les flammes  
 Ne sentent point, mais sont tous innocens.  
 Pour nulz comptez tant presens comme absens.

This dixain brings to a close the first decade. The next decade, which treats of the "bestes brutes, fieres et cruelles" (B2 r°), opens with the lion. Of him we are told that

Sa grand vertu est es yeulx et la teste.  
 Lesquelz couuers, il perd force et fierté.  
 Par sa queue est flagellant irrité.

The *gryphon* which forms the subject of the next dixain (f<sup>o</sup>. B2 v<sup>o</sup>.) is described in the most singular and interesting manner. According to the poet,

Le Gryphon est double et meslée beste  
 De deux en terre, et l'air tres excellens  
 De l'aigle il tient poitrine, col et teste,  
 Piedz agryphans, aelles en l'air vollans.  
 Derriere il ha pied de Lyon allans  
 Dessus la terre, et le corps à poil roux.  
 La queue aussi flagellante à courroux,  
 Homme et cheval il emporte pour proye,  
 Et l'or amasse aux monts d'Inde en grands trous.  
 Gryphon auare, or serre, et n'en ha ioye.

In the following dixains, the poet tells us that "le léopard est un bastard lyon," (f<sup>o</sup> B3 r<sup>o</sup>) while the lynx sees clearer "qu'oncque ne veit Argus (f<sup>o</sup> B3 v<sup>o</sup>)." After the verses on the panther and the tiger (ff. B4 r<sup>o</sup> and v<sup>o</sup>), we have the *Rinocerot ou Cornas* (f<sup>o</sup> B5), concerning which we are informed that

Le masle seul es plains champs du bois sault.  
 Peu voit on hors la pudicque famille.

Concerning the unicorn (B5 v<sup>o</sup>) we learn that though he may be *mortelle en coup*, he is also *contraire au venin*. The bear teaches a good moral lesson, for, like human beings,

En marmonnant quand il voit le iour naistre.  
 Murmurateurs sont du bien mal contens (B6 r<sup>o</sup>).

The wolf is a very strange animal, for "baillant il vit un temps d'air et de terre" (B6 v<sup>o</sup>).

The "decade tierce des bestes sauages non cruelles" (B7 r<sup>o</sup>) opens with the elephant, which is described as follows:

La plus grand beste au monde est l'Elephant,  
 Tant en grand sens, comme en grand' corpulence.  
 D'esprit il est docil comme un enfant,  
 Plein de pitié et de benevolence,  
 De corps à droict, et fort par excellence,

Fier en la guerre, et en paix très humain.  
 Au nez il ha une trompe pour main,  
 Et deux grands dens d'ont vient le blanc yvoire.  
 Soleil levant adore en souuerain.  
 S'il eust la forme, homme on le pourroit croire.

Because the buffalo has "une boucle au naseau," the poet takes advantage of the opportunity to draw the lesson that

Grand beste il est que par le nez on maine (B7 v°).

After the camel, the monkey is the next animal to receive the attention of the poet (B8 v°). Concerning him, we have the strange remark, drawn most probably from some mediaeval bestiary, that

Ses petitz ayme, et embrassant leurs flans,  
 Les serre et tue, en leur pensant bien faire.  
 Trop grand amour faict perdre les enfans.

After *le porc-épic et la fouyne* (C r° and v°), we have *la martre*, of which it is said (C2 r°),

Les Polonais du pays Sarmaticque,  
 En North et mer très froid et reumaticque,  
 En sont fourrez; et tiennent leur corps chault.

When the squirrel (*escurieu*) is "enclos en cage ronde,"

Tourner la faict, pensant loing estre allant.

The moral of this is that

Un seul esprit faict mouoir tout le monde.

With the rat and the mole (*taulpe*), this decade comes to a close (C3 r° and v°).

The next decade (*decade quarte*) treats of the "bestes venaticques ou de chasse" (C4 r°). The first among these to be mentioned is of course the dog.

Prompt animal pour chasser est le chien,  
 Et compaignon très fidèle à son maistre;

Car entre tous il odore le sien,  
 Et les amys de luy sait bien congnoistre,  
 Tant pouure soit, à aultre ne veut estre.  
 Mais vers luy vient à son seul reclamer,  
 Par un tel nom qu'il l'ha voulu nommer ;  
 Et ne le fuit pour coups, ne pour bature.  
 Doncq pour prompt estre à servir et aymer,  
 L'amy fidelle ha du chien la nature.

After the hare, which is treated next (C4 v°), the sympathetic *cerf* calls forth the following verses :

Doux et amy de l'homme. Et pour ce à l'heure  
 Qu'il se voit prins par l'homme, larmes pleure (C5 r°).

• *Le sanglier, le daim, le conil, le taïxon* and *le herisson* follow in the order named (C6 r° to C8 r°). And finally the "girapha dict camelopardalide, car meslé est de panthère et chameau," and the fox close this decade.

The "decade quinte" includes the "animaux privez et domestiques," such as the ox (D r°), the cow and the calf (D v°), the pig—of which the poet says justly "digne est de mort, qui vif ne sert de rien"—and the sheep (D2 v°). The goat furnishes an exceptional opportunity for alliteration—one of the important rhyming tricks of the dead rhetorical school :

Plus put putier, tant que putains plus haute,  
 Car Venus put en son acte et après (D3 r°).

*La chieure, le cheual, l'asne, le mulet ou mulle*—concerning the last the poet remarks "bastard bien tard, ou peu, faict chose bonne"—and *le chat* are the remaining animals discussed in this decade.

The "decade sixiesme" comprises the "bestes rampantes, serpentes ou viuantes és eaues et en terre, dictes en Grec Amphibios." The most important of all of these is indeed the *salamandre* which figured so prominently as the badge of the late king Francis I.

La salamandre est de venin remplie ;  
 Lequel corrompt tout cela qu'il attainct,  
 Iamais ne vient que pour grand temps de pluye.

Semble un lezard petit ; son corps est tainct  
 De pointz divers, et feu ardent estainct.  
 Viuante au feu la Salamandre marque  
 Charité viue. Et pourtant en sa marque,  
 Iadis la print pour diuise le feu  
 Grand roy François, de France le Monarque.  
 D'amour des siens bon Prince porte feu (D6 r°).

After the crocodile comes "le stinc, en Grec plus proprement dict Scinc," and the lizard. From the latter, Aneau draws the moral "simple innocence à tous est amyable" (D7 v°). The description of the stellion and its strange habits deserves to be quoted:

Le Stellion est ainsi appellé,  
 Pource qu'il ha sur le dos sept estoilles.  
 Le stellion est lezard estellé  
 De marques d'or reluysantes et telles  
 Comme du ciel les Pleiades sont elles.  
 Mais envieux tant est cest animal,  
 Que de sa peau (qui guérit du haut mal),  
 Il la dévore, alors qu'il mue et change,  
 L'homme frustrant du bien medicinal.  
 Tout envieux se consume et se mange.

In the next dixain, Aneau treats of the *bieure ou castor*. Of this he says,

Bieure Pontic Castor est appellé  
 Son corps en terre, en l'eau sa queue il cache.  
 Pelu deuant, derriere est escaillé (D8 v°).

The curious engraving on the next page (E r°) represents the *chien de mer*, we are told. In the dixain underneath it is stated that

Le chien marin au terrestre assez semble.  
 D'aspre et dur cuyr, chassant et deuorant,  
 Contre procheurs avec les siens s'assemble.

*Le crapault, la grenouille*—which, he says, cries "Bra Ke Kex Coax" at night (imitating, of course, Aristophanes' "Frogs")—

and *la tortue* bring the volume to a close. The table of contents fills the last two pages (E3 r<sup>o</sup> and v<sup>o</sup>).<sup>12</sup>

The habits attributed to the various animals discussed in this volume can be found in the bestiaries of the Middle Ages, of which, as we have already stated, this is merely a survival. No better man than Aneau could have been selected for this task, for his talent for this kind of work was pronounced. Accustomed to moralize to his young pupils—a method of instruction in common practice at that time—he was well fitted for such an undertaking. Teaching was the primary vocation of Aneau, and when he was able to do it, whether in prose or verse, he felt at home. That he was most successful in this particular genre of literature is obvious from the popularity of this work as well as of his three books of Emblems, one of which,—a translation of the celebrated volume of the Italian jurist Alciati—next demands our attention.

## XII

Though the privilege for publication of Aneau's translation of the Emblems of Alciati was granted to the printers Rouillé and Bonhomme on the 9th of August 1548, it was probably not before the beginning of the next year that the work appeared. It is possible that Aneau was even engaged upon it before he undertook to prepare the *Décades*; but in publication it probably followed—though very shortly—the latter work.

To write a history, even though brief, of the famous collection of Alciati would require much more space than could possibly be allotted to it in this study.<sup>13</sup> Let it suffice to say that the work

<sup>12</sup> The arrangement of the table is quite ingenious, for each item is accompanied by two sets of numbers, the first referring to the *Décades* and the second to the *dixains*. As stated above, there is bound in the same volume the *Second Liure de la Description des Animaux, contenant le Blas des Oyseaux/ Composé par Guillaume Gueroult./ A Lyon,/ Par Balthazar Arnoullet./ M. D. XXXXX*.

<sup>13</sup> For a bibliographical account of the work of Alciati through its long series of editions, see Green, *Alciati and his Books of Emblems*, London, 1872. Cf. also Sears, *Collection of the Emblem Books of Andrea Alciati in the Library of George Edward Sears*, New York, 1888. Other works of interest on this subject are *Andreae Alciati Emblemata tum fontes quatuor, namely an account of the original collection made at Milan, 1522, etc.*, by Henry Green. . . . *With a sketch of Alciati's Life*, London, 1870. Also by the same author, *Andreae Alciati*



was extremely successful in France, as well as in the country of its inception. The original collection was published at Milan in 1522. Valuing little his first effort, the author attempted to suppress it. In this, however, he was unsuccessful; and his little work enjoyed an immense vogue during the entire 16th century and gave birth to a new form of literature. A second edition was published at Augsburg in 1531, which became *de facto* the original edition, for it served as the basis for all other editions and translations.<sup>14</sup> In his description of the *Hecatographie* of Corrozet—a work composed in imitation of the emblems of Alciati—M. Emile Picot explained the important services rendered by these collections.<sup>15</sup> Not only were the verses of Alciati translated into different languages, but the figures engraved at Augsburg were also copied or imitated by a number of artists. Three years after the appearance of the Augsburg edition (1534), the Parisian printer Christian Wechel issued an edition—the first to be published in France—under the title *Andreae Alciati Emblematum libellus*.<sup>16</sup> After the publication of the Latin text, Wechel had Jean Le Fèvre begin the translation of this already famous work into French.<sup>17</sup> In 1536, this edition, which proved to be the first published in French, appeared under the title, *Livret des Emblemes de Maistre André Alciat, mis en rime françoise et présenté à Monseigneur Ladmiral de France*.<sup>18</sup> Eleven years later, Jean de Tournes published the first Latin edition

*Emblemata tum flumen abundans, or Alciati's Emblems in their full stream.* . . . London, 1871. Both of these volumes contain photo-lithographic reprints of the Holbein Society.

<sup>14</sup> *Viri clarissimi D. Andrea Alciati Iurisconsultiss. Mediol. ad D. Chonradum Peutingerū Augustanum Iurisconsultum Emblematum liber M. D. XXXI.* At the end: *Excusum Augustae Vindelicorum, per Heynricum Steyrnerum die 28. Februarii, Anno 1531.* 8vo of 43 ff. Cf. Picot, *Catalogue de la Bibl. Rothschild*, II, no. 1869, pp. 353-4. This edition contained 102 emblems of which the first 98 were accompanied by wood-cuts. Cf. also Panzer, VII, 402.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, no. 640.

<sup>16</sup> *Parisiis, excudebat C. Wechelus*, 1534. 8vo, with figures. *Bibl. nat.*, Réserve Z2511.

<sup>17</sup> The fact that it was begun immediately after the publication of the Latin text probably explains why the preface of Wechel is dated 1534.

<sup>18</sup> *Paris: en la maison de Chrestien W. 1536. echel* (sic). 8vo, gothic char., figures, *Bibl. nat.*, three copies, Rés. Z2521, 2522 and pZ164. *Cat. of the Hoe Library*, New York, 1911, no. 44. This edition contains 113 wood-cuts from the Latin edition printed by Wechel and ascribed to Jollat.

of the Emblems to appear at Lyons. It contained 113 wood-cuts—the same number that appeared in the editions of Wechel—which were the work of Le Petit Bernard, the well-known Lyonnese artist, of whom we have already had occasion to speak several times. The fine engravings of this artist, who flourished at Lyons from 1540 to about 1570, have enhanced the value of all the works they illustrate. In 1548, the same printer, Jean de Tournes, brought out an edition of Le Fèvre's translation—also the first to appear at Lyons—with the wood-cut devices of Bernard.<sup>19</sup> These editions established the vogue; and the next year with the publication of Aneau's translation began the longest and most important series ever printed both as regards the designs and engraving of the wood-cuts,—usually with very elaborate borders on every page—as well as the variety of translations and the completeness and fullness of the Emblems. These were the editions issued from the presses of Guillaume Rouillé and Macé (or Mathias) Bonhomme at Lyons. Though it has been asserted that these publishers brought out an edition as early as 1540, there is every evidence to believe that the real date 1549 had been tampered with by cutting off the lower part of the 9. The earliest copy known from the presses of these printers is the one published probably in the early part of the year 1548.<sup>20</sup>

However that may be, from 1549 until 1616, the houses of Rouillé and Bonhomme brought forth editions in the Latin, French, Spanish and Italian texts, being the first editions in France of the two last versions. In these editions, a higher style of art is usually apparent than in the previous ones. The wood-cuts, of entirely new design, are larger; and, though pronounced by many authorities to be by Bernard,<sup>21</sup> they are, as shown by M. Baudrier, the work of Pierre Vase or Cruche, son of Jacob Eskreich, a German who had settled in Lyons. Pierre Vase was attached to the press of Rouillé;

<sup>19</sup> *Les Emblemes de M. Andre Alciat, Traduits en ryme François par Jean le Fevre. A Lyon, Par Jean de Tournes. M. D. XLVIII.* 16mo of 127 pp., with 110 emblems. Picot, *Cat. de la Bibl. Rothschild*, p. 354, no. 1870.

<sup>20</sup> According to M. Baudrier (*Bibl. lyonn.*, IX, 1912, p. 46 et seq.), the Emblems were first brought out by Rouillé and Bonhomme in 1548 with the Latin text, but without any borders on the pages. During the same year, they published a second Latin edition with engraved borders signed by the artist. Cf. also Baudrier, X, 1913, pp. 189, 215.

<sup>21</sup> Sears, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

and, in his first manner, imitated the work of Bernard so successfully that it is now difficult to detect the original from the imitation. "Dès 1548," says M. Baudrier, "Pierre Vase était en mesure de fournir à Rouillé les deux premières suites, où se révèle sa première manière, l'une destinée aux Heures de la Vierge, signée des initiales P.V., l'autre anonyme, à l'usage des Emblèmes d'Alciat, disposées l'une et l'autre, dans une série d'encadrements où les initiales P.V. apparaissent sur plus de 15 pièces différentes."<sup>22</sup>

The Emblems of Alciati were one of the greatest successes of these printers, and were reedited more than 35 times, either by the two in partnership or by Rouillé alone, or finally by the heirs of the latter who retained possession of the wood-cuts and borders. As for the French translation of Aneau, it may be said that it was one of the most popular versions, for two editions of it were issued during the same year (1549), besides others some years later (1558).<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Baudrier, *op. cit.*, IX, 1912, p. 46 et seq.

<sup>23</sup> The following are the editions of Aneau's translation of the Emblems: *Emblèmes/ d'Alciat/ de nouveau Trāslatez en/ Frāçois vers pour vers/ iouxte les Latins./ Ordonnez en lieux cōmuns, avec/ briefues expositions, et Figu-/ res nouvelles appropriées/ aux derniers Emblèmes./ A Lyon chez Guil./ Ro-ville, 1549./ Avec Privilege./* At the end of the table of contents: *Imprimez à Lyon par/ Macé Bonhomme.* 8vo. of 267 pp. and 2 ff. unnum. Title-page ornamented with a large architectural border. P. 2: privilege to print accorded to G. Rouille, *libraire*, and Macé Bonhomme, *imprimeur*, for six years, dated at Mâcon, August 9, 1548. P. 3: "A tres illustre prince Iacques Conte d'Aron en Escoce, fils de tres noble Prince Iacque Duc de Chastel le herault, Prince gouuerneur du Royaume d'Escoce Barptolemy Aneau, Salut." This dedicatory epistle is dated: "Lyon le 3 janvier 1549." Pp. 5-13: preface. P. 14: preface of Alciati addressed to Conrad Peutinger of Augsburg. P. 15: dedication of the Emblems to "tres illustre Prince Maximilian Duc de Mylan, sur le blason des armes mylannoises." P. 178: "Ce que ne prent l'Eglise, le Fisc le ravit." P. 266: l'orengier. P. 267: l'amendier. M. Baudrier adds: "Edition partagée entre Rouillé et Bonhomme, la meilleure comme tirage des vignettes et la seule dans laquelle Bonhomme se soit montré à la hauteur de Rollet et d'Ausoult, imprimeurs préférés de Rouillé." Baudrier, *Bibl. lyonn.*, IX, 1912, p. 158; X, 1913, p. 216. Picot, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 354-6, no. 1871. Green, *Alciati*, etc., London, 1872, no. 38. According to Sears (*loc. cit.*) there are only 165 wood-cuts in this edition, though there are 200 Emblems. The blocks and the borders are the same as in the Spanish edition of the same year (1549), which, however, has 35 more. Copies with clear and perfect impressions are, according to this authority, difficult to find.

*Les/ Emblèmes/ de Seigneur/ André Alciat,/ de nouveau Translatez en/ François vers pour vers, Iouxte la/ Dictiō La-/tine:/ et Ordonnez en lieux com-*

The dedicatory letter of Aneau's translation is addressed to James Earl of Arran, whose father was then regent of Scotland during the minority of Mary, Queen of Scots. It is obvious that Aneau had no personal acquaintance with this prince, for in his letter, which is dated at Lyons, January 3, 1549, he states that he was encouraged to dedicate his work to this personage through the

*muns, avec/ sommaires, inscriptiōs, schemes, et brief/ues expositions Epimy-thiques, selon l'Al-/legorie naturelle Morale, ou Historiale/ A Lyon chez Guill. Rouille/ 1549. Avec Priuilege du Roy./* At the end of the table: *Imprimez à Lyon par Macé Bonhomme.* Small 8vo. of 266 pp. and 3 ff. blank, figures. Same pagination as in the copy above. Pp. 15-246, Emblems to the number 201. Pp. 248-266, trees to the number of 14. According to Baudrier, this is the "cinquième tirage des vignettes dessinées par P. Vase." Cf. Green, *Alciati and his Books of Emblems*, London, 1872. Baudrier, *ibid.*, IX, p. 166. *Toutes les/ Emblemes/ de M. André Alciat,/ de nouveau Trāslatez en François/ vers pour vers, l'ouste la/ Diction Latine:/ et/ Ordonnez en lieux communs, avec sommaires inscriptions, Schemes, et briesues expositiōs Epimythiques,/ selon l'Allegorie naturelle, Moralle, ou Historiale./ Avec figures nouvelles appropriées aux der-/niers Emblemes enuoyées par l'Authheur, peu/ auant son decez, cy deuant non imprimées./ A Lyon,/ Chez Guillaume Rouille./ 1558/ Avec Priuilege du Roy.* On the ro. of folio 56: *Imprimez à Lyon par/ Macé Bonhomme.* 16mo. of 274 pp. and 5 leaves unnumbered, the last of which is blank. Verso of title-page, privilege to print accorded to M. Bonhomme, Aug. 8, 1556. P. 3: "A tres illustre prince Iaque conte d'Aran en Escoce, filz de . . . Iaque Duc de Chatel le herault, Prince Gouverneur du Royaume d'Escoce Barptolemy Aneau S." P. 6: preface. P. 13: "Le livre," a quatrain in French. P. 14: preface of Alciati to Peutinger. According to Baudrier, this is the third edition of the translation of Aneau, "et 19e tirage de la suite de P. Vase." *Bibl. de l'Arsenal*, B. L. 19829. Cf. Green, *Alciati and his Books of Emblems*, London, 1872, no. 63. Baudrier, IX, p. 251. The copies bearing the name of Bonhomme have slightly different titles from the above. Cf. Baudrier, X, 1913, pp. 259-260.

*Emblemes/ d'Alciat, en La-/tin et François,/ vers pour/ vers, . . . / Ordonnez en lieux communs, avec briefues/ expositions, et figures propres./ Avec la table d'iceux, mise à la fin./ A Paris,/ Chez Hierosme de Marnef, à l'enseigne/ du Pelican, mont S. Hilaire/ 1561//* 16mo of 245 pp. and 9 pp. of index. Vo. of title-page: *Bibliopola Lectori S.* P. 3: preface of Alciati in Latin, with the translation on p. 4. *Bibl. nat.*, Rés. 2530. This edition has not as many engravings as those of 1549 and 1558, but several are different.

*Emblemes/ d'Alciat en La-/tin et François/ vers pour/ vers./ Augmentez de plusieurs Emblemes en Latin/ dudict Authheur, traduits nouvelle-/ment en François./ Ordonnez par lieux communs, avec brief-/ues expositiōs, et enrichis de plusieurs/ figures non encores imprimées par cy deuant./ Avec la Table d'iceux mise à la fin./ A Paris,/ De l'Imprimerie de Hierosme de Marnef, et/ Guillaume Cauellat au mont S. Hilare/ à l'enseigne du Pelican/ 1574/* 16mo. of 332 pp. and 11 pp. index. *Bibl. nat.*, Inv. Z17421. This copy is imperfect, many pages being missing. Bound in original parchment. This edition contains more wood-cuts than that of 1561.

instance of his friend and colleague, Florent Volusen or Wilson, the well-known Scotch scholar. Wilson, like his compatriot Buchanan, passed many years in France. Aneau persuaded him to come to Lyons, where he taught for a time in the Collège de la Trinité. Even after he had left that institution, Wilson did not cease his close relations with the principal.<sup>24</sup> In this interesting letter, Aneau states in brief the reasons that prompted him to make this dedication:

Pour auoir cogneu le grand désir, ioint au plaisir, que vous, Très-Illustre Conte, auez et prenez à la langue Françoisé, quoy

\* Mr. Christie states, in his interesting biography of this personage in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (vol. LVIII, 1899, pp. 389-391), that, inasmuch as there is no contemporary or early authority for the name Wilson, he accepts the form Volusene as being the most similar to the Latin *Volusenus* which this scholar always signed to his works. David Echlin, in his edition of the *De Animi Tranquillitate* (1637), calls him Wolson or Wolsey. Péricaud, in his *Notes et Documents* (under the date 1567) calls him Volusan or Wilson. In spite of Mr. Christie's contention, Wilson is the most usual form and the one that we feel we should use. A few biographical details may be added to the account of Mr. Christie: First, besides the 1539 edition of the *Commentatio quaedam Theologica*, printed by Seb. Gryphe, another edition was published in Bâle in 1544, a copy of which is in the Bibliothèque nationale (Rés. D18948, 222 pp., 12mo.). The dedicatory letter is addressed to the Cardinal François de Tournon. In addition to the editions of the *De Tranquillitate Animi* given by Mr. C., there was one at Bâle in 1551, and another—which was the last of this curious work—published at Francfort and Leipsig in 1760 (8vo.). In 1551, Wilson delivered the Doctoral Oration of St. Thomas at Lyons, for which he received “neuf écus, attendu que ledit Florent a été très instamment prié et requis par les conseillers.” (Bleton, *Les Oraisons Doctorales de la Saint-Thomas*, Lyon, 1891, p. 14). The date of his death, 1547, given by Mr. C., is therefore incorrect. Furthermore, according to Mr. C., the place of his death was Vienne in Dauphiné. An epitaph of George Buchanan (*Epigr.*, II, 12) proves this to be also incorrect:

Hic Musis, Volusene, jaces, carissime, ripam  
Ad Rhodani, terra quam procul à patria!  
Hoc meruit virtus tua, tellus quae foret altrix  
Virtutum, ut cineres conderet illa tuos.

It is obvious, therefore, that Wilson died at Lyons, probably about 1557, as indicated by Péricaud (*ibid.*) and Watkins (*Hist. dict.*). At Lyons, Wilson taught for several years in the Collège de la Trinité, where he had probably the chair in philosophy—a fact that Mr. C. has neglected to note. Among his contemporaries, he enjoyed quite a reputation as a Latin poet. His verses were brought together in the anthology published by Oporin in Bâle (8vo., no date, but probably about 1548) under the title *Pii graves atque elegantes poetae antiquitatis*. For a brief biography of Wilson, cf. Buisson, *Sébastien Castellion*, Paris, 1891, I, pp. 35-36.

qu'elle vous soit à présent nouuelle et estrangière, tant pour estre encore en vostre première ieunesse d'eage que pour auoir esté né et nourry iusqu'à présent en vostre nayue et patrienne langue d'Escoce, bien diuerse de la langue de France, j'ay esté incité premièrement par ma propre élection, et après enhardy par l'aduis consentant de M. Florent Volusen, homme oultre la bonté des moeurs et vertus, et la cognoissance des ars et sciences, et choses bonnes et ciuiles, ayant aussi intelligence et faculté des régulières langues grecque et latine, et des vulgaires escossoise sienne, françoise, italienne et espaignolle à luy acquises par fréquentation des nations. Par le bon aduis doncq' de luy, et première volonté de moy, ie ay esté induict à la hardiesse de vous dédier et présenter ce petit livre des Emblèmes de M. Alciat, le très excellent iuriscult, aujourd'huy viuant et florissant, translatez par moy de Latin en François, vers pour vers respondant, suscriptz de tiltres, et illustrez de briefues déclarations epimythiques au dessoubz mises en prose, pour plus claire intelligence de l'obscur et subtile briefueté d'iceulx, avec images et histoires figurées conuenantes à la lettre. . . . Or Monseigneur Conte, ie vous dédie et présente par ceste épistre l'oeuure tel qu'il est translaté, annoté et exposé à non moindre labeur qu'il ha esté premièrement composé par Alciat. Vous priant le recevoir aussi agréablement qu'il est donné libéralement. Le Seigneur Dieu vous accroisse toute prospérité. De Lyon ce 3 de Ianuier 1549 (pp. 3-4).

In the preface which follows (pp. 5-13), Aneau states the aim that he has in view as well as the difficulties of his task. In order to facilitate the use of the work, he has arranged the Emblems "par lieux communs," from the highest "iusque aux terriennes et plus basses, comme de Dieu iusque aux arbres." According to Aneau, the reader will find in this little book, "comme en ung cabinet très bien garny, tout ce qu'il voudra inscripre ou peindre aux murailles de la maison, aux verrières, aux tapis, couvertures, tableaux, vaisseaulx, images, aneaulx, signetz, vestemens, tables, lictz, brief à toute pièce et ustensile et en tous lieux." In each case, he has added "une briefue interprétation epimythique, donnant à entendre le sens et usage de l'Emblème,"—in other words, he develops the moral, often by applying it indirectly to some contemporary event, such as the execution of Semblançay, of which we shall speak presently. This moral explanation is appended to the verses and is in prose. Of course, the poet must hark back to Horace to justify his translation, showing how, in accord with the precepts of the *Ars Poetica*, it was made verse for verse, "à grand labeur, intelligence et jugement,

au plus près de la diction latine, sans paraphrase extravagante ou changement de sens et de parole." Anent the subject of translation, Aneau makes some very interesting observations. "Chose de difficulté incroyable," he exclaims, "attendu que la langue latine comprend plus de sentence en moins de parole que la françoise: qu'elle n'ha point d'articles. Aussi le vers latin est communément plus long que le françoys de cinq ou six syllabes. L'auteur faict licentieuses eclipses et synalèphes, tousiours accroissantes le vers latin. Ioinct que ce sont Emblèmes, espèces de épigramme, en briefue parole concluans très ample sentence." Then he adds that if some one should ask him, "Qui te ha contrainct à telle nécessité de translater vers pour vers?," his answer would be first, "par imitation des anciens poètes qui hont ainsi faict." And among the many examples he cites in support of his method is Virgil's manner of translating Hesiod, Homer and Theocritus. In the second place, the epigrammatic nature of the Emblem does not permit a free and easy translation,—in other words, brevity is "requis en Emblèmes." But his main reason for making a verse-for-verse translation, i. e., in "dixains et non Alexandrins," is in order to show "aux calunniateurs de la langue françoise qu'elle peut en laconic abrègement aequiparer la langue latine." He was confident "de le pouuoir faire et en venir achef, comme il en appert." This is a very important fact, for it shows that Aneau had anticipated the *Deffence et Illustration*, first, in his defense of the French language, and next, in his apology for not using the Alexandrine form of verse. Péletier had already expressed his appreciation of the Alexandrine as especially adapted for heroic subjects, but it was really Ronsard who first used it to any extent, thereby setting a standard from which French verse was not to depart for two centuries.

Aneau concludes his preface by stating that if Horace's precept should be quoted in order to prove that a verse-for-verse translation was unnecessary, he would reply with the quatrain by which he justified his rendition of the *Comédie ou Dialogue matrimonial* of Erasmus.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> ROMANIC REVIEW, I, p. 404. His verses are as follows:

En translant, mot pour mot rendre, Horace  
N'oblige point, ne le deffend aussi.  
Qui le peut faire: en a il moins de grace?  
Si c'est mal faict, mal tourné suys ainsi.

After Alciati's preface, which consists of a *dixain* addressed to Conrad Peutinger of Augsburg, comes the author's dedication of the Emblems to Maximilian, Duke of Milan.<sup>26</sup> This is followed by the "armes et devise des Alciatz" (p. 19), with an explanation of the same by Aneau on the next page. On page 21, the Emblems proper begin and extend to page 267. According to M. Emile Picot,<sup>27</sup> "les emblèmes sont au nombre de 200 en tout. L'édition latine sur laquelle la traduction a été faite ne comptait que 107 figures; celle-ci en compte 164; mais plusieurs bois ont servi deux fois. La même figure se retrouve aux pp. 45 et 121, 103 et 104, 112 et 256, etc." The execution of the wood-cuts is, according to the same authority, "remarquable, bien qu'elle soit inférieure à celle des petites vignettes de Jean de Tournes." Each page is ornamented besides with a beautiful broad border which is likewise engraved on wood. Several of these borders (pp. 14, 25, 26, 29, 30, 36, 41, etc.) bear the initials of Pierre Vase, the artist. The following are the divisions of the Emblems according to the arrangement of Aneau: pp. 21-28, *Dieu ou religion*; pp. 29-72, *Vertus*, under which are included *Foy, Prudence, Justice, Force, Concorde, Espérance*, etc.; pp. 73-117, *Vices* which comprise *Desloyauté, Follie, Orgueil, Luxure, Paresse, Avarice, Gourmandie*, etc.; pp. 118-121, *Nature*; pp. 122-127, *Astrologie*; pp. 128-145, *Amour*; pp. 146-160, *Fortune*; pp. 161-173, *Honneur*; pp. 174-180, *Le Prince*; pp. 181-182, *La République*; pp. 183-186, *La Vie*; pp. 187-193, *La Mort*; pp. 194-198, *Amitié*; pp. 199-205, *Inimitié*; pp. 206-213, *Vengeance*; pp. 214-218, *Paix*; pp. 219-231, *Science*; pp. 232-235, *Ignorance*; pp. 236-248, *Mariage*; pp. 249-267, *Les Arbres*. A complete table closes the volume (f° R6 v° to R8 v°).

Having made this brief exposition of the form of the work, it now behooves us to observe more closely the substance contained therein. It may be said at the outset that Aneau's translation is usually well done. For a work which has no pretensions to literary excellence, his rendition ranks among the best that have been made. Aneau has succeeded to a marked degree in condensing in the same

<sup>26</sup> In his explanation of the etymology given by Alciat, Aneau speaks of Bourges as his native city—lines already quoted above. Cf. *ROMANIC REVIEW*, I, p. 184.

<sup>27</sup> *Cat. de la Bibl. Rothschild*, II, pp. 354-6, no. 1871.



number of verses of the French the whole idea that was contained in the Latin. Inasmuch as the translator desired to emphasize the moral side of the work, his explanations appended to each emblem contain excellent moral, as well as historical and mythological, information. At times his words are very severe. Thus to the emblem, "Non à toy l'honneur, mais à la Religion," he has added the following note: "Les presbtres, ores qu'ilz soient ignorans ou vicieux, sont neantmoins honnorez pour l'honneur du Maistre qu'ilz seruent."

One of the most interesting Emblems contained in the translation of Aneau is that referring to the trial and execution of Semblançay in 1527. This shows the especial aptitude of the translator to make use of contemporary historical occurrences to emphasize the moral drawn from the Emblems, "ce qui montre l'esprit d'Aneau," says M. Baudrier,<sup>28</sup> "fort apprécié de Bonhomme, mais tenu en petit estime par Rouillé." In this case, a slip of paper containing a revision of the moral commentary has been loosely pasted over the original, permitting a comparison of the two versions. The quatrain has, of course, remained unchanged. This example deserves to be quoted in full in order to give an idea of the method of Aneau:

La main d'un prince, avare et alongée,  
Serre l'esponge avant par luy plongée;  
Larrons elève et punit quant et quant,  
A soy le bien mal acquis confisquant.

The original text of the commentary is as follows:

Les princes commettent aulx offices des finances les plus larrons; puy, quand ilz sont pleins, les font pendre et confisquent leurs grandz biens mal acquis, qui par cela ne reviennent pas au peuple qui en ha esté spolié et desrobé.

The revised form of the commentary reads thus:

Les princes commettent aulx offices de leurs finances hommes qu'ilz pensent estre de bon esprit, gens de bien et loyaux; mais bien souvent aucuns d'iceulx, aueuglez par la trop grande splendeur de l'or qu'ilz ont en manient, se oblyent et deuiennent

<sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.*, IX, 1912, p. 158.

larrons; puy, quand ilz sont pleins comme l'esponge, on leur serre le col en les faisant pendre, et sont confisqueuz leurs biens, qui toutes-fois par cela ne reviennent pas au peuple qui en ha esté spolié.

Among the other interesting Emblems that may be quoted is the one entitled *Effort impossible* (p. 84) which runs as follows:

Ung More en vain tu laues, pour blanchir,  
Car nul ne peut nuyct en iour esclaircir.

This means, according to Aneau, that "les vices de nature ne peuvent estre ostez tant du corps que de l'esperit."

Under a wood-cut of a figure of the god Pan, is the Emblem entitled *La Vertu de Nature*:

Pan (C'est Nature) on honnore en tout lieu,  
Demy bouc homme, et homme demy Dieu.  
Dès le nombril au dessus, il est homme,  
Du coeur au chef. Car raison monte en somme.  
Bouc au dessoubz, car Nature aeternelle  
Tous animaulx faict par couple charnelle.  
Et commune est à tous brutz celle arsure,  
Or est le bouc enseigne de Luxure.  
Au chief et coeur, Prudence tient maison,  
Mais au dessoubz n'est moyen ne raison (pp. 118-119).

Aneau's commentary is very interesting: "Très bel Emblème, donnant à entendre l'homme estre de diuerses natures, selon ses diuerses parties supérieures et inférieures. C'est à sauoir, diuine et raisonnable et humaine au dessus; bestiale et diabolicque au dessoubz. Et pource l'homme estre en Nature tout que les Grecz dient Pan, et le figurent demy homme et demy bouc."

The kind-hearted school master reveals himself in the Emblem entitled *Force d'Amour* (p. 130), of which it is said,

Amour volant froissa fouldre volant,  
Son feu plus fort qu'aulture monstrier volant.

To this highly artificial distich is appended the simple commentary: "On peut plus faire par Amour que par force."

Another Emblem referring to a contemporary historical event is the one which appears under the title *Rien de Vestu* (p. 156).

Cela restoit à nos malheurs meschants,  
 Que les langoustz gastassent tous nos champs.  
 Veuz les auons en armées plus grandes,  
 Que d'Atylas ou de Xerxes les bandes.  
 Tout ha mangé, foin, mil, bled, celle peste.  
 Espoir perdu, rien que souhaict ne reste.

"L'une des dix playes d'Aegypte," says Aneau, "furent les Langoustes, consumantes tout fruyct, fleur et sémence sur terre; et telle fut en Lombardie au temps que cest Emblème fut escript, qui vola iusque en Prouence, puy se gecta en mer. Sur quoy fut cecy escript, signifiant que à toute reste perdue, à la chance ou au flux ne reste sinon le souhaict ou le désespoir."

On page 172, we have the interesting epigram of Albice to Alciat, "l'admonestant de se retraire des tumultes itâlicques et de lire en France, enuoyé auec ung présent de pommes perses, ou pesches," a counsel that Alciat was ready to follow, as we now know. The verses are rendered as follows:

De ce fruyct l'arbre par auant  
 A nostre ciel, vint de Perse au leuant.  
 En son pays nuysible, par transport  
 Est faict meilleur, de doulx fruyct faict raport.  
 Fueille à la langue, et pomme au coeur semblable,  
 Ta vie ainsi (Alciat) fay louable.  
 Hors de ton lieu seras en plus grand pris.  
 Tu es en coeur et langue bien appris.

The commentator states that "la pomme persicque, dicte pesche, est vénéneuse en Perse, en nostre pays, par transport est moins nuysible, et délectable au manger. Ainsi les hommes, mesmement les sauans, valent mieulx d'estre dépaysez, et sont en plus grande estime vers les estrangers. Car nul est prophète en son pays."

Anent the Emblem on *La République* (p. 182), we have this interesting commentary which is worth reporting:

"Car les libertins (c'est à dire les serfz affranchiz), quand ilz sortoient de seruitude et entroient en liberté, ilz prenoient le bonnet, comme encore auioirdhuy font les Maistres ès Ars à Paris, passans de scholastique discipline à maitrise, et laissans la ceinture enseigne de seruitude et subiection."

The first Emblem under *Inimitié* (p. 199) entitled *Contre les Détracteurs* is also of value because of the approaching quarrel between Aneau and Du Bellay. Though he was evidently not an admirer of the captious school-master type, it must be stated that Aneau considered Du Bellay as far from being an Alciati. To him the author of the *Deffence* was merely an egotistic youth greatly in need of some kind paternal advice. The Emblem is translated as follows:

Trainebaletz et sotez Maistres d'eschole  
Osent sur moy vomir leur chaulde chole.  
Que feray-ie? Rendray-ie la pareille?  
Prendre seroit la Cigale par l'aele.  
Car que vault-il males mousches chasser?  
Ce qu'on ne peult abolir, fault laisser.

"Cecy est escript d'affection indignée," says Aneau, "à l'occasion de quelque maistre d'eschole, qui auoit osé détracter de l'Alciat, dond<sup>29</sup> se sentant irrité, luy si grand, par si peu et vil (comme il dict), sagement se abstient de respondre. Car le iurisperit prise trop peu le grammairien ou littéraire humain."

Among the fourteen trees which close the volume, the most interesting is perhaps the laurel, which forms the subject of two different Emblems (pp. 260-261). The first, which is a distich, reads thus:

Le laurier monstre ou salut ou danger.  
Soubz le cheuet faict vrayz songes songer.

To this is appended the following commentary: "En l'art de magie, le laurier, mis au feu, donne indice de mal ou de bien auenir; et, mis soubz la teste du dormant, faict songer choses véritablement passées, présentes ou futures."

The second is also a distich, and is conceived as follows:

Laurier est deu à Charles l'Empereur:  
Telle couronne affiert au conquereur.

<sup>29</sup> In the *Quintil Horatian* (ed. Person, Paris, 1892, p. 190), Aneau criticizes Du Bellay for spelling this word with a final *t* instead of a *d*, which, he states, is required by the etymology. "Quelquefois les changeant au contraire en escrivant: *Quand* de *Quantum* par *d*. *Quant* de *quando* par *t*, et *dont* pour *d'ond* de *unde*."

Aneau explains that "les Empereurs après leurs conquestes et victoires, triumpfans portoient le laurier en main, et en teste, en branche et en coronne. Parquoy icy est assigné par manière de gratification à Charles Cinquiesme, Empereur, retournant victorieux de Thunes en la Goulete, où iadis fut Carthage."

Before closing our study of this work, it might be well to compare one or two of Aneau's translations with the original Latin, so that we may judge for ourselves as to the quality of his rendition. The Emblem *Deus sive religio*, with the sub-title *In Deo laetandum* (which Aneau has translated, *Dieu ou religion. En Dieu se faut esiouyr*) will serve well as an example :

Aspice ut egregius puerum Iouis alite pictor  
Fecerit Iliacum summa per astra uehi.  
Quisne Iouem tactum puerili credat amore?  
Dic, haec Maeonius finxerit unde senex  
Consilium, mens atque Dei cui gaudia praestant :  
Credetur is summo raptus adesse Ioui.

These verses are translated as follows :

Voyez comment l'aigle porte à grand ioye  
Dessus les cieulx, le bel enfant de Troie.  
Qui ne croiroit Iupiter estre attainct  
D'amour d'enfant? D'ond l'ha Homère fainct?  
Qui au conseil de Dieu est esiouy  
Au souuerain Iupiter est rauy.

Though these lines may sound somewhat awkward, we must not be too severe in our criticisms. Perhaps to get a still better idea of Aneau's success as a translator, we should compare his rendition with that of Jean Le Fèvre, the first to translate the work of Alciati into French, and whose translation was the only one that existed at the time that Aneau made his version. Let us take, for example, the emblem entitled *Etiam ferocissimos domari*, of which the original goes as follows :

Romanum postquam eloquium, Cicerone perempto,  
Perdiderat patria(e) pestis acerba suae,  
Inscendit currus victor vinxitque leones,

Compulit et durum colla subire jugum,  
Magnanimos cessisse suis Antonius armis  
Ambage hac cupiens significare duces.

The translation of Jean Le Fèvre, entitled *Les plus cruelz surmontez*, is thus conceived :

Après qu'Antoine eut fait mourir  
Cicero, père d'éloquence,  
En chariot voulut courir,  
Conduit par lyon d'arrogance,  
Faisant en ce pure jactance,  
Que, comme lyons le servoient,  
Mis avoit en obeïssance  
Les grans qui grosse audace avoient.

The following is Aneau's version :

Quand Marc Antoine heut Ciceron tué,  
L'honneur romain, et son pays rué  
Du tout au bas, l'hors il monta, vainqueur,  
Sur char tyré par lyons, col et cueur  
Mettant soubz joug, et monstrant par ses armes  
Avoir soubz mis les fors ducz et gens d'armes.

This concludes with the observation that "fierté n'est si hautaine que par force ne soit domptée, tant ès hommes que ès bestes."

Whatever may now be our opinion of the Emblem as a form of literature, it is true notwithstanding that this translation was one of the most successful productions of the pen of Aneau. The welcome accorded to it by the public, encouraged him some three years later—immediately after his withdrawal from the Collège de la Trinité—to compose a work of a similar kind in Latin and in French simultaneously. This was the *Picta Poesis*, whose French title was the *Imagination poétique*, both of which enjoyed considerable popularity in subsequent years.

These two works, however, belong to another period of Aneau's life. Before discussing them, we shall relate briefly the facts pertaining to his famous attack on Du Bellay, which was published

during the course of the next twelve months—an event that probably had its share of influence on his decision to withdraw from the Collège de la Trinité. After which we shall see how impossible it was for the Echevins to replace a man on whose popularity the fortunes of the institution had depended so long.

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*(To be continued)*

THE SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS IN THE *VISION DELECT-*  
*ABLE* OF ALFONSO DE LA TORRE

ALFONSO DE LA TORRE, styled by his contemporaries *el gran filósofo*, was born in the bishopric of Burgos,<sup>1</sup> studied the liberal arts and theology at the University of Salamanca, and having obtained his Bachelor's degree, entered the Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé<sup>2</sup> in 1437. The war between Aragon and Castile interrupted for a time his studies. He espoused the cause of Don Juan de Navarra, and was obliged to flee from Salamanca in order to escape the persecution of the all-powerful Alvaro de Luna. He was well known at this time as a scholar and poet at the Court of Navarre, and was asked by Don Juan de Beamonte, tutor of Prince Carlos of Viana, to compose a brief treatise on the liberal arts and the moral duties of man for the instruction of the young Prince.<sup>3</sup>

He accepted the commission with some hesitation, and probably completed his work between the years 1430 and 1440,<sup>4</sup> giving it the title *Vision Delectable*. He addresses Don Juan de Beamonte at the end of the work, expressing fear lest he be criticized for having written in the vernacular, and asking that it should not fall into the hands of a third person. His wish was not respected, however, for many years. It was published about the year 1480 and had the

<sup>1</sup> Amador de los Ríos, *Historia crítica de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1865, vol. VII, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Negotiations for the foundation of the Colegio Mayor de San Bartolomé extended from 1401 to 1417. Vicente de la Fuente, *Historia de las universidades, colegios y demás establecimientos de enseñanza en España*, Madrid, 1884, p. 251. The proverbial expression, "*Todo el mundo está lleno de Bartolómicos*," indicates the success achieved by the students of the school. See Reynier, *La Vie universitaire dans l'ancienne Espagne*, Paris, 1902, p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> For an account of this prince's unhappy life and of his literary activity, see Amador de los Ríos, *op. cit.*, vol. VII, pp. 7-38, and Desdevises du Désert, *Don Carlos d'Aragon, prince de Viane*, Paris, 1889. His most important works were a translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*, based on the Latin version of Leonardo Bruni, and the *Corónica de los reyes de Navarra*.

<sup>4</sup> This is the date given by Ticknor, *Hist. de la lit. esp.*, vol. I, p. 447, based on the assumption that it was composed during the minority of the Prince of Viana, who was born in 1421.



honors of several subsequent editions in Castilian, was translated into Catalan in 1484, into Italian by Domenico Delphini in 1556, who passed it off as an original work, and this Italian version was re-translated into Spanish by Francisco de Cáceres in 1623.<sup>5</sup> Modern criticism has not entirely concurred with the unmistakable verdict of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries concerning its value. Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly considers it chiefly valuable as an example of good style. To De Puymaigre,<sup>6</sup> "*le livre est d'une lecture ennuyeuse.*" Menéndez y Pelayo, judging it as a philosophical work, says: "Como texto de lengua científica, no tiene rival dentro del siglo XV; la grandeza sintética de la concepción infunde respeto; algunos trozos son de altísima elocuencia, y la novedad y atrevimiento de algunas de sus ideas merecen consideración atenta."<sup>7</sup> Elsewhere he speaks of it as "*sin duda la obra maestra de nuestra prosa didáctica del siglo XV.*"<sup>8</sup>

The purpose of the author was to give a brief account of the seven liberal arts, philosophy and theology, and he presented this in the form of an allegory, in order to make the work more pleasing to the young Prince of Viana. While meditating on his work, the author falls into a deep sleep. In a vision, he sees that the caves of Aeolus are open and that dense clouds cover the earth and hide the light of the sun; the whole land is burned by Vulcan's fire; the Sibyl dethroned; the laurel of Apollo is trampled upon and the waters of the Castalian spring are sold at a vile price. The monsters conquered by Hercules rage furiously over the world; the dwellings of the philosophers have become the abode of poisonous snakes. Suddenly he feels himself carried to the foot of a mountain, the top of which touches the sky. A maiden, Gramática, comes to meet him, and he sees a child, Entendimiento, who sought her protection. She welcomes the child, nurses him and relates to him the rules of Grammar and other matters connected with her art. Entendimiento then takes leave of her, and while ascending the

<sup>5</sup> Salvá, *Catálogo*, vol. II, pp. 306-308. I have used the edition of the *Vision Delectable* published in vol. XXXVI of the *Biblioteca de autores españoles*.

<sup>6</sup> *La Cour littéraire de Don Juan II*, Paris, 1872, vol. I, p. 88.

<sup>7</sup> *Orígenes de la novela*, Madrid, 1905, vol. I, p. cxxiv.

<sup>8</sup> *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, Madrid, 1891, Tomo I, vol. II, p. 265.

mountain, visits her sisters, Lógica, Rhetórica, Aritmética, Geometría, Música and Astrología, and learns from them their secrets. With Astrología dwell Verdad, Razón, Naturaleza and Sabiduría. After stripping himself of "*las vestiduras sórdidas, deformes é antiguas de opiniones vanas,*" he is received by Verdad, and led to the palace of Sabiduría. He is instructed in difficult questions of natural philosophy, according to the medieval conception, and then passes under the escort of Razón to her palace, which is guarded by the Cardinal Virtues. There he is instructed in abstruse questions of scholastic philosophy and theology, and is catechised by Prudencia, Justicia, Fortaleza and Templanza on politics and the responsibilities of a ruler.

I shall limit myself here to a study of the sources of the first six chapters, which contain the discussion of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* of the medieval curriculum.<sup>9</sup> Such a study, it is believed, will give a fairly accurate picture of the decadence of learning in Spain before the time of Nebrija. Hitherto, as far as I know, no attempt has been made to determine the sources of this treatise. Menéndez y Pelayo<sup>10</sup> cites Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* and the *De Consolatione* of Boethius as the models of Alfonso de la Torre and Farinelli<sup>11</sup> mentions Boethius and the *De Diversitate fortunae* of Arrigo da Settimello as the sources of the *Vision Delectable*. As a matter of fact, the only relation between them is the fact that they all belong to the allegorical literature of the Middle Ages. Amador de los Ríos is nearer the truth in pointing out four passages in the *Vision Delectable* for which the author is indebted to Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*.

In adopting an allegorical representation of the Arts and Virtues, Alfonso de la Torre merely obeyed a time honored tradition. The *Psychomachia* of Prudentius represents allegorically the triumph of the Virtues over the Vices. One of the most widely

<sup>9</sup> For an excellent study on the origin of the term "Seven Liberal Arts," see H. Parker in *English Historical Review*, vol. V, pp. 417-61. For a good account of the *trivium* and *quadrivium* in medieval universities, see *The Seven Liberal Arts, A Study in Medieval Culture*, by Paul Abelson, Columbia University thesis, New York, 1906.

<sup>10</sup> *Orígenes de la novela*, vol. I, p. cxxiii.

<sup>11</sup> *Dante in Ispagna*, publ. in Supl. 8 to *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 1905, p. 74.

used text-books of the Middle Ages was the *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* of Martianus Capella, who wrote in the first part of the fourth century.<sup>12</sup> Here he represented the Seven Liberal Arts under the veil of allegory, and by his authority established the canon which was destined to survive in tradition. The greatest Latin poet of the Middle Ages and "Doctor Universalis" of his day, Alanus de Insulis, or Alain de Lille (d. 1202) used the same poetic fiction in his *Anticlaudianus*,<sup>13</sup> divided into nine books like the *De Nuptiis*. Allegories of the Arts are found in two French poems of the thirteenth century, *Le mariage des Sept Arts et des Sept Vertus* of Jean le Teinturier, and the famous *Bataille des Sept Arts* of Henri d'Andeli.

The influence of Capella is also found in the representations of the Seven Liberal Arts in frescoes, plastic arts and tapestry.<sup>14</sup> The traditional treatment is found in three of the greatest monuments of the new art in sculpture, the pulpit executed by Nicola Pisano for the Cathedral of Siena, the fountain of Perugia and the pulpit of Giovanni Pisano, formerly in the Cathedral of Pisa, and also in the bas-reliefs of the Campanile of Santa Maria del Fiore at Florence, the work of Giotto, Andrea Pisano and Luca della Robbia. The most noteworthy examples of the representation of the Arts in painting are found in the fresco of the Spanish Chapel

<sup>12</sup> H. Parker has established beyond doubt that this book was composed before 330. *Ibid.*, pp. 444-46. A full account of the *De Nuptiis* is found in the same article.

<sup>13</sup> An excellent account of the *Anticlaudianus* is given by Henry Osborn Taylor in his work, *The Mediaeval Mind*, London, 1911, vol. II, pp. 94-103. He is mentioned among the great poets by the Marqués de Santillana in his *Defension de don Enrique de Villena*. C. R. Post mentions in a note the popularity of Alanus in Spain, *ROMANIC REVIEW*, vol. III, p. 226. For a study of the relation of the philosophy of Alanus de Insulis to the culture of the twelfth century, see M. Baumgartner, *Die Philosophie des Alanus de Insulis*, publ. in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, Münster, 1896.

<sup>14</sup> On the medieval representations of the virtues and vices, and arts and sciences, see bibliography in Henry Osborn Taylor's *The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*, New York, 1903, p. 387, and J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, Cambridge, 1906, vol. I, p. 670-73; S. Günther, *Geschichte des mathematischen Unterrichts im deutschen Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1887, pp. 25-29. I am especially indebted to the interesting article of Paolo D'Ancona, *Le Rappresentazioni allegoriche delle arti liberali nel Medio Evo e nel Rinascimento in Arte*, vol. V, 1902.

in the cloister of Santa Maria Novella of Florence and in Pinturicchio's frescoes in the Borgia Appartment at the Vatican.

It may be seen that there was no originality in Alfonso de la Torre's allegorical conception of the Seven Liberal Arts. It must also be remembered that allegory was the most popular form of literature among the poets of the Court of John II of Castile, and that it is quite likely that he knew the works of the Marqués de Santillana and Juan de Mena. He gives no evidence of imitation of Dante but may have been influenced by some of the writers who attempted to introduce the Divine Comedy into Spain.

I have not been able to determine the source of the introduction. It may probably be ascribed to the prevailing love for allegory of the time. The classical allusions, however, imply no first hand acquaintance with Greek or Latin authors, as was claimed by Amador de los Ríos. Material of this kind was common enough throughout the Middle Ages. For the facts stated in the first chapter, he is indebted almost exclusively to the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville,<sup>15</sup> and borrows the allegorical figure of Grammar from the *Anticlaudianus*.<sup>16</sup>

After witnessing the threatened destruction of the world, he finds himself at the foot of a mountain of exceeding great height, and meets a maiden, holding in her right hand the device: *Vox literata et articulata debito modo pronunciata*, and in her left hand a ferule with scourges.<sup>17</sup> Although a virgin, an abundance of milk issues from her breasts.<sup>18</sup> A pretty child, Entendimiento, comes

<sup>15</sup> On the literary activity of Isidore of Seville, see Henry Osborn Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind*, vol. I, pp. 104-109; Ernest Brehaut, *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages, Isidore of Seville*, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law of Columbia University, vol. XLVII, New York, 1912; Menéndez y Pelayo, *Estudios de crítica literaria*, First Series, Madrid, 1893, pp. 139-61. I have used the edition of Isidore in Migne's *Patrologiae*, vol. 82.

<sup>16</sup> I have used the edition of the *Anticlaudianus* published by Thomas Wright in *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century*, London, 1872, vol. II. References are to this edition.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the picture of Grammatica in the *Anticlaudianus*, p. 305:

Asperat illa manum scutica, qua punit abusus  
Quos de more suo puerilis combibit aetas.

<sup>18</sup> *Anticlaudianus*, *ibid.*:

Sunt tamen in multo lactis torrente natantes  
Mammae, subducti mentitae damna pudoris.

wearily to the mountain, fleeing the world and seeking the protection of the maiden. She nurses him, and after a long rest, "*la doncella limó muy sotilmente et alimpió los dientes del niño, et comenzóle á mostrar de hablar.*"<sup>19</sup> Realizing his desire to learn, she teaches him how God had created man perfect and capable of understanding, but that he had forgotten the purpose for which he had been created after the temptation and fall in Paradise. She tells him that by understanding men are distinguished from animals; that understanding is impossible without instruction; that instruction is impossible without speech, and that knowledge can not be transmitted without writing, "*por tanto el artificio ha fallado la manera del escribir, por la cual ve hombre la intencion de los pasados et ausentes así como si fuesen presentes.*"<sup>20</sup>

The maiden then tells him of those who have built the dwelling of Grammar:

El comienzo et fundamento destos edificios, ya ves cómo son letras, las cuales Abrahan halló primero; es á saber, las caldeas; é Moisen halló primero las hebráicas, aunque ante destos ya habia uso de letras en Fenicia, y despues un hijo de Agenor trujo el uso primero de aquellas á Grecia; et la reina Isis, hija de Ignacio, dió uso de letras á los egipcianos; Nicostrata Carmentes, musa, halló las letras latinas.<sup>21</sup>

After that, the use of letters became general throughout the world, except among barbarous peoples; "*y los inventores et fabricadores deste artificio han sido: el Donato, el Serbio, el Prisciano, el Roberto, el Huguicio.*"<sup>22</sup> The maiden continues:

<sup>19</sup> *Anticlaudianus*, *ibid.*, pp. 305-306:

Officio scalpri servit manus altera, dentes  
Liberat a scabie, . . . . .  
Infantes docet illa loqui, linguasque ligatas  
Solvit, et in propriam deducit verba monetam.

<sup>20</sup> *Etym.*, Lib. I, cap. iii, 2.

<sup>21</sup> Translated literally from *Etym.*, Lib. I, cap. iii, 5, and iv, 1.

<sup>22</sup> The popularity of the grammatical works of Donatus and Priscianus during the Middle Ages is too well known to require further comment. Serbio is probably Maurus (or Marius) Servius, of the latter half of the fourth century, whose commentary on Virgil is a vast treasure house of traditional lore. Roberto is probably Robert Kilwardby, Archbishop of Canterbury (1272-79), famous as a commentator on Priscianus. "In the thirteenth century Priscian was compelled to share the place of honor with his commentators Helias and Kilwardby, while

El mi oficio es tratar de la disciplina et artificio de las letras latinas et de la parte de la oracion, de las sílabas, de los pies, de los acentos, de la ortografía, de la etimología, del diasintáxis, del barbarismo y del solecismo, et de los otros vicios; del metaplasmo, del tema, de la fábula, de la prosa, de la historia.<sup>23</sup>

Still following Isidore's *Etymologies*, Lib. IX, cap. i, 1 and cap. ii, 2, the maiden explains the diversity of languages by an account of the Tower of Babel. Entendimiento asks whether Adam talked in Paradise, and whether God taught him to speak. Grammar replies that it is not for her to divulge the secrets of God.

Basta que la Sacra Escripura tiene que Dios fabló cuando dijo: "Fiat lux," et otras cosas semejantes que en la creacion del mundo fabló. En qué lengua lo dijo, no se sabe, y por qué Adan escogiese esta lengua mas que otra.<sup>24</sup>

Grammar then mentions the phonological characteristics of the various languages:

Naturalmente vemos que los orientales todas las palabras et la voz et las lenguas comprimen en las gargantas, así como los hebreos et los caldeos, indianos, sirios et todas aquellas comarcas; y vemos que todos los mediterráneos refieren las palabras et la lengua en los paladares, así como asianos, frigianos, griegos; y todas las gentes occidentales quebrantan las palabras en los dientes, así como italianos, gallos y españoles.<sup>25</sup>

They discuss the question whether one language is more natural to mankind than another, and concerning the degree of perfection attained by the Chaldee. The maiden continues: "Cuando fuere tiempo sabrás qué cosa es Dios et del hablar con los profetas suyos. et cómo habla con ellos mediante la lumbre intelectual, la cual es

in the fourteenth he was practically superseded by the modern compilations of Villedieu and Eberhard of Bethune." Sandys, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 668. Huguicio is Hugutio, or Hugo of Pisa, Bishop of Ferrara (1191-1212), who compiled an etymological dictionary (*Liber Derivationum*) in which Greek words are quoted. His mistakes in Greek derivations were ridiculed by the Humanists.

<sup>23</sup> These are all mentioned in *Etym.*, Lib. I, cap. v, 4.

<sup>24</sup> *Etym.*, Lib. IX, cap. i, 11.

<sup>25</sup> This is a literal translation from *Etym.*, Lib. IX, cap. i, 8. Menéndez y Pelayo in his note on the *Vision Delectable* in his *Orígenes de la Novela*, vol. I, p. ccxiv, mentions this classification of languages into guttural, palatal and dental as one of the chief claims of Alfonso de la Torre to originality.

<sup>26</sup> *Etym.*, Lib. IX, cap. i, 11-12.

llamada vision."<sup>26</sup> Entendimiento asks whether certain languages are more excellent than others, and Grammar replies:

Los pasados et mas graves varones de sciencia han convenido en afirmar que tres lenguas entre todas las otras son dichas lenguas sacras; conviene á saber: la hebráica, griega et latina. Pero entre las lenguas de las gentes, la griega tiene principal excelencia, ca es mas hermosa y muy mas sonante que todas las otras, la cual es de cinco maneras: la primera se dice coyenedon, que quiere decir comun; la segunda es ática, que quiere decir de Aténas, en la cual escribieron todos los autores; la tercera dórica, la cuarta icónica (sic), la quinta elóica; y cada una destas habla su manera de gentes.

The rank which he accords to Greek is no proof of acquaintance with or love for that language, as the whole passage is translated literally from the *Etymologies*, Lib. IX, cap. i, 3-5. The maiden, still following the same source, Lib. IX, cap i, 6-7, speaks of the four periods of the Latin language: *prisca*, *latina*, *romana* and *mixta*, describes the reason for this division, and mentions, at times incorrectly,<sup>27</sup> the principal writers of each.

Grammar declares that she teaches the pronunciation of letters; their different sounds and accents; their division into vowels, mutes, consonants and liquids; how the noun is governed by the verb and other rules of agreement.<sup>28</sup> Entendimiento then sees represented by paintings the things of which he has just heard: active and passive verbs; why some verbs are called neuter, and others deponent and common; why the noun is called *proprio* and *apelativo*; why pronouns are primitive and derived, etc.

Estaba allí pintado cómo el Prisciano habia renegado la fe et habia comutado su alma por la fama; allí el Donato et Aristarco,<sup>29</sup> que casi de las cavernas et profundidades de la tierra habia sacado

<sup>26</sup> For example, Glauco is spoken of as an orator. The *Etymologies* show that the name should be Gracchus. I do not know whether this mistake occurs in the early editions or only in the very incorrect text of the *Biblioteca de autores españoles*.

<sup>27</sup> This is merely an unintelligent summary of the facts stated by Isidore in the *Etymologies*, Lib. I, cap. iv-xi.

<sup>28</sup> Aristarchus of Samothrace (c. 220-145 B. C.), a pupil of Aristophanes of Byzantium, was a famous grammarian and commentator. He is called by Sandys, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 136, "the founder of scientific scholarship."

las piedras para edificar aquella casa; allí el Ebrardo<sup>30</sup> et Alejandro de Villadey,<sup>31</sup> y el Perelias,<sup>32</sup> que cuasi de confusa habian reducido toda la casa en orden.

Entendimiento then takes leave of Grammar, and accompanied by Ingenio Natural, begins the second day's journey, no less rough, but easier than the first.

The second chapter of the *Vision Delectable* deals with Logic. As in the previous chapter, he uses the *Anticlaudianus* for the allegorical representation of Lógica, but derives nothing from the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville. His source is a portion of Al Ghazzālī's treatise on Logic contained in his *Maḳāṣid al-Falāsifa* (*The Tendencies of the Philosophers*).

Abū Hāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Al Ghazzālī (1058–1111) was born in the city of Tus in Khorassan.<sup>33</sup> The best source for a study of his life in his own *Munḳid minal-Ḍalāl* (*Deliverer from Error*),<sup>34</sup> a sort of *Apologia pro Vita sua*, in which he reviews the various sects which he has encountered in his search for

<sup>30</sup>Eberhard of Bethune's *Graecismus* (1212) was one of the most popular text-books of the later Middle Ages. Its name is derived from the chapter which it contains on Greek derivations. Text given by J. Wrobel, *Corpus Grammaticorum Medii Aevi*, vol. I.

<sup>31</sup>The *Doctrinale* of Alexandre de Villedieu, composed in 1199, was the most popular text-book on grammar in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Edited by Reichling in *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, vol. XII, Berlin, 1893. See also review of this edition by Gaston Paris in *Romania*, vol. XXIII, 1894, pp. 588–594.

<sup>32</sup>Perelias is Petrus Helias, whose *Summa* was composed about 1142. The book is a commentary on Priscianus and is among those quoted in Duns Scotus' work on grammar. These last were three of the authors against whom Nebrija declared war after he had learned the methods of scientific scholarship in Italy. He says in the preface to his *Vocabulario*: "I que ia casi del todo punto desarraigue de toda españa los dotrinales, los pedro elias, y otros nombres aun mas duros, los galteros, los ebrardos, pastranas, y otros no se que apostizos y contrahechos grammaticos no merecedores de ser nombrados. I que si cerca de los ombres de nuestra nacion alguna cosa se halla de latin, todo aquello se a de referir a mi." See El Conde de la Viñaza, *Biblioteca Histórica de la Filología castellana*, Madrid, 1893, p. 1445.

<sup>33</sup>The best life of Al Ghazzālī is by D. B. Macdonald in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. XX, Part I, 1899, pp. 71–132. See also the Baron Carra de Vaux's biography, Paris, 1902, and A. Schmölders, *Essai sur les Ecoles philosophiques chez les Arabes et notamment sur la doctrine d'Algazzali*, Paris, 1842.

<sup>34</sup>This work has been translated into English by Claud Field with the title, *Confessions of Al-Ghazzali*, London, 1909.



truth, such as scholastic theologians, philosophers and Sufis, but is forced to pronounce philosophy incompetent, and seeks in some higher faculty than reason the solution of his doubts.

His *Maḳāṣid al Falāsifa* is a compendious statement of the teachings of the philosophers in those subjects in which doubt can enter, that is, in logic, physics and theology. He simply aims to state the views of the philosophers on these questions, and then strives to refute their arguments in his *Tahāfut al Falāsifa* (*Collapse of the Philosophers*).<sup>35</sup> Finally in the *Ḳawā'id*, a system of positive proof is constructed to replace these errors. He is regarded as the most celebrated Musulman theologian of his time, "an *Imām* by whose name breasts are dilated and souls are revived, and in whose literary productions the ink-horn exults and the paper quivers for joy; and at the hearing thereof voices are hushed and heads are bowed."<sup>36</sup> According to a recent biographer, he took mysticism with its intuitionism and spiritual life into the dry body of theology, and gave the Church of Islam a fresh term of life.<sup>37</sup>

The *Maḳāṣid* of Al Ghazzālī, which closely follows the peripatetic doctrines of Al Fārābī and Ibn Sina (Avicenna), was translated into Latin about the middle of the twelfth century by Dominicus Gundisalvi, and was published at Venice in 1506 by Petrus Lichtenstein with the title *Logica et philosophia Algazelis Arabis*. The first books translated from Arabic during the Middle Ages were medical, mathematical and astronomical works. The credit for making accessible to the rest of Europe the chief philosophical works of the Arabs, as well as many Greek authors hitherto almost unknown, belongs to Raymond, Archbishop of Toledo and Grand Chancellor of Castile from 1130 to 1150. He gathered about him a college of translators, the chief of whom were Dominicus Gundisalvi, Juan of Seville, Gerard of Cremona and the Englishman Daniel Morlay.<sup>38</sup> These versions were often incorrect, but

<sup>35</sup> His *Tahāfut al Falāsifa* called forth a rejoinder from the celebrated Ibn Rushd (Averroës), who died in 1198.

<sup>36</sup> Quoted by R. A. Nicholson in his *Literary History of the Arabs*, New York, 1907, p. 339.

<sup>37</sup> Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

<sup>38</sup> For this famous school of translators, besides the histories of scholastic philosophy, see Am. Jourdain, *Recherches critiques sur l'âge et l'origine des*

their importance is so great that they may be said to have divided the scientific and philosophical history of the Middle Ages into two distinct periods. The chief works of Aristotle, Euclid, Hippocrates, Galen, Ptolemy, Avicenna, Al Ghazzālī, Al Fārābī, and others became well known in Spain and thence passed to the rest of Europe.

Alfonso de la Torre did not attempt to summarize Al Ghazzālī's treatise on Logic, which he surely knew only in Gundisalvi's translation.<sup>39</sup> He merely borrowed the comparison of the various types of propositions with gold coins of a greater or less degree of purity, which Al Ghazzālī himself had borrowed from Al Fārābī.<sup>40</sup>

After taking leave of Grammar, Entendimiento ascends the mountain for some distance, and meets her sister, Logic:

*traductions latines d'Aristote*, second ed., Paris, 1843; Menéndez y Pelayo, *De las influencias semíticas en la literatura española*, in *Estudios de crítica literaria*, Second Series, Madrid, 1895, pp. 385-86; E. Renan, *Averroès et l'Averroïsme*, Paris, 1882; Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, *Historia de la filosofía española*, Madrid, 1908, vol. I, 390 ff., and the same writer's monograph on Fernando de Córdoba, Madrid, 1911; V. Rose, *Ptolemaeus und die Schule von Toledo*, in *Hermes*, vol. VIII, 1874, pp. 327-49.

\* The fact that the technical terms employed by Alfonso de la Torre correspond exactly to those given in Gundisalvi's translation is sufficient proof that he did not translate directly from Arabic. I have not seen the rare 1506 edition of Gundisalvi's translation, but have used the very full extracts from Al Ghazzālī's work given by Dr. Carl Prantl in his *Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande*, 2d ed., vol. II, pp. 367-79. Georg Beer published the Arabic text with a German translation of the first two chapters on Logic of the *Makāsid*, Leiden, 1888. Gosche in his monograph *Ueber Ghazzalis Leben und Werke*, 1858, publ. in *Abhandl. der königl. Academie der Wissensch. zu Berlin*, gives some account of his life and works, and publishes the Arabic text with Gundisalvi's translation of the first two chapters on Logic in the *Makāsid*.

\* Prantl, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 376, 378. Albertus Magnus in his *Liber Primus Posteriorum Analyticorum*, I, 2 (*Opera omnia*, Paris, 1890, vol. II, pp. 4-7), makes use of the doctrines of Al Fārābī and Al Ghazzālī, but a comparison of the texts shows that Alfonso de la Torre translated from Gundisalvi's Latin version and not from Albertus Magnus. For an analysis of Al Fārābī's doctrines as stated by Albertus, see Prantl, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 308-25, and especially p. 319. Alfonso de la Torre follows Al Ghazzālī and differs from Al Fārābī in assigning the various forms of propositions to the four groups of *demonstratio*, *dialectica*, *sophistica* and *poetica*. In Part II, cap. xvi, of the *Vision Delectable*, he mentions both Al Ghazzālī and Al Fārābī among the famous philosophers. In his *De artificio omnis et investigandi et inveniendi natura scibilis*, Fernando de Córdoba refers to Al Fārābī's work *De Scientiis*, but says that he has found it "*tantis inuolutam difficultatibus, ut ipsa ars dilucidationis scientiarum magis dilucidationis sit egens.*" See edition of Bonilla y San Martín, *Fernando de Córdoba*, Madrid, 1911, p. vii.

la cual era una doncella que bien parecia en su disposicion de cara que habia gastado gran multitud de candelas, y esto demostraban los ojos, et la blancura et amarillez de su gesto en la faz. Las junturas de los dedos tanto eran de delgadas, que no se hallaba ahí vestigio alguno de carne; los cabellos, aunque fuesen en forma conveniente de longura et color asaz agradable, con la imaginacion que tenia, habiase olvidado de peinarlos et distinguirlos por orden; y en la mano derecha tenia un manojo de flores y un título en letras griegas, que decian así: Verum et falsum; en la siniestra tenia un muy ponzoñoso scorpion.<sup>41</sup>

Entendimiento asks the maiden to explain to him the purpose and aim of Logic, and she replies that all profit is vain in comparison with eternal blessedness and that the soul is like a mirror which may only be called blessed when cleansed of all filth.<sup>42</sup>

Cierto es que para distinguir entre torpe et honesto, vicio et virtud, bueno y malo, el hombre ha menester conocimiento. . . . Yo soy aquella, la cual sé distinguir et hacer diferencia entre verdad et mentira; pues, como ya dije, como yo sea causa del entender, y el entendimiento sea causa del obrar, y estas dos causas juntas sean causa de la bienaventuranza, manifesto es que yo seria al hombre, no solamente provechosa, mas necesaria."<sup>43</sup>

Just as a coin may be counterfeit, a syllogism may be false, and it is the function of Logic to decide between true and false syllogisms.<sup>44</sup> She then mentions the four kinds of coins:

1. Pure gold without alloy, which will stand any test.
2. Gold, but containing a little alloy, which can only be detected by experts.
3. Half gold and the remainder of some other metal, but the latter so disguised that it will deceive all except experts.
4. All copper, but so disguised that it will deceive the ignorant, and at times even the expert.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> This passage is borrowed from the description of *Dialectica* in the *Anticlaudianus*, Wright, vol. II, pp. 310-11. Cf. also the picture of *Dialectica* in Martianus Capella, *De Septem Artibus Liberalibus*, Lib. IV.

<sup>42</sup> This passage is translated from Al Ghazzālī, *Logica*, cap. 2. See Gosche, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

<sup>43</sup> This is a paraphrase of Al Ghazzālī, *Logica*, cap. 2. See Prantl, vol. II, p. 369, n. 242.

<sup>44</sup> Al Ghazzālī, *Logica*, cap. 2 and 5 (Prantl, p. 369, n. 241, and p. 377, n. 276).

<sup>45</sup> Al Ghazzālī mentions still a fifth class in which the falsity is self-evident to all. *Logica*, cap. 5 (Prantl, p. 377, n. 276).

Entendimiento asks for further explanations, and the maiden replies:

Lo que los hombres hablan et toman por medio para probar lo que dicen es en las cuatro maneras ya dichas, y aquellos medios son llamados proposiciones, et son eso mesmo igualadas á las diferencias del dinero: la primera diferencia es de aquellas las cuales llamamos primeras, experimentales, sensibles et famosas, et aquellas que tienen en pronto el medio de su prueba.<sup>46</sup>

The *primeras* are of this type: everything is greater than its part; two are more than one; two things equal to a third are equal to each other. *Experimentales* are those which we know by the understanding or senses, for example, that fire is hot and water is cold; that heat expands and cold contracts objects; that wine intoxicates when drunk to excess, and other such things. *Sensibles* are after this fashion: the sun is bright and clear; honey is sweet; gall is bitter. *Famosas* are those in which there is no doubt and which are commonly accepted, as for example, that there is a land which is called Egypt. There are other propositions, *creibles* or *opinables*, which resemble the aforesaid because they are affirmed by many, as for example, that there will be a Judgment Day and resurrection of the dead, but these propositions are of a different nature, since the proof is different. Propositions which contain proof in themselves are in this manner: every triangle has three triangles; five is the third part of fifteen, etc.<sup>47</sup>

Propositions of the second class are called *máximas*, which are evident and accepted by all people as true, and the simple doctors of the law think that there is no element of doubt in them, as for example: the innocent man should not be punished; justice is necessary; a lie is bad; etc.<sup>48</sup> The syllogism composed of such proposi-

"Al Ghazzālī, *Logica*, cap. 5 (Prantl, p. 377, n. 276), "Omnis igitur propositio, ex qua componitur argumentatio, quae propositio nondum stabilita est ratione, . . . dividitur in tredecim partes, scilicet in primas, sensibiles, experimentales, famosas, propositiones quarum medium terminum et probationem intelligere in promptu est."

"The whole passage is translated from Al Ghazzālī's *Logica*, cap. 5 (Prantl, *ibid.*, p. 377, n. 277).

"The author here combines the *propositiones manifestae* and *maximae* of his original. Cf. Al Ghazzālī, *Logica*, cap. 5 (Prantl, *ibid.*, n. 277).

tions is called dialectic, the function of which is to convince the presumptuous man and to teach the ignorant.<sup>49</sup>

Propositions of the third class, called *receptables*, are those which have the authority of wise and holy men, as for example, he who walks at night is a malefactor; he who accompanies my enemy is likewise my enemy, etc.; but these may be false as well as true.<sup>50</sup> This type of propositions is found in the dwelling of Rhetoric, and the syllogism composed of these is called *retórico* or *persuasorio*, the utility of which is to admonish men to virtuous actions and to dissuade them from wicked concupiscence.<sup>51</sup> These propositions resemble the coin, half of which is alloy.

Propositions of the fourth class are all false, but they seem true by reason of the imagination. "Esta manera de proposiciones conviene á la sofística et tentativa, cuya utilidad es conocer á aquellos que quieren ser vistos et aparentes mucho mas que existentes, et guardarnos dellos." This is the fourth kind of coin, the material of which is entirely false but well disguised.<sup>52</sup>

Entendimiento then sees painted on the walls the founders of Logic:

Allí la obscuridad et sutilidad de Aristóteles, allí los predicables de Porfirio, allí el trabajo de Boecio Severino, allí las maneras de argumentaciones, et sus modos distintos et figuras; allí las reglas de los silogismos et consecuencias, allí los lugares de argüir, allí las maneras de difinir, et otros nombres de auctores innumerables.

There is no evidence that the author had a first-hand acquaintance with any of the authors mentioned. His source of information was doubtless the book in Isidore's *Etymologies* devoted to Logic. In Lib. II, cap. xxvi, Isidore treats of the categories of Aristotle, and in cap. xxv, gives a brief summary of the *Isagoge* of Porphyry. Also in the same book he probably read of arguments (topica), the rules of categorical and hypothetical syllogisms, the fifteen kinds of definition, etc. Entendimiento then takes leave of

<sup>49</sup> Al Ghazzālī, *Logica*, cap. 6 (Prantl, *ibid.*, p. 378, n. 278).

<sup>50</sup> The author here groups together the *propositiones receptibiles, maximae in apparentia* and *putabiles*, and omits entirely the *propositiones concessae* and *simulatoriae* of Al Ghazzālī. For references to these, see Prantl, *ibid.*, p. 377, n. 277.

<sup>51</sup> Al Ghazzālī, *Logica*, cap. 5 (Prantl, *ibid.*, p. 378, n. 278).

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Al Ghazzālī, *Logica*, cap. v, vi (Prantl, *ibid.*, p. 377, n. 277, and p. 378, n. 278).

Logic, and accompanied by Ingenio, reaches without difficulty the dwelling of Rhetoric.

The third chapter, dealing with Rhetoric, shows as little originality as the two preceding. The author borrowed most of his facts from Isidore of Seville and took the allegorical portion and a number of facts from the *Anticlaudianus*. Entendimiento reaches a city with beautiful houses, and meets a maiden named Rhetoric. She is fairer than Logic, with golden hair and artificially colored cheeks, and her words are sweet and pleasant, capable of moving men to laughter, anger or tears.<sup>53</sup> She informs him of the great blessings conferred upon the world by the power of speech and declares that the discourse must be adapted to the time, place and hearers.<sup>54</sup> Entendimiento then sees painted on the walls the builders of the house and the progenitors of the maiden:

Primero á Gorgias y Ermágoras et Demóstenes, griegos, primeros abuelos et habitantes de aquella tierra. Y en la otra faz estaban allí los latinos; primero Marco Tulio, al cual parecía la doncella mas que á ninguno. Allí el Quintiliano debajo una imagen de verdad, que encubria las umbras de las causas, et sin entender, quería venir en contienda.<sup>55</sup> Allí Simaco<sup>56</sup> y el Plinio, avaros en las palabras, muy mas abundosos en las sentencias. Allí los cantares de Cidonio tanta tenían de dulzura, que parecía otro ruiñeñor entre las aves pequeñas.<sup>57</sup>

He also mentions Virgil, Livy and Lactantius among the other masters of rhetoric and speaks of the three kinds of causes, *deliberativo*, *demonstrativo* and *judicial*; the four parts of a discourse, *exordio*, *narracion*, *argumentacion* and *conclusion*; the two-

<sup>53</sup> Cf. the description of Rhethorica in the *Anticlaudianus*, p. 315

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Isidore, *Etym.*, Lib. II, cap. xvi, 1, and cap. xvii, 2-3.

<sup>55</sup> These writers, with the exception of Demosthenes, are found in *Etym.*, Lib. II, cap. ii, 1. The reference to Quintilian is borrowed from the *Anticlaudianus*, vol. II, p. 318.

Quintilianus adest, quadam sub imagine veri  
Causarum velans umbras, litesque novellas  
Fingit, et in litem cogit sine lite venire.

<sup>56</sup> The reference to Symmachus is found in the *Anticlaudianus*, vol. II, p. 318.

Symmachus in verbis parcus, sed mente profundus,  
Prodigus in sensu, verbis angustus abundans  
Mente, . . .

<sup>57</sup> In the *Anticlaudianus*, vol. II, p. 318, Sidonius is compared to a peacock.

fold status of cases; the modes of cases, etc., all of which may be found in Isidore's *Etymologies*, Lib. II, cap. iv, v, vii, ix. Rhetoric then bids Entendimiento follow a path which will bring him to her four other sisters.

The fourth chapter on Arithmetic is taken in the main from Isidore and a few facts are borrowed from the *Anticlaudianus*. The author's attitude is entirely medieval inasmuch as he considers the allegorical interpretation of the numbers used in the Scriptures as the chief end and aim of the science. Entendimiento reaches a palace and meets a maiden, who although dressed as a woman, has the appearance of a man.<sup>58</sup> "En la diestra tenia un grafo de fierro, y en la siniestra una tabla emblanqueada."<sup>59</sup> She declares that God created everything according to computation, weight and measure, and that without a knowledge of numbers, it is impossible to understand the mysteries which underlie the literal sense of the Holy Scriptures.<sup>60</sup> Entendimiento then saw

Pitágoras et á Nicomaco, griegos, y Apuleyo et Severino,<sup>61</sup> latinos, progenitores de aquella doncella. Estaba Pitágoras en tanta profundidad hablando en los números, que los constituyó universal principio de todas las cosas. El Nicomaco profetizaba contando.<sup>62</sup> El Crisipo tanto se embebia en el arte, que cuasi parecia cantar entre sueños.<sup>63</sup> Allí el Gilberto tanto transcendia á los otros, que parecia un satélite entre los caballeros.<sup>64</sup> Allí como la virtud,

<sup>58</sup> This corresponds to the description of Arithmetic in the *Anticlaudianus*, p. 319.

*sexum transcendit mente virili.*

<sup>59</sup> Cf. *Anticlaudianus*, p. 320.

*Mensam Pythagorae, quae menti pabula donat,*

*Sustinet una manus, pugnas manus altera monstrat.*

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Isidore, *Etym.*, Lib. III, cap. iv, 1-3, and *Liber Numerorum*, cap. xi, 56.

<sup>61</sup> These four are mentioned by Isidore, *Etym.*, Lib. III, cap. ii, 1.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. reference to Nicomachus in *Anticlaudianus*, p. 322.

*Et quasi per numeros rerum secreta prophetat.*

<sup>63</sup> The word *cantar* should be *contar*. Cf. *Anticlaudianus*, p. 323.

*Indulget numeris tanto Chrysippus amore,*

*Ejus ut in verbis numerus factisque resultet*

*Semper, et in somnis illum numerare putares.*

<sup>64</sup> The reference is to Gerbert, the most famous arithmetician of the tenth century, and elected Pope in 999 with the title Sylvester II. His *Regulae de*

la orden, la razon, el amor et concordia de los números componia todas las cosas; regia el mundo, ordenaba lo poblado, movia los cielos, ligaba los elementos, ayuntaba las ánimas á los cuerpos.<sup>65</sup> Allí la Unidad, quedando virgen, paria fijos de número infinito.<sup>66</sup> Allí la diferencia de los números numerante et numerado.<sup>67</sup> Allí la razon por qué el cuento par sea femenino y el impar sea llamado másculo.<sup>68</sup>

Entendimiento then takes leave of Arithmetic, apparently benefited by this nonsense, and reaches the dwelling of her sister Geometry.

The fifth chapter, dealing with Geometry, is so brief and superficial that it is difficult to determine the sources. Isidore's *Etymologies* and the *Anticlaudianus*, however, were used as in the preceding chapters. From the latter he derived the description of the maiden Geometry. She tells him "cómo su generacion habia comenzado en Egipto; que como el rio de Nilo (del cual toda la tierra de Egipto es regada) creciese et cubriese todas las heredades, et desatase todas las señales, comenzaron á partir et dividir la tierra con medida; y de allí fué tomado el nombre mio."<sup>69</sup> She mentions Thales and Euclid<sup>70</sup> as the founders of the science of geometry, and states the most elementary facts concerning optics and perspective.

On the sixth day's journey, Entendimiento reaches the top of the mountain, where they hear beautiful music. The mistress of the palace of Music discourses on the beneficial effects of her art,

*Abaci Numerorum Rationibus* and *De Numerorum Abaci Rationibus* were popular arithmetical text-books from the tenth to the beginning of the thirteenth century. See Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik*, Leipzig, 1907, vol. I, pp. 847-878, and Abelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-102.

<sup>65</sup> This passage is found in the *Anticlaudianus*, p. 320.

<sup>66</sup> *Anticlaudianus*, p. 320.

Quomodo principium numeri, fons, mater, origo,  
Est monas, et numeri de se parit unica turbam.  
Quomodo virgo parit, gignens manet integra, simplex  
Sese multiplicat, de sese gignit, et in se  
Incorrupta manet, partus imitata parentis.

<sup>67</sup> Mentioned in the *Anticlaudianus*, p. 320.

<sup>68</sup> *Anticlaudianus*, p. 321.

Quo juris merito, vel qua ratione, vocetur  
Femina par numerus, impar mas, virgo Minerva.

<sup>69</sup> The same explanation is found in the *Etym.*, Lib. III, cap. x, 1.

<sup>70</sup> These are mentioned as the founders of Geometry in *Anticlaudianus*, p. 328.



borrowed from Isidore's *Etymologies*, Lib. III, cap. xvii, 1-2, and mentions Fábula, Lino Tebeo, Anfion, Zeco, Nembrot, Pitágoras and Gregorio as the founders of music.<sup>71</sup> He follows Isidore in dividing music into three parts: *armónica*, *orgánica* and *métrica*.

Entendimiento then reaches the seventh dwelling, situated on the top of the mountain, where they meet Astrology. His request for admittance is referred to Verdad, who is accompanied by Sabiduría, Naturaleza and Razon. While she consults with her sisters, Astrology tells him that her duty is to consider the height and movement of the heavens and stars, but that he can not understand her secrets until he has been granted permission to enter. Here ends the part of the Vision Delectable which treats of the Seven Liberal Arts.

It will be seen that the author's learning did not extend beyond the material furnished by the medieval encyclopedic works, and that he even used these in an unintelligent fashion. He shows no trace of original thinking nor of intellectual curiosity. In composing his treatise, he was content to translate for the most part from a work which represents the last stage and decadence of the age of compilations, and he seems to have known nothing of the progress in the arts and sciences since that time. He does not appear to have been influenced by the enthusiasm for classical and Italian literatures that prevailed among the writers of the court of John II. His description of the Seven Liberal Arts was about as useful for the instruction of the Prince of Viana as a primer of the seventeenth century would be to a young man to-day. Standing at the very threshold of the Renaissance in Spain, he represents the state of knowledge in the rest of Europe in the Dark Ages. Only by the study of a work of this kind which reflects the decadence of learning in Spain can we appreciate fully the immense indebtedness of his country to scholars and philosophers of a little later period like Nebrija, Hernán Núñez Pinciano, Arias Barbosa, *el Brocense*, Luis Vives, Sebastián Fox Morcillo and Arias Montano.

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<sup>71</sup>Gregory is mentioned in the *Anticlaudianus*, p. 325. I do not know the source for considering Nimrod a musician. The unintelligible *Fábula* should be Jubal, who is mentioned with the others in the *Etymologies*, Lib. III, cap. xvi, 1.

## LA PROCESSION DES TROIS ROIS AT BESANÇON

OUR information concerning the dramatic office of Epiphany performed during the period of the Renaissance in the metropolitan churches of Besançon has been derived, hitherto, from the following valuable passage in H. Crombach's *Primitiæ Gentium, seu historia SS. trium Regum Magorum*, Coloniae Agrippinæ, 1654.<sup>1</sup>

In basilica Metropolitana S. Ioannis Bisonticensis ex veteri consuetudine in codice rituum adnotata inter Missarum solennia Clerici tres personati cum coronis & ornatu regio totidem ministris in vasis auro conspicuis regia munera præferentibus, alijs etiam è Clero cum baculis argenteis, cum cereis accensis cum thuribulo comitantibus è sacrario egressi supplicabundi omnes egregia pompa per aliquot stationes, quibus inseritur Euangelium, varios ad mysterium versus accinunt, tandemque stella duce progressi, munera sua altari imponunt. Idipsum olim exhiberi solitum erat in altera metropolitana basilica S. Stephani & in Ecclesia colligiata S. Magdalenæ Bisontinæ; Salinis vero in primaria æde S. Anatolij. Ritus omnem mitto ex antiquis codicibus ecclesiarum Metropolitanarum. Sed pia hæc dramata maiorum nostrorum simplicitati, quam huius seculi genio accommodatiora, video ab aliquot annis prætermitti: fortasse quod his temporibus animum potius auocare à serijs, quam ad sinceram religionem incitare videantur.

Ex codice rituum Ecclesiæ Metropolitanæ S. Stephani Bisonticensis.

### In Epiphania Domini.

In Missa ante Euangelium fit processio trium Regum, qui induuntur amictis, albis, paratis, stolis, & tunicis colore differentibus. Apponuntur etiam humeris cappæ, dantur capelli cum coronis, & unicuique famuli, qui deferant phialas. Finita prosa egrediuntur è vestiario, præcedentibus cereis, & thuribulo, & duobus choristis: quorum iunior cum suo baculo præcedit, senior verò sequitur Reges.

<sup>1</sup> A bibliography of the *Officium Stellæ* of Epiphany is given by the present writer in *Modern Language Notes*, vol. XXVII (1912), pp. 68-70. The Latin passage quoted here from Crombach's *Primitiæ Gentium* (pp. 732-734) has been reprinted also by H. Anz, *Die lateinischen Magierspiele*, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 142-145.

Reliqua sunt ex codice rituum Ecclesiæ S. Ioannis, quæ altera est è duabus Metropolitanis basilicis Bisonticensibus.

Reges eant usque ante altare Beatæ Mariæ cantando :

Nouæ genituræ  
Cedit ius naturæ,  
Contra carnis iura  
Parit virgo pura,  
Nouo quodam iure  
Premitur natura

Nato Christo.

Audit non auditum;  
Seruat non attritum  
Virgineum florem  
Mater præter morem:  
Irritansque ritum  
Retinet pudorem

Nato Christo. <p. 733>

Totum reseratur,  
Quidquid tegebatur  
Clausum sub figura:  
Prodeunt obscura,  
Iamque iudicatur  
Literæ litura

Nato Christo.

Ortus veri Dei  
Quem respirant rei  
Miserans eduxit,  
Gratiam reduxit,  
Dies nostræ spei  
Dies & illuxit

Nato Christo.

Cum autem venerint ante altare B. Mariæ, vertendo ante chorum tres Reges simul dicant :

Nos respectu gratiæ  
Gentium primitiæ  
Spem totius veniæ  
Vobis damus hodie.

Cum venerint in medium simul dicant :

Cuius stellam vidimus,  
Verum lumen credimus  
Quem Deum cognoscimus  
Adorare venimus.

Cum autem processerint paulo ultra, dicant simul:

Dona damus talia,  
Per quæ Regis gloria  
Patet, & potentia,  
Qui gubernat omnia.

In introitu chori dicant simul:

Ius in auro regium,  
Thure sacerdotium,  
Myrrha munus tertium  
Mortis est indicium.

Cum autem adscenderint supra ad pulpitem, legant Euangelium unusquisque verbum suum in hunc modum:

Reges simul: Dominus vobiscum.

Cantores: Et cum spiritu tuo.

Reges: Sequentia S. Euangelij secundum Matthæum.

Cantores: Gloria tibi, Domine.

1. Rex: Cum natus esset Iesus in Bethlehem Iudæ, in diebus Herodis Regis, ecce Magi ab Oriente venerunt Ierosolymam, dicentes.

2. Rex: Ubi est, qui natus est Rex Iudæorum?

3. Rex: Vidimus enim stellam eius in Oriente.

Cantores: Et venimus adorare eum.

1. Rex: Audiens autem Herodes Rex turbatus est, & omnis Ierosolyma cum illo.

2. Rex. Et congregans omnes Principes sacerdotum, & scribas populi sciscitabatur ab eis, ubi Christus nasceretur.

3. Rex: At illi dixerunt ei.

Cantores: In Bethlehem Iudæ.

1. Rex: Sic enim scriptum est per Prophetam.

2. Rex: Et tu Bethlehem terra Iuda, nequaquam minima es in principibus Iuda.

3. Rex: Ex te exiet Dux.

Cantores: Qui regat populum meum Israel.

1. Rex: Tunc Herodes clam vocatis Magis diligenter ab eis didicit tempus stellæ, quæ apparuit eis.

2. Rex: Et mittens illos in Bethlehem, dixit.

3. Rex: Ite & interrogate diligenter de puero: & cum inueneritis renunciate mihi.

Cantores: Ut & ego veniens adorem eum. <p. 734>

1. Rex: Qui cum audissent Regem, abierunt.

2. Rex: Et ecce stella, quam viderant in Oriente, antecedebat eos, usque dum veniens staret supra ubi erat puer.

3. Rex: Videntes autem stellam.

Cantores: Gauisi sunt gaudio magno valde.

1. Rex: Et intrantes domum inuenerunt puerum cum Maria matre eius.

2. Rex: Et procidentes adorauerunt eum.

3. Rex: Et apertis thesauris suis.

Cantores: Obtulerunt ei munera.

1. Rex: Aurum.

2. Rex: Thus.

3. Rex: Et myrrham.

1. Rex: Et responso accepto in somnis.

2. Rex: Ne redirent ad Herodem.

3. Rex: Per aliam viam reuersi sunt in regionem suam.

In eodem loco dicat 1. Rex, ostendens stellam alijs: Ecce stella.

2. Rex: Ecce stella.

3. Rex: Ecce stella.

Omnes simul: In Oriente præuisa: iterum præcedet nos lucida.

Postea descendunt: cum descenderint usque in introitum chori, dicant pariter:

Cuius stellam vidimus,  
Verum lumen credimus.  
Quem Deum cognouimus,  
Adorare venimus.

Cum venerint iuxta candelabrum, dicant simul:

Dona damus talia  
Per quæ Regis gloria,  
Patet, & potentia,  
Qui gubernat omnia.

Cum autem venerint ante altare maius, offerant super altare, scilicet:

1. Rex cum auro & dicat: Ius in auro regium.

2. Rex offerat similiter dicens: Thure sacerdotium.

3. Rex pariter offerens dicat: Myrrha munus tertium

Mortis est indicium.

Hæc ex codice S. Ioannis; at in libro S. Stephani sub finem hæc habes:

Postea pergunt ante maius altare: ibique flexis genibus offerunt sua munera cum coronis, inde recedentes unus per ianuam S. Agapiti, alius per magnam ianuam & tertius per portam Beatæ Mariæ in vestiarium reuertuntur.

This passage provides us with the following information:  
(1) a summary of the *Officium Stellæ* at the Church of St. John,

(2) an account of the opening procession of the *Officium Stellæ* at the Church of St. Stephen, (3) a text, substantially complete, of the *Officium* from St. John's, and (4) the closing rubric of the *Officium* from St. Stephen's. Although the Latin document, then, concerns both St. Stephen's and St. John's, it provides a complete text only from the latter church. According to this text, the dramatic office is an integral part of the Mass of Epiphany,—a dramatization, one might say, of the Gospel of the day. The office divides itself readily into the following three parts: (1) a procession of the Three Kings, who sing four stanzas of the cantio *Novæ genituræ*,<sup>2</sup> and the cantio *Nos respectu gratiæ*,<sup>3</sup> (2) a singing of the Gospel distributed in four parts among the Three Kings and the cantors; and (3) the procession of the Three Kings to the main altar for their final oblation. In rubrics as to dramatic ceremonial the text from St. John's is almost entirely wanting.

From the data provided in the Latin passage above, we infer that an *Officium Stellæ* closely resembling that of St. John's was performed regularly at the Church of St. Stephen; concerning this *Officium* at St. Stephen's, however, we have had, hitherto, no complete information. Crombach gives us an account of the opening and close of the office, and leaves with us the impression that the body of the office was identical with that of the office at St. John's. The natural desire of investigators for further knowledge concerning the Epiphany office at St. Stephen's finds considerable satisfaction from a passage in Manuscript 109 in the Bibliothèque de la Ville at Besançon.

The nature of this manuscript is best indicated by the following three contemporary entries at the beginning:

(1) <fol i<sup>r</sup>> Liber Cæremoniarum & | Officiorum diuinorum  
quæ | fiunt in ecclesia sancti | Stephani Bisuntini | singulis diebus,  
ut | habetur in calendario | A francisco Guenard presbytero, & | in  
eadem ecclesia succentore | conscriptus. anno Domini. 1629.

(2) <fol. ii<sup>r</sup>> Ex libris Francisci | Guenard, in ecclesia |  
Metropolitana sancti | Stephani Bisuntini, | succentoris. 1629.

(3) <fol. iii<sup>r</sup>> Liber, in quo continentur Cæremoniæ, & Officia  
quotidiana, quæ fieri solent in Ecclesia Metropolitana Sancti

<sup>2</sup> See *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, vol. XX, Leipzig, 1895, p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> See *id.*, vol. I, Leipzig, 1886, p. 160.

Stephani Bisuntini, uulgari sermone conscripta, ut & ipsi Pueri symphoniaci, ea quæ dicere quare agere debent, facilius intelligant: a Francisco Guenard presbytero, & in supradicta Ecclesia succentore, collecta; & in unum eundemque librum congesta; ut in Calendario (quod quidem Indicis loco, ac Tabulæ libri eiusdem haberi potest) unusquisque facile animaduertet. Absolutus Calendis Decembris Anno salutis M. DC. XXIX.

From these entries it appears that the document before us is a French version of the canonical Latin *Cæremoniale* in use in the Church of St. Stephen at Besançon. This vernacular version was made in 1629 by one François Guenard, a priest and subcantor of St. Stephen's, for the use of choir-boys. Of the age of the Latin original<sup>4</sup> the translator tells us nothing. From the detailed attention given to the ceremonial duties of choir-boys, and from the care shown throughout in cross-references, it appears that Guenard's intention was to provide a useful manual rather than an accurate translation.

For the dramatic ceremonial of Epiphany the manuscript provides the following text:<sup>5</sup>

POUR LA PROCESSION DES TROIS ROIS.

Pendant que l'on dit Tierce on habille trois petits garçons à la mode de pages de Perses avec habillements à ce propres, l'un desquelz on doit noircir par le uisage et les mains, qui represente le Roy more, et tous trois tiennent en main une coupe, et apres l'Epistre les deux sieurs altaristes avec les deux sieurs choristes s'en uont au reuestiaire ensemble du sieur surchantre, pour s'habiller en Roys scauoir les deux sieurs alteristes et surchantre, avec aulbes, Tunicques, et pluuiiales toutes de diuerses couleurs avec les ceintures et chapeaux coronnez à ce propres ayant chascun la palme en main et chascun un libret où est noté et escript ce qui doibuent fere et chanter: Estans ainsi habillez, le plus jeune choriste ua deuant

<sup>4</sup>I have no information concerning the Latin original of the French document, or concerning the age of the documents from which Crombach quotes. No mention of the *Officium Stellæ* is made in any of the following: Besançon MS. 99, *Rituale Bisuntinum*, saec. XV in.; Besançon MS. 101, *Ordinarium Bisuntinum*, saec. XV; *Ceremonial du Diocèse de Besançon*, Besançon, 1682; *Ceremonial du Diocèse de Besançon*, Besançon, 1707.

<sup>5</sup>Besançon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS. 109, pp. 44-46. I retain the spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and accentuation of the manuscript. I have expanded abbreviations by Italics.

l'autel de *nostre* Dame et les choriaux portantz les chandeliers et cierges allumez, puis lesdits trois Roys, et les pages apres eux *chascun* à l'endroit de son *maistre*, le plus anciens choriste ua le dernier, et là estans Ilz chantent a haulte uoix *Nouæ genituræ* qui est la premiere pause. De là Ilz s'en uont au droit de la chapelle du *Saint* Suaire, et font la seconde pause chantans le second uerset, la troizieme pause se fait à l'endroit de la sepulture de fut *monsieur* Baldoux, la quatriesme <p. 45> se fait en la chapelle ou Cymitiere des Comtes. La cinquieme au milieu de la nefz, la sixieme sous le Jube. Nota que le plus Jeune choriste et les choriaux se doibuent retourner uers lesdits trois Rois pendant qu'ilz chantent lesdits uersetz.

Après cela, Ilz montent tous sur le Jube pour y chanter l'Euangile *Cum natus esset*. Le diacre *commence*,<sup>6</sup> estant a la droite,<sup>6</sup> le soubdiacre *suyt*<sup>7</sup> qui est au milieu des trois,<sup>7</sup> puis le surchantre qui est a la gauche, et la chantent *comme* elle est notée dedans ces petits libretz, et la musique respond, et quand Ilz arriuent a ces parolles icy. *Aurum*. Thus, et Myrrham, les pages qui demeurent dernier<sup>8</sup> les trois Rois, presentent leur coupes *chascun* à son *maistre*, le premier Roy *commence* a chanter *Aurum*. monstrant et leuant ladite coupe, le second chante Thus, faisant *comme* le premier, le troiziesme chante Et myrrham faisant *comme* les deux autres, les pages reprennent lesdites coupes.

L'Euangile dict, le premier Roy chante *Ecce stella*, la monstrant au doibt, ou avec la main ouuerte, laquelle Estoille doibt estre arrestée au droit du pulpite qu'est au choeur, le second Roy et le troizieme font de mesme, et immediatement tous trois ensembles chantent<sup>9</sup> *In oriente præuisa iterum præcedet nos lucida*.

Puis ilz descendent du Jube et s'en uont tous au milieu du choeur deuant le grand chandelier, et là chantent le uerset de la septieme station, *comme* elle est dedans ces petits libures, et de là s'en uont deuant le grand autel, et là estants à genoux ilz chantent le huitieme uerset. Les pages leur donnent leur coupes à *chascun* la sienne, et les offrent au sieur<sup>10</sup> qui dit la grande Messe, le premier Roy chantant tout seul *Jus in auro regium* presentant<sup>11</sup> sa coupe et sa coronne, le second chante *Thure sacerdotium* presentant aussi sa coupe et sa corone, le troizieme chante *Myrrha munus tertium* <p. 46> *mortis est indicium*. puis tous trois ensembles Ilz repetent *Mortis est indicium*. Cela fait le *Sieur* qui dit la grande Messe

<sup>6-1</sup> Supplied from the left margin.

<sup>7-1</sup> Supplied from the left margin.

<sup>2</sup> Preceded by the word *derriere*, barred with a black line.

<sup>3</sup> Preceded by the word *Ilz*, barred with a black line.

<sup>10</sup> Written above the word *plus*, which is barred by a black line.

<sup>11</sup> Preceded by the words *Le second*, which are barred by a black line.



commence a chanter *Credo in unum Deum*. Ce pendant les Rois sen uont, le premier par la porte *Saint Agapit*, le second par la porte du choeur, et le troizieme par la porte du costé de nostre Dame. et tous trois se rendent au uestiaire pour mettre bas leurs habillementz, et les pages suyuent leur maistre. Les deux *Sieurs* altaristes s'en retournent au grand autel, et les choristes au Choeur.<sup>12</sup>

Although the liturgical text for which this ceremonial is provided differs in no substantial detail from the Latin text given above from the Church of St. John, in indications as to impersonation and dramatic action the French text is somewhat more generous. The office here consists of three parts: (1) a procession, (2) a singing of the Gospel, and (3) the oblation. The *cantiones* used in the procession appear to be the same as those in use at St. John's, providing eight stanzas for eight stations. We are told that the boys who served as pages to the kings wore Persian costume, and that one of them had his face and hands blacked for the impersonation of a Moor. As to the singing of the Gospel the details are especially interesting. The Gospel was sung not *supra ad pulpitum*, as in the version from St. John's, but upon the rood-loft ("*sur le Jube*"). The sentences of the Gospel are distributed in four parts among the Three Kings and the cantor. At the singing of the words *Obtulerunt ei munera*, the pages handed to the kings their cups, each king raising his cup aloft as he took his part in singing the significant series *Aurum, Thus, et Myrrham*.

The significance of the new French text lies, however, not so much in the fresh details of ceremonial as in the indication of pious care spent in maintaining a famous tradition of Epiphany. At a time when liturgical drama was waning in France, a devoted canon of St. Stephen's in Besançon translated into the vernacular and placed more securely in the hands of his choir-boys the relevant details of a picturesque and precious dramatic office.

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<sup>12</sup> Followed by the words: Il y a Miserere apres la grande Messe . . .

## THE COMPOSITION OF THE *CHANSON DE WILLAME*

### I

#### THE REFRAIN

ONE of the most striking features of the *Chanson de Willame* is the refrain, or rather the three refrains: "Lundi al vespre," "Joesdi al vespre," and "Lores fu mecresdi." In this poem of 3553 lines a refrain line is found forty-one times, at very irregular intervals of from 8 to 473 lines apart, beginning with line 10 and ending with line 3550. In general, the refrains occur much more frequently in the first part of the poem, where the *laissez* are very short and the text apparently often abridged, and they are much farther apart in the Renoart portion of the poem where also the *laissez* are often quite long. It is very rare that they are à propos when read in connection. In fact, if one should insert them forty-one times at random, the chances are that almost as many cases would be found making sense as at present. Perhaps I should say further that the refrain is regularly accompanied by a long line with which it is in assonance, and that it may be in assonance with the following *laisse*, or with the *laisse* in the middle of which it is placed, or be placed between two *laissez* without being in assonance with either.

Attempts have been made to give a chronology of the poem, based on this refrain, the most elaborate being that of Fr. Rechnitz.<sup>1</sup> The results, to say the least, are not convincing. The time is too indefinite, the events are too confused, and the unity of the work itself is too uncertain. The chronology of Rechnitz offers no more assurance of being correct than any one of a dozen different combinations.

As to the purpose or significance of the refrain, perhaps the discussions have been of some value. It has been suggested that the chief refrain, "Lundi al vespre," which occurs thirty-one times.

<sup>1</sup> *Zeit. für rom. Phil.*, 32, p. 184.

refers to Vivien's death on the last day of the battle, and that the other refrains are in imitation of this and refer to the last days of the respective battles related in that part of the text in which they are found.<sup>2</sup> Some such explanation as this naturally enough occurs to one reading the poem, and is borne out by the text as far as it throws any light on the subject—which is not very far.

In comparing *La Chanson de Willame* with the related poems, April, 1910, in a course on the development of the Old French epics, an idea came to me of the importance of this refrain as a key to divers elements in the composition of the *Willame*,—an idea which does not seem to have been used by any of the critics of this material. A few words on the order of these refrains in the poem and the accompanying table will make clear my meaning.

The first refrain is the "Lundi al vespre," which is found nineteen times up to verse 1062. Then with verse 1126 begins the "Jeudi al vespre" refrain, which occurs seven times ending with verse 1481. With verse 1584 the "Lundi" refrain comes in again and occurs three times ending with verse 1760. After that the "Lores fu Mecredi" refrain occurs in verse 1779 and is found three times ending with verse 1978. Finally, with verse 2090 the "Lundi" refrain begins for the third time and continues to the end, verse 3550, being found nine times in these last 1464 lines. Dividing the poem according to the refrain, then, there would be five parts, Nos. 1, 3, and 5 having the "Lundi" refrain, No. 2 having the "Jeudi" refrain, and No. 4 the "Mecredi" refrain.

After making a comparison of the *Willame* with the *Covenant Vivien* and the *Aliscans* (the two poems which are parallel to parts of it), I discovered that when I had indicated all the important events and passages of the *Willame* found in these two poems there were left unaccounted for substantially parts two and four of that text, the parts in which are found the two refrains "Jeudi al vespre" and "Lores fu Mecredi." In other words, all the important events of the *Willame* related in the "Lundi al vespre" portions are to be found in the *Covenant* and *Aliscans*, while none of the events in the

<sup>2</sup> Suchier, *La Chanson de Guillelme*, Halle, Niemeyer, 1911, p. LVIII. In regarding this significance of the refrains as plausible I do not at all agree with Suchier in his theories as to an original Vivien epic, nor do I accept his further divisions and development of the poem.

"Jeudi" and "Mercredi" portions is found in these poems. This situation will be made clear by the summarized table given below:

SUMMARIZED TABLE

	Refrain in <i>Willame</i>	Division of <i>Willame</i>	Division of <i>Covenant-Aliscans</i>
1	Lundi al vespre 19 times (10-1062)	1106 lines (1-1106)	1882 lines. C 1-1229; 1328-1567; 1628-2651; 1767-1894. A 61-236; 323-407.
2	Jeudi al vespre 7 times (1126-1481)	401 lines (1107-1507)	No correspondence (except a few brief passages that repeat the Lundi text).
3	Lundi al vespre 3 times (1584-1760)	253 lines (1508-1760) (Last 33 lines are a transitional passage to connect part 3 with part 4)	702 lines. C 1230-1327; 1568-1627; 1652-1766; 1894-1917. A 1-60; 237-322; 408-666.
4	Lores fu mecredi 3 times (1779-1978)	219 lines (1761-1979)	No correspondence.
5	Lundi al vespre 9 times (2090-3550)	1574 lines (1980-3553)	7844 lines. A 667-8510.

A detailed table will be given in part II of this article showing the chapter headings and important points of the reconstruction I have made of those parts of the *Chanson de Willame* which it has in common with the *Covenant Vivien* and *Aliscans*, and also similar chapter headings for the portions of its text for which no parallel is to be found in the latter two poems. The table gives, in a parallel column, line indications in the *Willame* for the portions of the text in which these chapters are found, and likewise the refrain indications for these portions. A glance at this table makes certain facts clear at once. The "Lundi al vespre" portions of the text are in constant and substantial agreement with the *Covenant* and *Aliscans*. Every chapter found in these portions of the *Willame* is likewise found in the other two poems. The only important incident worth mentioning which might be considered an exception is the Tedbalt-Estourmi episode, which I have discussed in the reconstruction, and which I have considered to be a later introduction into the Vivien combat with Deramé.<sup>8</sup> Outside of this there is nothing in the

<sup>8</sup> A part of the text, even in the lines containing the Tedbalt-Estourmi episode, is parallel with that of the *Covenant*, due, I should say, to the interweaving of this episode with the original text. I refer especially to such facts as the arrival and numbers of the enemy, the numbers of the French, reference to Vivien's vow, etc.

"Lundi" portions of the *Willame* that does not correspond with the parallel parts of the *Covenant-Aliscans*, except minor details and a few short passages evidently inserted as connecting links with the other portions of the text. The table and reconstruction with detailed references should leave no doubt that the "Lundi al vespre" part of the *Willame* and the *Covenant-Aliscans* have a common original.

#### THE JEUDI AND MERCREDI PORTIONS OF THE *Willame*

However, the table also shows that there is a considerable portion of the *Willame* text, some six hundred lines in two distinct passages, where the action recounted has no parallel in the *Covenant-Aliscans*.<sup>4</sup> These passages, the table further shows, correspond substantially with those parts of the *Willame* containing the "Jeudi al vespre" and the "Lores fu Mecredi" refrains.<sup>5</sup> What are the events of these portions of the *Willame*?

In the first passage, of approximately four hundred lines,<sup>6</sup> where we have the seven "Jeudi" refrains, the following account is found, after the arrival of William's first army at Archamp, and his surprise of the unarmed pagans, related in the "Lundi" part immediately preceding this.<sup>7</sup> First, after a *laisse* of 12 lines describing the arming of the Saracens, we are told in a *laisse* of 9 lines<sup>8</sup> that the battle lasted Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and did not cease until Thursday, when of all of William's men only three remained alive. This, it should be noted, is the account of William's part in the famous battle of Archamp which is related at

<sup>4</sup> *Willame* 1107-1507, 1761-1979. I should not insist in most cases on the exact lines that I have chosen for the beginning and end of these passages, but they are at least approximately correct.

<sup>5</sup> *Willame* 1126-1481, 1761-1979. It will be noticed that both these refrains are entirely included in the text I mention in note above as not contained in the *Covenant-Aliscans*. Usually a considerable number of lines intervene between the *Lundi* and the other refrains and no arrangement of *laissez* or rhymes shows with which refrain it should be taken.

<sup>6</sup> *W* 1107-1507.

<sup>7</sup> It should be noted that this preceding *laisse*, 1082-1106, must be compared with the corresponding passages, 1562-1703, to see the real situation here. It is evident in the first passage that portions of the text, especially the arrival of Gui, have been cut out to make it correspond better with the episodes that follow.

<sup>8</sup> *W* 1119-1127.

such length in the *Covenant-Aliscans*, and is the center of the poem. It is true that the *Willame* relates it again as a so-called second expedition and includes a few incidents, but in the second case also it is summarized in two short *laissez*.<sup>9</sup> There is hardly need to say that such brevity was not found in the original. It is, as its form indicates, merely a statement of a famous battle, with the result that is necessary in order that the compiler of the *Willame* may introduce in connection the episodes that follow in the poem.

The three persons mentioned above who remained alive are, according to the *Willame*, Girart, Guischart, and William himself. Then follow about forty lines which describe the killing of Girart.<sup>10</sup> After this, in about fifty lines more, is described the killing of Guischart.<sup>11</sup>

That events of the battle should be passed over entirely and the killing of these two knights related at length, seems strange. Nor is it clearer why these two especially should be chosen.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps I should call attention to the fact that it is entirely in disagreement with the "Lundi al vespre" portion of the the text, where they are mentioned among the nephews of William who are captured and later released.

It should be said further that while the killing of these two knights resembles considerably the wounding of Vivien<sup>13</sup> in the preceding text, much more remarkable is the resemblance of the two accounts to each other. For example, of the fifty lines recounting the killing of Guischart, twenty-three are found in the

<sup>9</sup> *W* 1704-1728.

<sup>10</sup> *W* 1135-1174.

<sup>11</sup> *W* 1175-1223.

<sup>12</sup> I have no wish to enter here into the discussion of who were killed or captured in the original passage. Proper names are used and changed too carelessly in the copies of these old poems to allow such points to be of decisive value in determining originals. I should merely call attention, however, to the fact that in the other poems of the William cycle in general the capture of these knights is the tradition that is followed, and not the killing. If these passages where they are killed represent the original, rather than the text of the "Lundi" portions and the *Aliscans*, we should have the older tradition still existing side by side with that of the *Aliscans* and one might ask in that case why this older tradition has been so generally disregarded by the poems of the cycle. I know that the answer of growing clemency, of capture rather than killing, will be used; but this doctrine would revive Vivien and even Roland himself.

<sup>13</sup> See *W* 772-785. Also *Covenant* (William and Vivien).

similar passage on Girart. These lines are either literally the same, or with part of them there is just the change necessary to transfer them from one assonance to another.<sup>14</sup> Also about seven other lines of the Guischart incident are found in a similar scene applying to Vivien.<sup>15</sup> If these passages are original, we can certainly say that the old poet was exceedingly economical in imagination at this point. Many instances can be pointed out where the merest scribe has displayed equal invention. After the killing of Girart and Guischart the remainder of the "Jeudi al Vespere" portion of the text<sup>16</sup> runs as follows:

With the dead body of Guischart William flees back to Orange. Guiborc during his absence has assembled a second army of 30,000 men and is feasting the leaders in the palace when William arrives. She herself descends and opens the gate for him. He places in her arms the dead body of her only blood relative among the Christians,<sup>17</sup> and laments in despair over his great loss. Guiborc, rising above her own grief, encourages him, tells him of the second army, and asks his permission to deceive them as to the true situation. She dries her tears, returns with a song on her lips, and tells them William has won the battle and killed Deramé, but has lost all his men. Ten thousand Saracens are left on the shore with rich booty. There is no wind for them to return and she urges the men to go with William to attack them. Then she serves supper to William, whose prowess at the table fully equals his fame in war. When William asks who will hold his fief if he is killed, the fifteen year old brother of Vivien, Gui, comes forward. He is gruffly chided for his presumption by William, who entrusts him to Guiborc. Then William sleeps, and at vespers (next day?) arms himself and sets out for Archamp with 30,000 men.

This, it seems to me, is clearly a late connecting passage, of which the spurious composition is most evident. To mention all the reasons for considering it a late invention would be unnecessary. I shall give a number.

1. How did Guiborc know that William would need a second army, and if she did, how, in the few days after William departed taking with him all the troops, could she have collected 30,000 men?

<sup>14</sup> See *W* 1133-1166 and 1175-1210.

<sup>15</sup> See *W* 1211-1222 and 772-785.

<sup>16</sup> *W* 1224-1507.

<sup>17</sup> This, it should be noted, is merely a continuation of the Guischart episode.

2. The deception of this army by telling them that Deramé was killed and the battle won, is not mentioned again. The real situation is evident when they arrive at Archamp, but no one mentions it.

3. The passage where Guiborc meets William at the gate and he asks her when she became his porter, is clearly inspired by the famous porter scene, found in the "Lundi" text and in *Aliscans*, when Guiborc refuses to allow him to enter, dressed as he is in Saracen armor. There is no point to the incident here.

4. William's despair and Guiborc's rôle as comforter are the same as in the famous porter scene just mentioned. The compiler is clearly exploiting the traditional rôle of Guiborc.<sup>18</sup>

5. That this part of the poem can not be very early is seen by the references to *Floovent* and *Girart de Viane*, and especially by the statement of Guiborc that "This was the custom of your great family, when they went to win other lands, and at all times died on the battle field." This indicates, it seems to me, that the cycle of William, with a number of its related poems recounting the exploits of his family, was already formed.<sup>19</sup>

6. Finally, what is not inspired by the famous scene in Orange referred to in 3 and 4, or obviously invented, is copied literally from the first expedition. For example, the last 108 lines of this "Jeudi" portion<sup>20</sup> recount (1) William's supper,<sup>21</sup> (2) the Gui

<sup>18</sup> In the famous scene at Orange, after William's defeat, he tells Guiborc that she has lost no blood relative in the battle as he had, and has nothing to weep for (*W* 2409-10). It would seem that the inventor of this episode intended to show that Guiborc also could see her nephew killed and remain as heroic as ever.

<sup>19</sup> Suchier, *La Chançon de Guillelme*, page 9, note v. 1326, may well ask, holding as he does this for a part of the original poem, who were these relatives of William who had been killed. But his suggestion that it was Oliver and also that Aimer and Bueve Cornebut might be dead is to strain after an explanation that will fit the theory of early composition. The real reference is obvious. Guiborc's words give too good a definition of the spirit of the Narbonne family to have been invented before that family was formed.

<sup>20</sup> *W* 1400-1507. My division by exact lines is, of course, arbitrary, but is at least approximate. Compare these with verses 1041-1085.

<sup>21</sup> This supper of William, as I show, agrees for the most part literally with that of Girart related in the first passage. Wherever the ultimate original may have been found, the description is quite clearly out of place here. The castle is supposed to be filled with the leaders of this second army, who are to be kept in ignorance of William's sore straits. But William is said to seat himself at a lower table, because he cannot for grief go to a higher one. He eats as if alone



incident, and (3) the arming next day. The supper and arming are told in sixty lines. Thirty-eight of these sixty lines are found literally in the first expedition and the rest are unimportant. Also, the Gui incident of forty-eight lines was in all probability cut out of this first expedition, where it really belongs, in order to make place for the Girart and Guischart episodes and to save Gui for the second expedition.<sup>22</sup> In brief, all this last part of the "Jeudi" text is most evidently a late connecting passage written by a compiler who is not even content to draw his inspiration from similar scenes in the original, but often copies these largely outright, thus repeating his text and introducing besides many contradictions in details.<sup>23</sup> That all this second part of the "Jeudi" portion is of this late and spurious character is an additional reason, if any is needed, for considering the first part, the killing of Girart and Guischart, as having a similar origin. Those episodes are related in a similar manner, very largely by repetition, and show a similar lack of merit and originality.

Following the "Jeudi" text, which I have just treated, we have about 250 lines with the "Lundi" refrain again running parallel to the *Covenant*, in which is related Gui's escape from Orange and arrival at Archamp in time for the battle, the beginning of William's attack, which has a number of the same lines that are found in the first attack, and then again the compiler of the *Willame* summarizes the battle of Aliscans in twenty-five lines, ending with the statement

and gives free expression to his grief. It seems, in fact, to be inspired by the similar scene in Orange before William sets out to Louis's court. As I have already mentioned, that scene has furnished the inspiration for most of the incidents in this "Jeudi" part. Four lines of this supper are to be found there literally. (See *W* 2389-2392.)

<sup>22</sup> My reasons for saying that the Gui incident belonged in the first expedition (following v. 1085) are: (1) that he was called for in Vivien's message to William; (2) he is found here in the *Covenant*; (3) the transposition to this point is obviously for the purpose of connecting Gui with the second expedition, where he plays a large rôle in the "Lores fu Mecredi" part. For these reasons I consider the Gui incident in question as copied from the "Lundi" part, and admit it as such, but nothing important in my theory depends upon it.

<sup>23</sup> A contradiction of this sort is found, *W* 1378-1383. In deceiving the men Guiborc uses some of the lines that are found at the beginning of William's attack on the pagans (see 1098-1093; also 1679-1683). One of these is that there was no wind, so the pagans could not sail. But how does she know here beforehand that there will be no wind before William arrives?

that the nephews of William are captured and all are killed except William and Gui,<sup>24</sup> the latter being excepted in the last line.<sup>25</sup>

In the remainder of this "Lundi" portion of the text, 33 lines,<sup>26</sup> we have an introduction to the Gui episode that follows in the "Lores fu mecredi" portion. The lines here relate Gui's complaint of fatigue and hunger and are substantially parallel with the first lines of the "Lores fu Mecredi" text that immediately follow.<sup>27</sup> I consider them a connecting passage introduced into the "Lundi" text to join it more easily with the Gui episode that follows.<sup>28</sup>

Then begins the text containing the "Lores fu Mecredi" refrain, a passage of 219 lines.<sup>29</sup> The action of this portion is the following:

Gui complains again of hunger and fatigue. William advises him to go to the camp of the Saracens which they had surprised, to eat bread, but to drink little wine. Gui goes, but eats little bread and drinks much wine. William in the meantime is hard pressed, is unhorsed and wounded, and cries to Gui for aid. The latter hastens to the relief and with his terrible blows cuts men and horses in two, so that the pagans are in such terror that 20,000 of them turn in flight.<sup>30</sup> Gui now gives his uncle his horse and William presents a comical aspect with Gui's stirrups coming up

<sup>24</sup> *W* 1704-1728. These are named here as Bertram, Guielin, Guischart, Galter and Reiner. Elsewhere (see vv. 2099, 3154) Girart is included. As in all the other versions, with proper names in general the *Willame* is very careless, many changes occurring.

<sup>25</sup> *W* 1728.

<sup>26</sup> *W* 1729-1761.

<sup>27</sup> *Cf. W* 1739-1749 with 1763-7. It is worth while again to call attention to this striking repetition, which occurs quite regularly at transition points of the refrains or between the text of the "Lundi" portion and the "Jeudi" or "Mercredi" portions.

<sup>28</sup> I shall not enter here into the various reasons for it. Some of them are: (1) it is clearly a transition point; (2) the "Lundi" and "Mercredi" texts partly repeat each other; (3) the incident is not found in the *Covenant* text; (4) it is an evident development from the legitimate "Lundi" and *Covenant* passages where William tells Gui he can't endure the fatigue and fasting of battle; (5) finally, the tone is late.

<sup>29</sup> *W* 1761-1979.

<sup>30</sup> *W* 1847-1858. The poet may well say that it was a great miracle when we recall that Gui was a youth of fifteen and small. Such miracles are common enough, however, in the late epic, when, with the *Enfances*, mere children became the heroes and outdid the feats of Roland, Oliver, Charlemagne, and William.

to his knees.<sup>81</sup> As he rides across the field, Deramé, who is lying hidden among the dead, mounts his horse and comes to attack William, who refuses Gui's entreaties to return his horse and allow him the combat. In the joust William cuts off the Saracen's leg and he falls to the earth. William seizes his magnificent horse, Deramé bemoans its loss, and William tells him to care for his leg, and that he will look out for the horse.<sup>82</sup> Then William and Gui trade horses and while William is changing their saddles, Gui notices Deramé writhing on the earth and cuts off his head. William reproves him for this act against a wounded man, but Gui replies with his characteristic practical sense and William is contented.

The last two lines of this portion of the text are: "Lores fu Mecredi, Now William had won his battle."<sup>83</sup> It is exactly here—I merely mention it and shall take up the question later—that the critics have generally placed the end of the early poem of William.<sup>84</sup>

The entire "Lores fu Mecredi" portion I consider as a later insertion without original authority. Some of my reasons for this, briefly stated, are as follows:

1. It is not found in the *Covenant-Aliscans* text. Why was it left out if in the original? Why, if original, has it not entered more largely into the epic tradition of the William cycle? It was not destroyed early by the substitution of the *Renoart* ending, for we see them both side by side here. Why, if he were such a hero at so early a date, was Gui so neglected in the William epics? His exploits here are such as would appeal to later taste and would be used for further elaboration, if created before the end of epic invention, or in time to have a history in the William cycle.

2. Not only is this incident absent in the *Covenant-Aliscans*, but it is also not found in the "Lundi" text of the *Willame*, with which

<sup>81</sup> *W* 1781-2. The tone is in keeping with the wine episode. However, William's dignity is perhaps as great as that of the great king Deramé, whom we find a few lines below hiding among the dead.

<sup>82</sup> There is no need to call the attention of anyone who is familiar with these poems to the fact that the killing of Deramé here is substantially that of the killing of Alderufe as recounted in the "Lundi" text of the *Willame* (2091-2208) and in the *Aliscans* (1086-1367). There can be no doubt that they have the same original. The only question is whether it was Alderufe or Deramé who was killed in this scene in the original.

<sup>83</sup> *W* 1978-9.

<sup>84</sup> Weeks, *Rom.*, 1909, p. 7; Suchier, *Ch. de Guill.* (esp. p. iv).

it is in general wholly contradictory. For example, the battle is not won in the "Lundi" text, Deramé is apparently still alive, Gui is not mentioned (by name at least) among the rescued prisoners.<sup>35</sup>

More important, wherever there are evident references to this episode in the "Lundi" text they are obvious insertions.<sup>36</sup> An example of this sort is the death scene of Vivien. Although Gui is supposed to be with William, not a word is uttered of him or by him, in the fine passage where William mourns over this brother whom Gui is supposed to have avenged. He gives no help to William in his attempt to carry back Vivien's body and it is only when the scene is all over that it occurs to the compiler of the *Willame* that Gui is still on the stage. He has him captured in as few lines as possible and apparently, unless he escaped under an *alias*, he is still in captivity.

If, as some critics hold, the Gui incident is in the original text, and the Lundi and Aliscans text has revised it, why should there be these obviously inserted passages in the "Lundi" text referring to it? At least, it is much simpler to consider this a late invented episode, badly fitted into the "Lundi" text.

3. The Gui episode is lacking in the dignity, seriousness, and epic tone of the best and apparently primitive scenes of this poem.<sup>37</sup> Gui as an avenger of Vivien and original hero of an Archamp victory is little or no better than Renoart. His youthful prowess is entirely improbable, as are a number of the incidents of this supposed victory and killing of Deramé.<sup>38</sup>

4. The tone and incidents of the Gui episode are entirely in keeping with those later outgrowths of the epics, the *Enfances*,

<sup>35</sup> I understand, of course, that critics would place the end here and regard all the rest of the *Willame*, the *Aliscans* in fact, as without authority to establish its original. They would cut out the Death Scene of Vivien, the Porter Scene, the Court Scene, etc.

<sup>36</sup> See *W* 1728; 1729-1760; 1985; 2071-2085.

<sup>37</sup> I risk placing under this head Vivien's refusal to flee on account of his vow, his death scenes, William's greeting by Guiborc at Orange after the defeat, and the scene at Louis's court when he comes to seek aid. I am, of course, aware of the rashness of such an opinion, as perhaps the more orthodox view would be to hold that nothing in the *Covenant-Aliscans* as we now have it likely resembled anything that was in the original poem.

<sup>38</sup> I refer to his hunger, his marvellous blows, the flight of 20,000 Saracens, Deramé's concealment among the dead and mysterious appearance, etc.

where we have mere youths performing such improbable deeds and outshining the veteran epic warriors.

5. The episode is an entirely natural late development from the passage where Gui was, most properly, told that he was too young to endure the hunger and thirst, the fatigues and privations of the battlefield.<sup>39</sup>

6. Finally, the pretended killing of Deramé is only a copy of the killing of Alderufe, found in the "Lundi" portion of the text, following the death of Vivien, and at the corresponding point in the *Aliscans*. Its resemblance with the Alderufe incident, which is obvious, has, of course, already been pointed out by critics, and is not in doubt. The question to be decided is which is original, the killing of Alderufe or the killing of Deramé. I consider the former to be so, for the following reasons, in addition to the more general ones I have given above:

(a) Deramé's concealment among the dead is strange and lacking in dignity for the great pagan leader.

(b) The famous horse which William captures and Deramé regrets is entirely without significance, in fact embarrassingly out of place here.<sup>40</sup>

(c) In the Alderufe episode the horse is called *Florescele*. Here the compiler does not give it a name, perhaps to make his plagiarism less evident.

(d) In the Alderufe incident this horse is the means of William's escaping the enemy in his flight to Orange. In this episode it serves no purpose at all, and William immediately trades it to Gui<sup>41</sup> for his own, evidently so that he can win it again in the Alderufe episode. Why did he give up such a prize?<sup>42</sup> In brief, while the

<sup>39</sup> *W* 1525-9; *Covenant* 1165-1176.

<sup>40</sup> If anyone should say that the virtues of the horse are not insisted on to the same extent here as in the Alderufe, why then bring in the horse at all, which serves no purpose whatever in the after events of the Gui episode.

<sup>41</sup> There is no reason to think the horse of Gui, which had been left behind by William, was of such great excellence, and that William, a veteran, should be bested by a fifteen-year-old youth in a horse-swapping contest is inconceivable—especially as he had possession of them both at the moment of trade. The horse-trading incident is evidently a clumsy device to allow this scene to stand in the same poem in which its prototype, the killing of Alderufe, is found.

<sup>42</sup> It is true that it might be answered that the Deramé passage as found here has been revised, that the significance of the horse, clear in the original, has been

winning of the horse in the Alderufe episode gives a reasonable account with a purpose, the horse in the Deramé incident is entirely without significance, and the disposition of it unreasonable. *And the incident of the horse is the most striking feature of both passages.*

Summing up our treatment of the "Jeudi" and "Mercredi" portions of the text, the following results can be stated. These portions of the *Willame* are not found in the *Covenant* and *Aliscans* and are in general in contradiction with those poems and with the "Lundi" text of the *Willame*. They give us almost entirely personal episodes which are as a rule evidently inspired by and due to the exploitation of personages and scenes found in this "Lundi" text. Not only has the "Lundi" text been the inspiration of much of these portions, but, in introducing these episodes, the compiler has repeated verbatim considerable portions of his models, some seventy-five lines altogether being repeated in this way, usually in passages of a number of consecutive lines.<sup>43</sup>

That the "Jeudi" and "Mercredi" parts have exploited and copied the "Lundi" text and not *vice versa*, I should hold because of the usually inferior character and late and romantic tone of those portions, as well as for a number of reasons that have been stated above.<sup>44</sup> *I consider then the "Jeudi" and "Mercredi" parts*

lessened; that the trading it to Gui is a late addition, etc.; in other words, that the episode originally was entirely different from what it is now. There is, of course, no answer to this sort of argument.

<sup>43</sup> These repetitions alone are very strong evidence to show the late and spurious character of the "Jeudi" and "Mercredi" portions. Since I have pointed them out in discussing the various passages, there is no need to do so here. As mentioned above, I should ascribe to this cause the repetition of some seventy-five lines. Among these I do not include, of course, the frequent repetitions which occur here, as in most epics, for stylistic effect. One has only to examine the repetitions I have pointed out to see that they are not of that character. It is worth noting that in general the other repetitions, not due to the introduction of the "Jeudi" and "Mercredi" episodes, are of a stylistic character, and as a rule only of one or two lines at a time. The most notable passages I have found that might seem an exception to this statement are in VV. 772-7 and VV. 1912-1925, where four or five lines are repeated.

<sup>44</sup> See especially the discussion of the Gui incident and the killing of Deramé. Also, the second army episode. Note also that the humorous incidents are quite regularly found in these parts. For examples, the eating and drinking by Gui, William's riding with short stirrups, Gui's retorts, etc. Outside of these portions, the most notable examples of humorous incidents are in the Tedbalt-Estourmi episode, which I have held for a later insertion. For examples, see flight, the sheep incident, the awakening of Tedbalt after his intoxication, etc.

as insertions made by the compiler of the *Willame* in the "Lundi" text.

#### PERSONAL CHARACTER OF THE *CHANSON DE WILLAME*

Before attempting to show just how this compiler has done his work there remains one feature of the *Willame* that should be more fully treated, as it shows, I believe, the real method or purpose of the compilation and explains its peculiar composite form, just as the refrain is a material indication of that composite character. This feature is the amount of the *Willame* that is devoted to episodes or scenes of a strictly personal character or interest, centering usually on only one personage or at most two or three personages, compared with the amount that is of a more general interest, such as battles, marches, and other narrative, in which a large number take part or in which several at least share in the interest. I have already shown that the "Jeudi" and "Mercredi" portions are almost entirely personal episodes, but the entire poem is notable in that respect,<sup>45</sup> as the following statements will show.

The *Willame* has 3553 lines. Of these I should estimate that only 150 to 200 are of a strictly general nature such as that of the introductory *laisse* or as those that describe marches, or other action in which the interest is not centered on one or two personages; and at most we could say that 150 more are given up to battle descriptions of a *general nature* or to the actions of several participants, when we leave out the distinct passages that refer to the personages mentioned below. The rest of the poem, fully nine-tenths I should say, centers in turn on a very few persons and describes their personal actions. These persons in the order of their occurrence are Tedbalt and Estourmi, Vivien, Girart, William, Guiborc, Guischart, Gui, and Renoart—only nine altogether.

The most remarkable fact is that although four long battles are supposed to take place in the *Willame*, only about 150 lines can be considered as describing pitched battles, and these are usually of a

<sup>45</sup> I am not aware that any one has made use of this peculiarity of the *Willame*, although it has no doubt been recognized. Suchier has mentioned the scarcity of proper names to be found in the poem (*Chan. de Guil.*, p. xxxi).

very general nature and rarely give the name of a participant who strikes a blow other than the personages mentioned.<sup>46</sup>

If we compare the *Willame* with the combined *Covenant-Aliscans*, the difference is striking. Although only two battles are described there, as compared with four in the *Willame*, perhaps a fifth of the text is devoted to general battle descriptions, with a considerable number of participants named and their deeds recounted, and certainly not over three-fourths of the text gives strictly personal exploits and actions of the chief personages. In fact, even in such passages the personages rarely stand out so alone, in such striking relief, as they do in the *Willame*.<sup>47</sup>

The purpose of the compilation called *La Chanson de Willame* is quite clear then. *It is an account of personal exploits or episodes of the heroes of the poem, with only enough of a general nature to give the proper setting or place of these exploits in the poem.*

This plan is certainly not the work of the original author. He evidently did not describe the participation of William's army in the battle of Archamp in the first expedition by saying, "This battle lasted all one Monday, all the next day, and until Wednesday, and did not cease until Thursday, when only three of William's army remained alive,"<sup>48</sup> in all some half-a-dozen lines, and then devote 100 lines to the killing of two of these three survivors. Nor is the second expedition more reasonable, where, compared with twenty-five lines telling of the loss of William's army and the capture of such heroes as Bertran, Guielin, and Guischart without their striking a blow, are found over 200 lines devoted to the exploits of Gui after the others are lost.

The 175 lines devoted to Vivien's final combat after all his men

<sup>46</sup> About all of the exceptions to this are found in the *Renoart* branch and there they are surprisingly few, William and Renoart absorbing nearly all the interest.

<sup>47</sup> Even to allow for all possible late development of the *Covenant-Aliscans* and increase in the number of rôles—and there is much of this—will not account for the striking difference.

<sup>48</sup> Critics have, of course, noticed this abridgment, without, however, offering a similar reason for it. See Suchier (*Ch. de Guil.*, xiv) and Rehnitz (*Zeit. für rom. Phil.*, 32, p. 192).



are lost, compared with less than half that number describing the long battle before their loss, is another case in point.<sup>49</sup>

The *chansons de geste*, as everyone knows, were not written with these proportions between descriptions of general battles and strictly personal exploits, and the only conclusion permissible is that the composer of the *Willame* version was making a compilation of personal scenes and episodes in the poem (or poems) of William.

Bearing in mind, then, that the evident purpose of the composer of the *Willame* was to make a compilation in which would be found the chief scenes of a distinctly personal interest in the poem (or poems) of William, related in their proper connection, it would seem to me fairly easy to understand the composition of this poem. If this was his purpose, we should in general expect that he would abridge or make a *résumé* of the pitched battles and other passages of a general nature, giving only enough to preserve the setting of his personal episodes. We should expect him, however, to keep all the personal scenes, possibly to expand them, and perhaps insert or invent others.

As material the compiler undoubtedly had for basis or framework a poem (or poems) corresponding along broad lines, at least, with the portion we find containing the "Lundi" refrain. The table of the reconstruction I have given should establish that. It shows this portion of the *Willame* text, which is clearly differentiated from the rest by a distinctive refrain, forming, in all its chief events, a logical and connected account. It shows further that this account agrees constantly with the *Covenant-Aliscans*. The "Lundi" portion and the *Covenant-Aliscans* must have had a common original then, and since the *Covenant-Aliscans* shows no knowledge of the "Jeudi" and "Mercredi" portions, these portions were evidently not in that common original.

What other material, if any, the compiler of the *Willame* had before him is uncertain.<sup>50</sup>

\*I exclude from this general battle the distinct exploits and speeches of Vivien and Girart. A comparison of the Renoart branch in the *Willame* and the *Aliscans* shows likewise that Renoart is much more exclusively the chief actor in all the portions of the text in which he appears in the *Willame* than in the *Aliscans*. I should, however, willingly believe that in this part the compiler of the *Willame* has changed much less than elsewhere.

\*If the *Willame* scholars are able to establish with certainty the origin of

## THE FIRST "LUNDI" PORTION

Let us see how he has actually done his work. In the first pages of the poem we find nothing of the knighting and vow of Vivien, of his warring in Spain, or of the reasons for his presence at Archamp. There is no provocation of Deramé, nor account of why or how he assembled his army and arrived there. After the short introductory *laisse*, the first line of the poem has Deramé leave Cordres, the second tells of his sea-voyage, and the third brings him to land in the country of the Christians. Five more describe his ravages.

How much condensation there is here, and how many of the events related in this portion of the *Covenant* were in the original, it is impossible to say; but there was certainly a vow which was the cause for Vivien's death. As I have shown in the reconstruction, it is mentioned a number of times from line 292 on. It would be reasonable to suppose that there were other things.<sup>51</sup>

If so they have been mostly cut out by the *Willame* reviser and the reason for it is clear. In addition to his regular policy of abridging portions of the text of a general nature, he has introduced with line 20 of the *Willame* a personal episode for which there is no original authority, and during the next 400 lines this episode is interwoven in the beginning of the battle with Deramé, displacing doubtless much of the original text.<sup>52</sup> However this may be, we

the "Jeudi" and "Mercredi" parts other than I have supposed it in treating those portions, it will be so much gained. I do not attach enough either of certainty or of importance to the origins I have suggested for some of the episodes, to be hard to convince. If it can be shown that these are incidents or developments from the ultimate original itself, it would in no way change my thesis here. What I hold in any case is that these portions were inserted by the compiler of the *Willame* into a form of the poem which did not contain them—in any case no longer contained them. Frankly, I do not believe that any such legitimate origin as a connection with the ultimate original can be shown for them, but even if it should, it would represent a restoration by juxtaposition rather than return to a gap already filled.

<sup>51</sup> In fact, as already indicated, there is a passage in the "Lundi" text, vv. 2000-2024, where William relates the knighting and vow of Vivien substantially as it is in the *Covenant*.

<sup>52</sup> I have discussed this elsewhere and refrain now. One point, however—it does not form a separate portion of the text in the same way the "Jeudi" and "Mercredi" portions do. As said, it is interwoven in the action, and in the 400 lines where it occurs are found a number of lines and passages agreeing with the *Covenant*.

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see up to line 927, which is the point where Vivien is cut down and left for dead by the pagans, just four persons who play rôles. Two of these are Tedbalt and Estourmi, the cowards, whose rôles are half-humorous and half-tragic, and the other two are Vivien and Girart who occupy the greater part of the text. Besides these two, not a Christian nor a pagan is named who strikes a blow, and the pitched battle and loss of Vivien's army occupy, as stated before, surprisingly little space.

The rôle of Vivien is no more developed than in the *Covenant*—not so much perhaps—but it stands out in much more striking relief. In the *Covenant* and *Aliscans* he is surrounded until near the end by some of his relatives and army. Here except for Girart his followers are nameless figurants and the greater part of his combat is entirely alone.<sup>53</sup>

The rôle of Girart is decidedly more prominent than in the *Covenant*. There are a number of details, such as his unhorsing of Tedbalt and Estourmi, and his throwing away his armor, etc., which are not in the *Covenant*. Whether some of these were in the *Willame's* model or were added by the *Willame* compiler, we have often no means of determining.<sup>54</sup> If they were added, however, we can say that it was entirely in line with the plan of the *Willame* in the prominence and development it gives to such individual episodes.

Nevertheless, while noting that there are some things in the rôle of Girart in the *Willame* which are not found in the *Covenant*, it is also clear in Girart's case as in Vivien's that most of the greater prominence of his rôle in the *Willame* is due to the elimination of all of the other French leaders, he being the only one of Vivien's companions who is mentioned by name. His actions are substantially the same in both versions. He strikes the first blows after Vivien,

<sup>53</sup> The chief events of Vivien's combat as found in the *Covenant* are kept in the *Willame*. He refuses to flee on account of vow, his men are killed, he sends Girart only when victory is hopeless, his horse is killed under him, he receives many wounds and restrains with his hands his entrails, his chief distress is the fear of breaking his vow and he prays for strength to keep it. Finally, he is cut down and left for dead. The only really important differences are the castle incident in the *Covenant*, an obvious fiction, and the partial breaking of the vow in the *Aliscans*, which if not in the original is at least a natural enough development from it.

<sup>54</sup> I should, of course, consider Girart's tilts with Tedbalt and Estourmi as going with that episode, and consequently not original.

he breaks through the pagan ranks with difficulty, he arrives at William's city with battered armor, he announces the news and makes Vivien's plea for help.

In the scenes following the arrival of Girart at William's court there are some differences in the two versions. Bertran, who is found with William in the *Covenant*, and others of his family who are mentioned, such as Hunaut de Saintes and Gautier, do not appear in the *Willame* at this point. However, assuming that they may have been in the original, the omission of them here would be entirely in line with the evident purpose of the composer of this version to omit all secondary personages.<sup>55</sup>

The chief personages, William, Guiborc, and Girart, are as fully (or more fully) treated as they are in the *Covenant*.<sup>56</sup>

The rôle of William at this point is much the same as in the *Covenant*. Guiborc's actions also are not notably different, except that the most striking feature of her character, her rôle of comforter of William and stout-hearted counsellor in the hour of disaster, is more fully developed. In fact, I believe that the development of her rôle is the chief purpose of the entire "Jeudi al vespre" episode which follows. The most important changes in incident that I should ascribe to the reviser of the *Willame* is the mention by Guiborc of her nephew Guischart, who will accompany William,<sup>57</sup> and the omission of the Gui incident in order to transfer it to the second expedition. With the assembling of William's army and its arrival at Archamp we come to the end of the first portion of the text containing the "Lundi" refrain.<sup>58</sup>

#### THE "JEUDI AL VESPRE" PORTION

Here at the beginning of the "Jeudi" portion we find a well marked transitional passage. Instead of relating William's battle

<sup>55</sup> It is clear, moreover, knowing as we do that the *Willame* reviser has William make two relief expeditions, in the first of which every other man is killed, that it would not do to mention Bertran and the others here, since they are to be captured in the second expedition.

<sup>56</sup> The supper scene, where Girart is the chief figure, is not in the *Covenant*. There is, however, a natural place for it and it might be original.

<sup>57</sup> *W* 1030-1040. It is needless to say that I believe this passage is inserted here to introduce the "Jeudi" episode.

<sup>58</sup> *W* 1106.

at Archamp, the *Willame* composer, as already mentioned, simply states that it lasts four days and results in William's defeat, and then proceeds to relate the "Jeudi" episode, of which the chief purpose is to show how cruelly Guiborc is tried through the death of her only blood relative,<sup>59</sup> and her constancy under this misfortune.

The nature of this portion of the text, and especially the evidence showing its late and spurious composition, has been quite fully presented in the preceding pages. A few words only need be said here on the purpose of the *Willame* reviser in introducing it, and the characteristic way with which he has accomplished it.

Except in the passages on Gui at the end, which serve to connect it with the Gui episodes following, four personages share in the interest of this portion of the text. These are Guiborc, William, Guischart and Girart. The strongest rôle is that of Guiborc and the chief purpose of the entire episode seems to be to exploit her character. Her nephew Guischart appears to be introduced in order to bring out her strength of character under personal affliction, and throughout the episode she is made to keep and exaggerate her traditional rôle as comforter and adviser of William. This purpose fully accounts for the rôles of the three personages, Guiborc, William, and Guischart.

Girart occupies only about forty lines of the "Jeudi" text and these relate his death. As Girart had been a prominent figure in the preceding part, and, being the messenger, is necessarily a companion of William on this first expedition, it would seem that the only thing for the reviser to do is to dispose of him in some such way. That he gets rid of him as quickly as possible in the first lines of this episode is significant.<sup>60</sup>

\* This test of Guiborc might well be suggested by the lines in *W* 2409-2412, where William tells her that she should not weep because she has lost no near relative. As mentioned elsewhere I should find suggestions for most of the events of the "Jeudi" episode in this scene of the "Lundi" text.

\* If one considers carefully the situation this explanation appears most reasonable. Girart can not be ignored as Bertran and the other companions of William who are reserved for the second expedition. Being the messenger, he is necessarily with William, and since there is no rôle for him in this episode he must be disposed of. I have already called attention to the significant fact that the lines relating his death are largely identical with those telling the death of

The "Jeudi" portion of the text, then, contains a number of personal scenes or episodes apparently inspired largely by certain scenes or passages in the "Lundi" text.

#### SECOND "LUNDI" PORTION OF THE TEXT

Following the "Jeudi" portion of the text the narrative of the poem is taken up at precisely the same point where it was left off at the beginning of the "Jeudi" episode, *viz.*, with William marching to Archamp to rescue Vivien.<sup>61</sup>

Again we see in this second "Lundi" portion that the chief interest of the compiler is in a few personages. Bertran and the other lieutenants of William's army are not mentioned in assembling the army or on the march. The episode of Gui, or as he is called in the *Covenant*, Guichardet, is retained in all its fullness, and as we shall see later, furnishes the inspiration for the next insertion in the "Lundi" text. In general, the rôle of Guiot and Guichardet (of the *Covenant*) is the same. The other chief differences between the text of the *Willame*, as it is found at this point, and that of the *Covenant* are a speech that William makes to his men in the *Willame*

Guischart. The reviser has evidently used as little invention as possible in his disposal of this embarrassing personage.

That Girart's death serves no purpose here and that it is out of place is obvious. Once dead, William forgets him completely, and neither he nor Guiborc refer to his death in any way in the later scenes. Also, in keeping with his action here in having Girart killed, the *Willame* reviser remembers to leave out the name of Girart from the list of prisoners of the second expedition in the passages closely following his death. That Girart should be among these prisoners is clear for two reasons: first, he is found in the parallel passages of the *Aliscans*; second, while the *Willame* reviser remembers to eliminate him in lines 1722, 2257, 2485, 2520, and 3055, such constant vigilance throughout could hardly be expected in erring human nature, and when we come to lines 3154 and 3455 we find Girart again among the released prisoners. In their enthusiasm over the marvellous feats of Renoart, who among the hearers would notice this little oversight of the *Willame* composer! They, too, would have forgotten Girart's death.

"Although the last "Jeudi" refrain is found in line 1481, owing to the repetition of considerable portions of the "Lundi" text, one might place this end anywhere from l. 1400 to 1507. I have preferred to take the last point with the understanding, however, that much of the text between these points properly belongs to the "Lundi" version. Especially do I consider this true for the passage where Gui is introduced. It seems quite clear that this was cut out before the first expedition, in which Gui does not figure, and transposed here to fit in with the following episodes on Gui.

text, and in general the elimination in that text of the names of the various companions of William and other *comparses*.

When we arrive at the battlefield of Archamp the *Willame* reviser again eliminates the entire battle account, giving us only a summary in a few lines. In this brief summary, however, we are told that Bertran and the other nephews of William are captured, leaving only William, and the next line adds also Gui.<sup>62</sup>

#### THE "MERCREDI" PORTION

Preceding the "Mercredi" part we have two *laissez* of the "Lundi" text that have the appearance of a connecting passage. For reasons mentioned elsewhere I have considered these *laissez* as belonging with this portion. In any case they are not of great importance, since they are substantially the same in sense as the first *laissez* in the "Mercredi" text just following.

The character and action of this "Mercredi" portion has already been fully discussed in the preceding pages, and the position was taken that it is a later introduction of an episode into the "Lundi" text. Accepting that theory, the reasons for its introduction here seem fairly evident. It is wholly in keeping with the rest of the *Willame* compilation in being almost entirely a personal adventure. It is, moreover, a quite natural—one might say inevitable—outgrowth of the Gui episode in the "Lundi" text. After the prominence given him there in escaping and following William, it was to be expected that some one, either the *Willame* reviser or some other, would invent a rôle for Gui in which he becomes the chief hero and the slayer of Deramé, instead of having him captured along with Bertran and the others, or possibly killed, as he seems to have been in the original. This idea is, as has been said, a natural enough development, and is about all the real invention found in the episode. Gui's hunger is only the carrying out of

<sup>62</sup> This mention of the capture of William's nephews is a necessary part of this résumé. Unless this fact were known all the relief expeditions, the efforts of Renoart to rescue them, etc., would be meaningless. The elimination by Suchier and others of this passage from this part of the text I consider, of course, as entirely arbitrary. The *Willame* reviser is resuming in as few lines as possible William's battle at *Aliscans*. The capture and other facts stated here are necessary parts of that résumé.

William's prophecy in the "Lundi" text, and the killing of Deramé is but a pale copy of the killing of Alderufe.<sup>63</sup> As far as Gui's youthful prowess is concerned, similar scenes can be pointed out in almost any late *Enfances*.

That the Gui episode fits badly with the rest of the text would trouble little a compiler of choice selections (personal episodes) such as the composer of the *Willame* really is. We have already seen him introduce conflicting incidents almost as evident as this in the "Jeudi" portion.

He does attempt with the "Mercredi" episode, as he did with the "Jeudi" portion, to cut out some of the things in the "Lundi" text that would stand in the most immediate and glaring contradiction with this part.

As examples he has Gui captured and mentions this capture later, but does not have him among those released in the end, unless his name there is in a different form. It is true that by this time Gui would be largely forgotten. More characteristic of this half-hearted manner of harmonizing the Gui incident with the rest of the text is the compiler's treatment of Deramé. In spite of having him killed in the Gui episode it is so evident in all the later portions of the text that the pagans had not lost their commander-in-chief, that not once is the death of Deramé mentioned, although it seems almost incredible that William should fail to speak of it in several instances, such as that where he relates the capture of Gui to Guiborc<sup>64</sup> or the other passages where he describes the events. But while the compiler apparently does not dare to assert the killing of

<sup>63</sup> The line stating that William has won his battle can not be taken seriously. It was a natural enough statement to follow the killing of the pagan leader, but it can mean nothing more than the momentary period which William has free from his pursuers when he finds Vivien, a lull found both in the *Aliscans* and the "Lundi" text. I have always felt that to hang so much on this line and consider this the end of the original poem is unfounded, and that critics have been willing to do so seems to be due to their eagerness to find some account more satisfying than the Renoart branch, and a hero more in keeping with the other personages of the epic than is the Saracen giant with his club. It has already been mentioned that this line is in direct contradiction with the "Lundi" text, and, if it is to be taken at its face value in the "Mercredi" text, it would be to my mind only another indication of the spurious and untraditional character of the "Jeudi" and "Mercredi" episodes.

<sup>64</sup> *W* 2357-2369.



Deramé in this part, he does go so far as to eliminate him as an actor and he is not found actually mentioned again in the "Lundi" part, as he is in the corresponding *Aliscans* text.

### THE THIRD LUNDI PART (RENOART BRANCH)

The third *Lundi* portion begins with the death scene of Vivien. It comprises this death scene, William's killing of Alderufe and his flight to Orange before the pursuing Saracens, the scene with Guiborc at the gate of Orange, his journey to Louis for aid, the well-known court scene, and finally the Renoart portion of the text. As noted, this is along broad lines exactly the same as the *Aliscans*. In fact all have recognized the substantial parallel between the *Aliscans* and this portion of the *Willame*, the chief differences being in minor details only. In general the *Aliscans* is much longer, with a wealth of unimportant incidents and developments not found in the *Willame*. Just how much of the difference is due to later elaborations in the *Aliscans* can not perhaps be positively determined. There is little doubt that there has been a great deal of this. However, the tendency of the *Willame* to eliminate, which was noted in the first part, may have been continued here to a considerable extent. There are some indications of this. It is worth noting, however, that all this portion of the text, and decidedly more so in the *Willame* than in *Aliscans*, is largely action and interest, centered on two or three personages only,—William, Guiborc, and Renoart. While a larger number of personages are mentioned than in the first part of the text, these secondary personages still occupy comparatively little space and affect but slightly the highly personal character of the action, which is so striking a feature of the entire *Willame*.

Summing up our treatment of the *Willame* to this point, we have the following conclusions. The compiler had as the basis of his work a poem (or poems) similar to the *Covenant-Aliscans*. This is the portion of the text containing the "Lundi" refrain. He has made in his model two considerable insertions which are marked by the "Jeudi" and "Mercredi" refrains. The actions and episodes related in these two insertions are for the most part natural outgrowths from scenes and personages found in the "Lundi" text,

and may either have been invented by the compiler himself or taken from some unknown source. His purpose was evidently to make a collection of the scenes which are chiefly of personal interest, and to eliminate or resume as briefly as possible the portions of his model which were devoted to battles and other action of a general nature. This purpose of the compiler accounts for the brevity and garbled character of the *Willame*, and many of the differences between its text and the *Covenant-Aliscans*. It also furnishes a motive for the insertions mentioned, which are almost entirely personal episodes.

Up to this point it has been our purpose as much as possible to give an exposition of facts, or at least what seem to us to be facts, and to avoid largely the argument of disputed points and reference to minor details.<sup>65</sup> What it is hoped has been accomplished is the correct explanation of the composition of the *Chanson de Willame*. Whether we have succeeded or not does not need, it seems to us, to be merely a matter of opinion. Let anyone who wishes compare the *Willame*, using the refrain as a guide, with the *Covenant-Aliscans* and judge for himself whether these two poems coincide with the "Lundi" portions, and, if so, whether the explanation offered for the various portions of the *Willame* seems justified. However, in case we have been fortunate enough to offer the true explanation of the *Willame*, everyone familiar with this material will recognize that there are a number of theories and conclusions, concerning the poems of the William cycle, that have been offered, and in some cases quite generally accepted, which will need to be re-examined. It is not possible to do so in the limits of this article and we hope to continue the subject in a later one. Nevertheless there is one opinion that we should like to express here with the

<sup>65</sup> It is, of course, impossible to adhere rigidly to such a program and avoid entirely the argument of disputed points and details of minor importance, but, in any case, we should wish to have this exposition judged along broad lines. Are the "Lundi" portions of the *Willame* and the *Covenant-Aliscans* in such substantial agreement that they must come from a common original? This is a fact that anyone can determine for himself. Is the *Willame* largely a collection of personal episodes? Are the "Jeudi" and "Mercredi" portions of this nature, and do they in general disagree with the "Lundi" text to the extent that they appear to be inserted into a poem already written? It is believed that a comparison of the texts such as is made here should bring a fairly general agreement on these points.

expectation of expanding it more fully later. It concerns the ultimate original of these poems.

I recognize the difficulty of accounting for all of the inconsistencies in these poems. Anyone must, who has attempted to read the critical literature on this subject. I doubt if they can all be explained, but, taking the present condition of this material with its various revisions, I should be more surprised not to find such difficulties. It seems to me that it has been a general fault to attach too much importance to minor points and to fail to look for the main motives and incidents of the original poem, for I believe there was one original poem which was the basis on which has been built by various revisions the present poems: the *Willame*, the *Aliscans*, and the *Covenant*.

Let us assume for a moment that there was such an original and try to imagine what this poem would likely be. It should have as chief figures William, Vivien and Guiborc.<sup>66</sup> It would seem quite sure that the original poem sang of the death of Vivien, of a defeated William, and of the encouragement and heroism of Guiborc. It would also seem reasonably sure, knowing as we do the qualities of French literature, that these facts were recounted in a logical, orderly way. There was a beginning and an end—a motive and a result. Let us see if we have this order, this logical connection of events in the combined *Covenant-Aliscans* and "Lundi" part of the *Willame*.

As primary motive we have the vow. This is the *démecure* of Vivien, the key to his character, and the cause of the disaster. Without it he would have sent at once for aid, he would have retreated and we should not have had the death scene. The death scene is the finest one in the poem. Is it the work of a reviser? Vivien without the vow would not be Vivien. The *Aliscans* or the *Willame* without Vivien would lose its finest parts, its merit as a poem. There would not be enough in it to make it worth while revising.

<sup>66</sup> With all good will for the views of those who have attempted to establish a Vivien poem or cycle, separate in the beginning from the William poems, I think their claims are yet to be proven and if the preceding exposition of the composition of the *Willame* is well founded, such view will be more difficult than ever to establish.

The vow of Vivien, his rashness, brings about the defeat of William as well as his own death. Are we to suppose that the poem ended with a defeat? The French epics, national epics in general, do not sing defeats. Partial or preliminary defeats are necessary to bring out the seriousness of the struggle, to arouse interest in the contest. The Greeks must often be repulsed before Troy, the rear guard of Charlemagne must be sacrificed. Heroes must die to appeal to the sympathies and to arouse feelings of revenge. As examples, see Achilles, Hector, Roland. One can hardly believe then that the primitive poem sang of the death of Vivien and of the defeat and flight of William, and not of the revenge. Consequently a victory and the recovery of Vivien's body were called for. (It should be noted that this motive would only be strengthened by having Christian captives to rescue, although it is not here a question of great importance to determine whether these captives were in the original or not.)

With a revenge called for, the encouragement and heroism of Guiborc are natural. They seem a necessary part of the poem and certainly we should again find it difficult to accept an original without the scene at the gate of Orange. To secure aid for this revenge Guiborc must hold Orange and William must go to the court of Louis. If the original poet wrote the death scene of Vivien and the scene at the gate, why should he not have written the scene before the court? Moreover, if this revenge was taken by William alone, or by William with the support of Guiborc, we lose the moving scene of his departure for the court and the superb one of his appearance there. Also, the other poems of the William cycle indicate some such aid by Louis, just as the French epics in general usually present the intervention of the emperor.

As dénouement, then, we should expect that Orange would be delivered, the Saracens defeated, Vivien's body recovered, and the prisoners—if there were any—freed. Who took the leading rôle in accomplishing this? Was it William with the aid of Louis? The critics generally hold that it could not have been the more than half burlesque Renoart. In any case, it could hardly have been the Renoart whom we know, with the obvious extension of grotesque traits by frequent revision to suit the vulgar taste. But it might be noted that in the *Willame*, Renoart is much less copiously unreason-

able and burlesque than in the *Aliscans*. What he might have been in the beginning is uncertain, and if he were only a terrible pagan apostate used by William as an instrument—a case of poetic justice—he might not unreasonably stand in the original. However, the acceptance or rejection of the Renoart figure does not greatly matter. The chief lines of the poem must have been what I have said, and these are the ones along which the “Lundi” part of the *Willame* and the *Covenant-Aliscans* agree perfectly.

To resume, then, I should say that the agreement of the “Lundi” portion of the *Willame* and the *Covenant-Aliscans* presents a logical poem.<sup>67</sup> Every necessary, or fundamental, event is found in both. Moreover, these fundamental events found in both are so many links in a chain, each one necessary for its strength. The one event depends upon the other, and there can be little doubt, it seems to me, that they were all created at once by the same mind. Such logical sequence and harmony could hardly be possible if some of the links were added later by a reviser.

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(*To be continued*)

\* Some of the questions which space forbids me to treat here, but which I hope to discuss later, are the former division of the *Willame* into two parts, the linguistic evidence alleged for its support, the disappearance of most of the contradictions formerly pointed out if we accept the division I have given, and the value in settling these questions (or the lack of it) of such related works as *Foucon de Candie*, the *Nerbonesi* and the *Enfances Vivien*.

## MISCELLANEOUS

### THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ORIGINAL *CHANSON DE ROLAND*

THERE has long been, among students of the *Song of Roland*, a vital difference of opinion as to the relative value of the various manuscripts. For more than fifty years every investigator has sworn allegiance to one or the other of two radically different stemmata: the Oxford stemma, in which the oldest version, the so-called Oxford manuscript, is all-important, and the Redactions stemma, in which it shares its importance with later redactions. In 1878 Theodor Müller edited the poem in accordance with the Oxford stemma, and his edition is still authoritative for many of us. But for others the standard edition is that of Professor Stengel, published in 1900, and based on the Redactions stemma. A half century of debate has ended in a deadlock! The impossibility of elaborating a satisfactory stemma may be explained by the hypothesis that the *Roland* was known in oral, as well as in written versions. But, whatever be the explanation, the impossibility seems to be a fact. In other words, this manuscript problem is not soluble by the usual methods of manuscript classification. And yet no similar problem ever needed solution more, for Müller's *Roland* and Stengel's are, to all intents and purposes, different poems. Unless some solution be found, the lover of mediaeval French literature must choose his *Roland* as he does his creed, by faith rather than by reason.

Three years ago I proposed, in the *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XV (1909), pp. 111-136, a solution of the dilemma. My arguments were as follows: (a) the version of the Oxford manuscript shows, upon analysis, good literary technique; (b) therefore the original poem must also have possessed good technique;<sup>1</sup> (c) Müller's reconstruction of the

<sup>1</sup> This step (b) can not be proved with absolute certainty. It is, however, practically certain. Mr. Will is the only one of my reviewers who questions this part of my reasoning. He seems not to have read my note 3 on page 127.

original shows good technique; (d) Stengel's does not; (e) therefore the stemma used by Müller—that is, the Oxford stemma—is preferable for the reconstruction of the original. My article has been adversely reviewed by three scholars: Professor Stengel, in the *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, XXX (1909), cols. 370–372; Dr. Tavernier, in the *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur*, XXXVI (1910), *Referate und Rezensionen*, pp. 184–186; and Mr. J. A. Will, in the *Romanic Review*, I (1910), pp. 333–336. The following pages constitute my reply.

Their criticisms—which were expressed with the greatest courtesy—all bear upon my method. It, in their opinion, is too subjective to be used in scientific proof. It means, says Professor Stengel, “die ganze Rolandskritik vollständig subjektiver Willkür zu überantworten”; my conclusions are based, says Dr. Tavernier, “auf Grund sehr subjektiver Erwägungen”; and Mr. Will is reminded of “that all but forgotten editor,” Bourdillon, in whose work “subjective treatment in the realm of *Roland*-study found its apotheosis.” But these strictures upon my method are substantiated only by assertions that their opinion of the literary merit of Stengel's text is quite the contrary of mine. That is, they meet my alleged subjective arguments with subjective arguments of their own. While this subjectivity on their part certainly weakens their attack, it does not, I confess, render it negligible, for doubtless they would be satisfied if it could be said that *all* arguments based on the technique of the *Roland* were necessarily subjective. If this were so, my proposed solution of the manuscript problem would be worthless. It is clear that I can only justify my method by establishing its objectivity beyond a reasonable doubt.

Its point of departure is to be found in the peculiar character of the Oxford manuscript's literary technique. This technique is made up of such simple devices as balance, parallelism, and repetition, and therefore may be objectively analyzed. It may, so to speak, be measured. These measurements, once achieved, may be used to prove the good technique of Müller's text, and the poor technique of Stengel's. When applied to the former, they fit; when applied to the latter, they do not—we might as well try to find Professor W. H. Goodyear's analogous measurements of mediaeval

cathedrals, his leaning nave piers and vertically bending tower buttresses, in the degenerate Gothic of later times.

I have chosen, to exemplify the foregoing statement of my method, the "laisses similaires" in which Oliver calls upon Roland to wind his horn (lines 1049-1081 in the Oxford manuscript and Müller's edition, 1049-1081m in Stengel's). The following parallel columns are the Oxford manuscript and Stengel's text. It is not necessary to print Müller's version, for it is practically identical with that of the manuscript.

THE OXFORD MANUSCRIPT<sup>3</sup>

Dist Oliver: Païen unt grant esforz,  
De noz Franceis mi semblet avoir mult  
poi.  
Cumpaign Rollanz, kar sunez vostre  
corn!  
Si l'orrat Carles, si retournerat l'ost.  
Respunt Rollanz: Jo fereie que fols,  
En dulce France en perdreie mun los.  
Sempres ferrai de Durendal granz  
colps,  
Sanglant en ert li branz entresqu'a l'or.  
Felun païen mar i vindrent as porz.  
Jo vos plevi, tuz sunt jugez a mort.

Cumpainz Rollanz, l'olifan car sunez!  
Si l'orrat Carles, ferat l'ost returner,  
Succurrat nos li reis od tut sun barnet.  
Respont Rollanz: Ne placet damnedeu  
Que mi parent pur mei seient blasmet,  
Ne France dulce ja cheet en viltet!  
Einz i ferrai de Durendal asez,  
Ma bone espee, que ai ceint' al costet,  
Tut en verrez le brant ensanglentet.  
Felun païen mar i sunt asemblez.  
Jo vos plevi, tuz sunt a mort livrez.

Cumpainz Rollanz, sunez vostre olifan;  
Si l'orrat Carles ki est as porz passant.  
Je vos plevi, ja retournerunt Franc.  
Ne placet deu, co li respunt Rollant,  
Que co seit dit de nul hume vivant

## STENGEL'S EDITION

Dist Oliviers: "Païen unt grant esforz,  
De noz Franceis mi semble avoir mult  
poi.  
Cumpaign Rollanz, kar sunez vostre  
corn!  
Si l'orrat Carles si retournerat l'ost,  
*Socorrat nos et il et ses esforz.*"  
Respunt Rollanz: "Jo fereie que fols,  
En dulce France en perdreie mun los,  
*Se por païen ja sonasse mon corn.*  
Ainz i ferrai de Durendal granz cols,  
Sanglanz en iert li branz entresqu'a l'or.  
Felun païen mar i vindrent as porz.  
Jo vos plevi: tuit sunt jugiet a mort."

"Cumpaing Rollanz, l'olifan car sunez!  
Si l'orrat Carles, ferat l'ost returner,  
Sucurrat nos il et toz sez barnez."  
Respont Rollanz: "Ne placet damnedeu  
Que mi parent pur mei seient blasmet,  
Ne France dulce ja en chiee en viltet!  
Ainz i ferrai de Durendal asez,  
Ma bone espee que ai ceint' al costet;  
Tut en verrez le brant ensanglentet.  
Felun païen mar i sunt asemblét.  
Jo vos plevi: tuit sunt a mort livrét."

"Cumpaing Rollanz, car sunez l'olifant!  
Si l'orrat Carles ki est as porz passant.  
Je vos plevi: ja retournerunt Franc."  
"Ne placet deu, ço li respunt Rollanz,  
Que ço seit dit de nul home vivant

<sup>3</sup> Reprinted from Gröber's edition, with several changes in punctuation, and the obvious correction of *empur* for *ne pur* in the sixth line of the third strophe.



Empur paien que ja seie cornant!  
 Ja n'en avrunt reproece mi parent!  
 Quant jo serai en la bataille grant  
 E jo ferrai e mil colps e .vii. cenx,  
 De Durendal verrez l'acer sanglent,  
 Franceis sunt bon ci ferrunt vassal-  
 ment!  
 Ja cil d'Espagne n'avrunt de mort  
 guarant!

Que pur paien ja seie jo cornant!  
 Ja n'en avrunt reproece mi parent.  
 Quant jo serai en la bataille grant  
 E jo ferrai e mil cols e VII cenx,  
 De Durendal verrez l'acier sanglent,  
 Franceis ferront, se deu plaist, vassal-  
 ment;  
 Ja cil d'Espagne de mort n'avront  
 guarant."

*"Compaing Rollanz, car sonez la menee!  
 Si l'orrat Carles de France l'emperere.  
 L'ost des Franceis sempres iert retornee,  
 Secorrat nos en l'estrangle contree."  
 Respont Rollanz: "Ne place deu le  
 pere,  
 Ne Mariain la sœe douce mere,  
 Que por paiens face ceste cornee,  
 Ne son los perde par mei France la  
 clere!  
 Ainz i ferrai de Durendal m'espee,  
 Et tresqu'al poing en iert ensanglente.  
 Felon paien mar ont fait assemblee,  
 Mielz voeil morir que France en seit  
 blasmee."*

It has often been pointed out—and, indeed, it is obvious—that good technique in “similar strophes” consists in attaining an incremental effect without sacrificing the effect of similarity. This principle is exemplified in the passage from the Oxford manuscript. The similar framework of each strophe is: (1) Oliver’s request that Roland wind his horn, (2) Roland’s refusal, (3) his promise that he will use well his sword, and (4) a sort of refrain which dooms the Saracens to death. But the attainment of incremental effect is just as obvious as the insistence upon similarity. The increment of the second strophe is twofold: the third line, which is an amplification of the first part of the framework; and the fifth and sixth lines, which state the second part in entirely new terms. The third strophe, also, has a twofold increment: Roland’s vivid exclamation, “Ne placet deu . . . Que co seit dit de nul hume vivant Empur paien que ja seie cornant!” and his tribute to the bravery of his men, “Franceis sunt bon ci ferrunt vassalment!” So much for the Oxford manuscript. Müller’s text does not depart from the manuscript, and therefore has the same good technique. Let us turn,

then, to Stengel's text, in which I have italicized the extra lines due to the Redactions stemma. His second and third strophes are *per se* the same as those of the Oxford manuscript, but the insertion of two lines in the first strophe has cancelled, so to speak, a part of their increments. This is especially unfortunate in the third strophe, where the words "Que pur paien ja seie jo cornant" no longer flash suddenly upon us. As for his fourth strophe, it has no increment at all. The last line, it is true, contains a new reason for the refusal to wind the horn; but, since this line is not where the principle of similarity demands that it should be, since, worse yet, it is where something else should be—*i. e.*, the refrain which ended each of the three preceding strophes, and since, worst of all, its tone is in positive discord with the tone of that refrain, it decreases, rather than increases, the total effect of the strophe.

I have not done with this example, however, until I compare the immediately ensuing strophes (lines 1082-1092 in all three versions):

## THE OXFORD MANUSCRIPT

Dist Oliver: D'ico ne sai jo blasme;  
Jo ai veut les Sarrazins d'Espaigne,  
Cuverz en sunt li val et les muntaignes  
E li lariz et trestutes les plaignes.  
Granz sunt les oz de cele gent estrange,  
Nus i avum mult petite compaignie.  
Respunt Rollanz: Mis talenz en engaigne;  
Ne placet damnedeu ne ses angles  
Que ja pur mei perdet sa valur France!  
Melz voeill murir que huntage me venget;  
Pur ben ferir l'emperere plus nos aimet.

## STENGEL'S EDITION

Dist Oliviers: "D'ïço ne sai jo blasme;  
Jo ai vèut les Sarrazins d'Espaigne,  
Cuvert en sunt li val et les muntaignes  
Et li lariz et trestutes les plaignes.  
Granz sunt les oz de cele gent estrange,  
Et nus avum mult petite compaignie.  
*Sonez le corn! Si l'orrat Carles magnes."*  
Respunt Rollanz: "Mis talenz en engaigne.  
Ne placet deu ne ses sainz ne ses angles  
Que ja pur mei perdet sa valur France!  
*Ainz i ferrai de m'espee demanie.*  
Mielz voeill murir qu'ad honte vis remaigne;  
Pur bien ferir l'emperere nos aimet."

It is evident that the Oxford strophe is not a fourth "laisse similaire." Stengel's, on the contrary, contains four lines—the seventh, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth—which are similar to lines which stand in the immediately preceding strophe. As a result, the three "similar strophes" of the Oxford manuscript stand out in strong relief, while Stengel's four may be said to peter out in a fifth "semi-

similar" strophe. As for Müller's text, it is again identical with the Oxford manuscript.

The foregoing example has shown, I hope, that my proof consists of arguments which have the character of objective measurements. There are those, to be sure, who cannot see the true values of these measurements. This, however, far from being a proof of subjectivity in me, is perhaps—if I may be pardoned for saying so—an indication of a sort of literary color-blindness in them.

My single example does not prove, of course, though it goes a long way towards it, that the Oxford stemma is preferable for the reconstruction of the *Roland*. That proof may be found in my article of three years ago, which consisted of passages from all parts of the poem, treated in like manner and with like results. At the present time I have only wished to show the objectivity of such arguments. The burden of proof, it seems to me, is now on my reviewers. Instead of accusing me of subjectivity, which is the *argumentum ad hominem* of scientific discussion, they should try to prove positively the literary excellence of Stengel's reconstruction. If they cannot do this, they should admit that the original *Roland* must be reconstructed on the basis of the Oxford stemma. And this means, as I showed in the aforementioned article, that the best way to edit the poem would be to re-edit Müller's text with a few important changes.

This is a conclusion which should be emphasized, by all who accept it, as often as possible. As long as a considerable number of scholars accord even the consent of silence to any text based on the Redactions stemma, there will be some justification for the general failure to recognize the real value of the *Roland* as a work of art. Only in some text based on the Oxford stemma may the poem stand forth in its true light—as a literary monument informed of the same sense of sheer structure which embodied itself in the Gothic cathedrals, as an artistic creation equal in beauty to Chartres, as one of the greatest poems in all literature.

FREDERICK BLISS LUQUIENS.

SHEFFIELD SCIENTIFIC SCHOOL OF YALE UNIVERSITY.

**I**T has been supposed that the geography of the epic, *Huon de Bordeaux*, was haphazard and inconsequential; but this is hardly true, as I shall proceed to show. Through the kind assistance of Monsieur Brutails, keeper of the archives for the department of the Gironde, I was able, while in Bordeaux and Paris, to identify beyond doubt (1) the route described in the epic, (2) the abbey of Saint Maurice, which figures in all the latter part of the poem, and (3) the castle of Gironville, which is mentioned at different points throughout.

“ Atant s’en torne Hues li bacelers ;  
 Il et s’amie issent de le chité. (Rome)  
 Ne nuit ne jor ne finerent d’errer,  
 Ainc n’aresterent por vent ne por oré. 8760  
 De lour journées ne vous sai deviser ;  
 Mais il ont tant exploitié et erré  
 De Bourdiaus virent les murs. et les fretés.  
 Quant les voit Hues, s’a grant joie mené ;  
 Sa feme l’a tout maintenant mostré. 8765  
 ‘ Dame,’ dist il, vés là vos iretés.  
 Vés là vo vile, dont je vous doi douer,  
 Et de la tere moult rice don donner.  
 Si m’aït Dieus, c’est ore ducées ;  
 Mais, se je puis de France retourner, 8770  
 Cou ert roiaumes, se Dix me puist salver.”  
 Et dist Geriaumes : “ Ne vous caut de vanter,  
 Vous ne savés comment exploiterés ;  
 Mais cevauciés, n’aïés soing d’arester,  
 Tant que vignés à Saint Morrisse es prés, 8775  
 Une abéie qui siet près chi delés.  
 Laiens poés hardiement entrer,

118

# READING OF THE MAP.

x-x-x-x-x-x-x Rome—Bordeaux road.

- . - . - . - . - . - . Paris—Saragossa road.

o-o-o-o-o-o-o Paris—Bordeaux road.

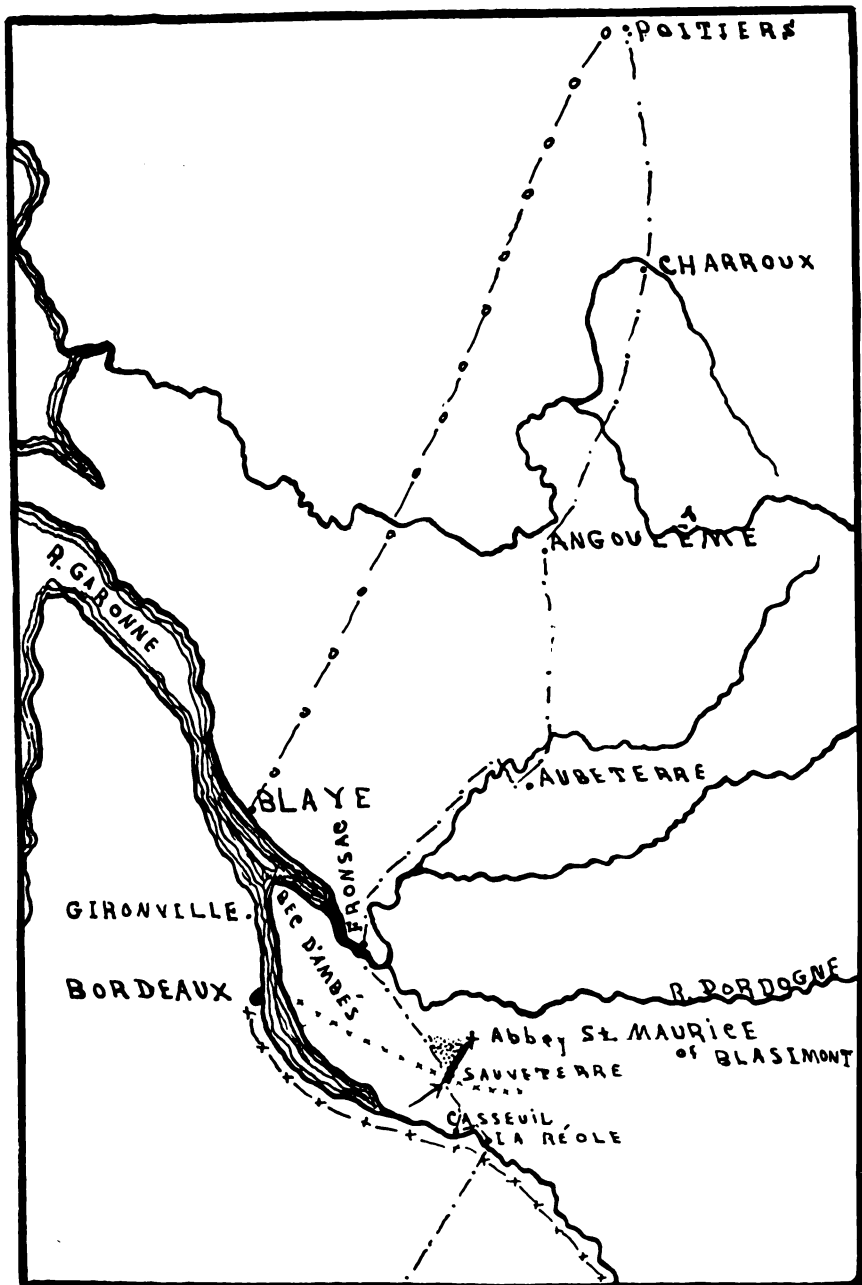
———— Road from Sauveterre to the Abbey St. Maurice.

x x x x x x x x x x Road from Bordeaux to Sauveterre.



“Le bosne de saint Morisse.”

Point at intersection of roads where Huon stopped  
and designated the different roads.



Car Karlemaines en est drois avoués ;

De lui le tient li convens et l'abés."

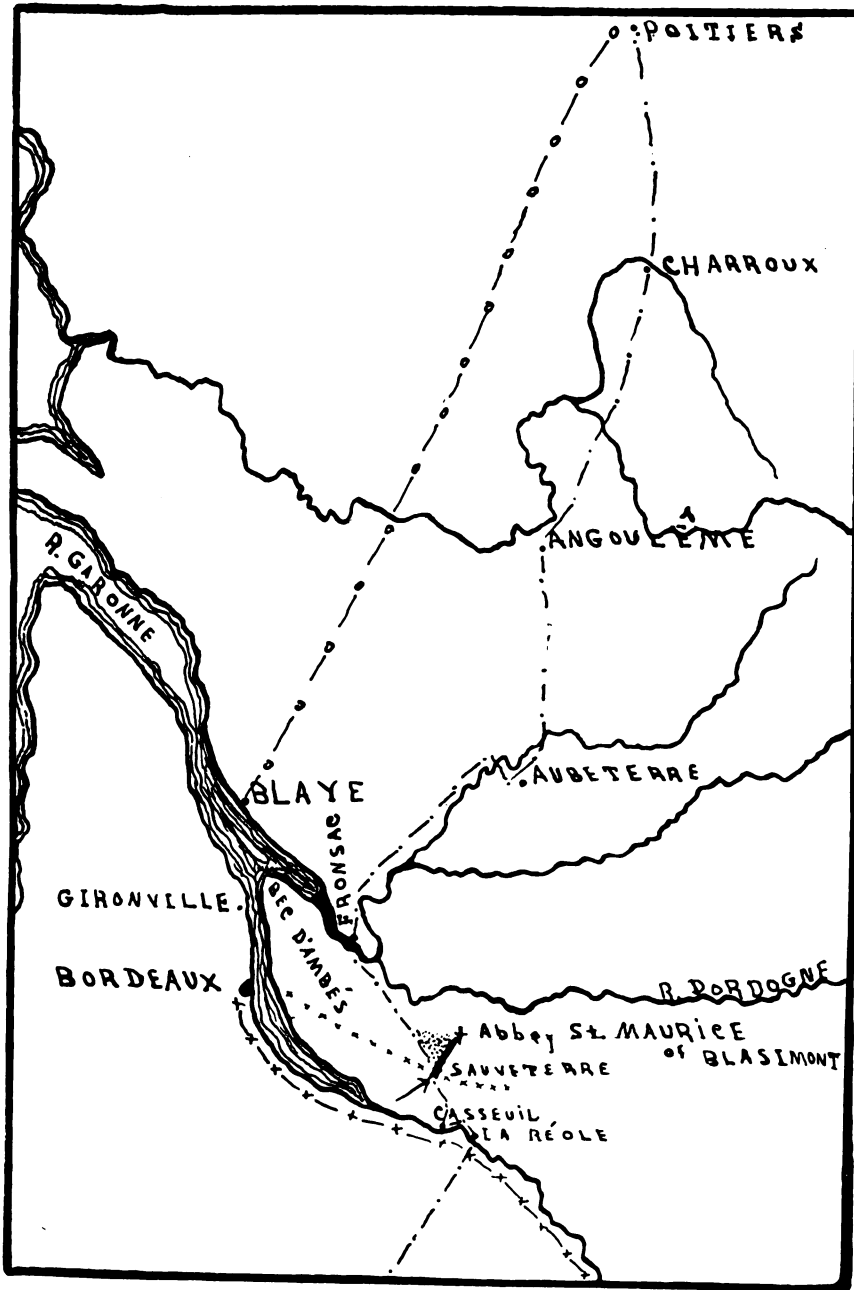
"Sire," dist Hues, "tout à vo volenté."

8780

The point described at line 8763 is Casseuil (see map opposite), and Bordeaux refers here, not to the city as we understand the word, but to the domain of the city, as is shown by lines 8766 ff. The words "vile" and "cité," at the time of writing the epic were both used in the sense of domain, or diocese, quite as frequently as in the more restricted one of modern usage. The domain, or diocese, of Bordeaux, throughout the middle ages, extended nearly to Casseuil, which stands high on the north bank of the Garonne and commands a charming view, as far as the eye can reach, of the lower valley. It was this view to which Huon invited Esclarmond's attention in line 8766. As to the "murs et fretés" of line 8763, one must understand one of three meanings: the most obvious, but I think also the least probable, is that these words refer to the walls and battlements of the city; but this would presuppose an extremely clear air, as the distance is about thirty-five miles, and, so far as I have been able to learn, no one living in the neighborhood of Casseuil remembers ever to have heard of any such phenomenon: the more likely supposition is that the reference is to some out-lying fortifications,—a sentinel post or fortified toll-gate,—outworks of the diocese: then there is the third possibility, that these words have merely an artistic value. The slight difficulty here involved does not, however, materially affect my argument as to Huon's route and the Abbey of Saint Maurice.

Huon had come along the old Roman road,<sup>2</sup> which led from Narbonne to Bordeaux by way of Toulouse. At a point nearly opposite La Réole this road was crossed by one leading to Paris, into which Huon turned and crossed the Garonne by a bridge much used in medieval times. This Paris road is one which diverged from the Paris-Bordeaux road at Poitiers, going directly south by Charroux, Angoulême, Aubeterre, Fronsac, La Réole, Aillas and Beneharum and thence across the Pyrenees by the pass called "le

<sup>2</sup> The fact of this road is well established and recognized, but see Camille Jullian's *Histoire de Bordeaux*, Feret & Fils, Bordeaux.





Car Karlemaines en est drois avoués;  
De lui le tient li convens et l'abés."  
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Samport" to Saragossa.<sup>3</sup> Monsieur Camille Jullian thinks this was an old Roman road reconstructed by Charlemagne. There is a stone bearing a Roman inscription in the museum at Bazas, which was found at La Réole, which Monsieur Jullian thinks to have been a mile stone on this road. This whole region is underlaid with archaeological remains awaiting the spade and glass of scientific investigation, but in the meantime we have documentary proof of the existence of this route during the middle ages. Fronsac and Casseuil were important fortified towns during early Carolingian times, and both show remains of these fortifications.<sup>4</sup> At the time of the writing of our epic the ruins at Casseuil were of considerable extent. A careful reading of the Poitevin MSS. (13th C.) of the Pseudo-Turpin shows that this road was still in use near La Réole,<sup>5</sup> and M. Jullian has proven<sup>6</sup> that in the tenth century it was much frequented.

According to the advice of Geriaumes (l. 8772 ff.) Huon went to the Abbey of St. Maurice. Now, the Paris-Saragossa road went through the medieval town of Sauveterre-de-Guienne and at this point Huon turned, at an obtuse angle, to follow the route to this abbey. So far as I know the only documentary evidence of the existence of such a route is that furnished by our epic; but there is sufficient proof of its existence in the fact that the Abbey of Saint Maurice, a Benedictine house, must have had communication with the monastery of La Règle, also a Benedictine house, at La Réole. But I had been told by experts that no such abbey as that described in the *Huon* had ever existed, therefore I will give my data with particular care. The historians<sup>7</sup> Marca, Davezac<sup>8</sup> and Larcher<sup>9</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See article by M. Camille Jullian in *Inscriptions romaines de Bordeaux*, vol. ii, pp. 235-7, for further detailed description and verification of this road.

<sup>4</sup> See M. Jullian's *Histoire de Bordeaux*, pp. 96 ff.

<sup>5</sup> What I have called the "Poitevin" MS. is usually designated as the Paris MS. 5714. It is published by Auracher in *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 1877. At page 294 it is recounted how Charlemagne went "to Pampelune" by way of La Réole.

<sup>6</sup> See article by M. Jullian in *Inscriptions romaines de Bordeaux*, vol. ii, pp. 235-7.

<sup>7</sup> Marca, *Histoire de Béarn*, 2d edition by Dubaret.

<sup>8</sup> Davezac, *Essais Historique sur la Bigorre*.

<sup>9</sup> Larcher, unedited MSS. in the *Bibliothèque de Ville*, Tarbes, Hautes Pyrénées.

all mention it and give its date of founding as 980. *Gallia Christiana*,<sup>10</sup> tome I, pp. 965, gives an ecclesiastical map of that region, upon which we find, in the exact spot where the remains of the abbey stand today, the mark representing an abbey with the designation, "S. Mauricius de Blasi-Monte O.S.B.," and further on, at page 1216, it is mentioned among the abbeys "quae nunc supersunt et pristinum titulum retinent sunt," and later is located as "non longe a Dordonia et Garumna fluvius sita." Still further on, a defective list of its abbots down to the eighteenth century is given, beginning with Fortis-Arsius, "an. 980. Hic confert monasterio S. Petri in loco qui praenominatur Squires, vulgo la Réole, partionem alodi fui in Monte-Vinitore, pagi Vasatensis, mense madio, regnante Guillelmo-Sancio." It is mentioned in a bull of Alexander III, Jan. 3, 1166, and the present remains of its extensive buildings are dated by archaeologists from the twelfth century.<sup>11</sup> As to its having been under the suzerainty of Charlemagne, that reference, while probably not strictly historic, nevertheless conforms to the notions of the time, since every abbey in France which had any claim to antiquity believed Charlemagne to have been either its founder or restorer. I visited the ruins of the abbey, taking notes of its location and the character of its buildings; and afterward walked to Sauveterre along the same route which I suppose Huon to have taken. The ruins of the abbey are of considerable extent and archaeological interest. The abbey-church is well preserved and serves as parish house of worship. A broad, beautifully shaded avenue leading to its door and numerous ornamental shrubs here and there about the grounds suggest the former grandeur of its park. As to its location, it lies in a great meadow, surrounded by low hills, thus answering to the epic description, "Saint Morrisse es prés." I found also that a tradition persists in the region attributing to the abbey large landed estates, including forest lands. The truth of this tradition is proven by archives of the abbey and by references in *Gallia Christiana* to charts of purchase of "Silva majore." All these things throw an interesting light on line 9153,

<sup>10</sup> *Gallia Christiana*, A history of abbeys and churches in France, compiled from documents and published in 1715.

<sup>11</sup> See *Variétés Girondines*, by Leo Drouyn, Bordeaux, 1884.

where Huon, already a league<sup>12</sup> from the abbey, calls attention to "le bosne monseignor saint Morisse."

Now let us proceed on our route: Huon had been joined at the abbey by his brother and, at an early hour the next morning, they had started on their way to Paris. Let me quote again:

Atant cevaucent parmi le grant caucie.  
 A une lieue furent de l'abeie;  
 IIII. chemin ilueques se devisent. 9150  
 Hues apiele toute la compaignie:  
 "Ténes tout coi," dist Hues, "ma maisnie:  
 Vés chi le bosne monseignor saint Morisse.  
 Cis chemins va à Bordele la rice;  
 Si m'ait Diex, cestui n'irai ge mie. 9155  
 Se g'i tornoie, ma fois seroit mentie  
 Envers Karlon qui France a em baillie;  
 Jou ne veul pas faire si grant folie,  
 Si ne veul pas perdre ma segnorie.  
 Cis u je sui vient devers Rommenie, 9160  
 Et cis si vient de France le garnie;  
 Cestui irai, par Dieu, le fil Marie."  
 El chemin entre, et il et sa maisnie;

I suppose that, upon leaving the abbey, Huon had retraced his way to Sauveterre where he came to the Paris-Saragossa road again. Halting in the fork before turning, he pointed to the road to Bordeaux (l. 9154), then toward the south on the Paris-Saragossa road (l. 9160), which, had he gone straight ahead, would have led him back to La Réole, whence he could go to Rome, and then he pointed north (l. 9161) on this same Paris-Saragossa road, into which he turned, with his company. I have already sufficiently identified the Paris-Saragossa road so that it only remains to say a few words about the road to Bordeaux. I know nothing very particular about it except, first, that Sauveterre was a place of some importance in the middle ages and would naturally have some means of communication with Bordeaux, whose rulers were usually lords also of the region round about (*i. e.*, of Aquitaine); second, that the abbey of

<sup>12</sup> The term "league" was loosely used all through the Middle Ages; but the distance from the abbey of Saint Maurice to these cross roads conforms approximately to this description; it is between three and four miles.

St. Maurice must have had some means of communication with the religious houses of Bordeaux; and third, that M. Jullian in his *Histoire de Bordeaux* shows such a road in the map<sup>13</sup> of that region for medieval times.

But there is another point in connection with the lines quoted in the above paragraph: in line 9155 Huon says of the road to Bordeaux, "Si m'ait Diex, cestui n'irai ge mie"—he will not go on this road even a little way. This is undoubtedly the exact meaning, for the Paris-Saragossa road appears to have run just outside the domain or diocese of Bordeaux, and by the terms of Huon's banishment he might not enter his own domain till he had been to Paris and received his lands again in fief from Charlemagne.

So far the descriptions seem remarkable for their exactness; but with line 9220 difficulties begin:

"Hors du bruelet est Gibouars issus;  
En se compaigne ot bien LX escus.  
Quant les voit Hues, li sans li est méus;  
Diu reclama et la soie vertu.  
Moult volentiers fust arriere venus  
Vers l'abéie, mais chil sont acoru;  
Seure li keurentli cuivert malostru.  
(A battle ensues in which Huon's men are killed)  
Li fel Gerars ne s'est arestéus:  
Les premiers prenent qu'il ont mors et vencus,  
A la Geronde viennent, n'atendent plus,  
Une riviere qui court de grant vertu,  
Dedens les jetent à ele plus grans fu;"

Now, as the poem reads, the "bruelet" seems to be "le bosne mon-segnor saint Morisse" of line 9153, and by line 9239 we are told that this is near the river Garonne. We must deal with the second difficulty first. The river referred to is evidently not the Garonne but the Dordogne: the two words having been confounded either by some careless scribe or else by some minstrel who, being unfamiliar with the region at first hand, unconsciously mixed names, just as story tellers of today will often do. In this connection it is well to note that the metrical value of the two names is equal. As to the other difficulty, it now takes a different form, namely, the seeming identity of the wood of the ambush with that of line 9153. That

<sup>13</sup> *Histoire de Bordeaux*, pp. 96.

this is meant to be so is shown from the passage at line 8885 ff., where the ambush is planned: Gibouar says,

“Entour l’abie a I. bruellet foillie  
A une lieue pres du maistre mostier;”

Now, if this refers to the wood near Sauveterre, the situation is impossible since the Dordogne is many miles north of there. It is possible that Huon did not return to Sauveterre, as I have supposed, but that he went north-west by some road which I do not know about, and that it led him into the Paris-Saragossa road at a point near the Dordogne and opposite a road leading to Bordeaux, and that some other wood belonging to the abbey was near the point of intersection; but this hypothesis I must dismiss without discussion for I know of no such roads nor of such a wood and besides I see no very good objection to the supposition that the poet chose at this point to sacrifice exactness of geographical description to artistic effect. But however one may choose to take these lines, the main points in my argument remain untouched,—the fact of the Abbey St. Maurice and the route to it having been proven. Concerning the journey from the abbey to Paris there is room for quibbling but as to that from Toulouse to Blasimont there is every certainty.

As to Gironville, in the Poitevine version<sup>14</sup> of the Pseudo-Turpin, there occurs, after the narration of the taking of Bordeaux by Roland, a list of the churches benefited by Charlemagne at that time, and among them is mentioned that of “gironvile.” The present castle<sup>15</sup> of that name, which is of the eighteenth century, stands on the site of a very ancient one, near the south bank of the Garonne, nearly opposite Bec-d’Ambes. There is an interesting medieval work, probably fictitious, entitled *Chronique de Gironville*, which tells of the early glory of this castle, its destruction by the Visigoths, its magnificence under the Saracens and its destruction under Charles Martel. So far as our present purpose is concerned these points are sufficient. They prove that Gironville existed, both in fact and in fancy, during the making of *Huon de Bordeaux*.

CLEVELAND PUBLIC LIBRARY.

MURIEL KINNEY.

<sup>14</sup> *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 1877. *Poitevinische Pseudo-Turpin*, Auracher.

<sup>15</sup> See *Les Châteaux de la Gironde*, tome i (Guillon, *Archives de la Gironde*).

## REVIEWS

*Sir Perceval of Galles: a Study of the Sources of the Legend.* By REGINALD HARVEY GRIFFITH, Adjunct Professor of English in the University of Texas. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois. Pp. viii, 131.

Professor Griffith's treatise is a study of the sources of the Middle English metrical romance, *Sir Perceval of Galles*, edited in 1844 for the Camden Society by J. O. Halliwell as one of *The Thornton Romances* preserved in the unique MS. of the Lincoln Cathedral library. As is well known to students of the Arthurian romances, this particular romance, though it strongly resembles Chrétien's *Perceval* in other respects, contains nothing about the Holy Grail, and so in the present study there is nothing that bears directly on the much-vexed question of the origin of that legend. Any discussion, however, of the sources of *Sir Perceval of Galles* is bound to be also, to a considerable extent, a discussion of the sources of Chrétien's poem and the other Grail romances, so that the book will be of interest to all students who have occupied themselves with this group of romances.

As appears from our author's Introduction, almost every conceivable shade of opinion has been expressed at one time or another concerning the relation of the Middle English poem to that of Chrétien and his continuators. Such expressions of opinion, however, have been mainly incidental to discussions of the problem of the origin of the Holy Grail legend. The few pages devoted to the subject in Steinbach's dissertation, *Über den Einfluss des Crestien de Troies auf die altenglische Literatur* (Leipzig, 1885), still remained the fullest discussion of the question up to the publication of the present work.<sup>1</sup> Under these circumstances it was manifestly desirable that some one should take up the sources of *Sir Perceval* as the subject of an especial monograph. It is possible, of course, to mar such a study by making it so overwhelmingly minute as to weary the reader (as especially in Chapters III and V), or by drawing into the comparison material which offers no real analogy to the story under discussion. In the opinion of the present writer Professor Griffith is chargeable with both of these errors to a very serious degree, yet the detailed comparison of the main texts is bound to further our understanding of the problem, even though we may not agree with either the conclusions of the author or his methods of investigation.

Professor Griffith's general conclusion is that the English poem is not only wholly independent of Chrétien but is indeed merely "an English singer's versification of a folk-tale that was known in his district of Northwest England" (p. 131). But how can we accept such a result as this? In the first place it conflicts with the French nomenclature of the poem, *e. g.*, "Syr Percevelle the Galayse" (l. 1643), an evident adaptation from the French "*Perceval le galois*" (older form "*galeis*"), "*Acheflour*" (ll. 20 ff.), the name of the hero's mother,

<sup>1</sup> The first volume of Miss J. L. Weston's *Sir Perceval*, London, 1906, contains a good deal here and there on the English poem.

which, whatever its etymology,<sup>2</sup> is also obviously French, "Ewayne fytz Asoure" (l. 261), etc. In the next place—and this is an even more serious matter—it leaves unexplained the virtually complete agreement between the French and the English poems in the order of the long series of incidents which they have in common. Chrétien lived in France, and it would surely be strange if any source accessible to him should have shown this close correspondence with a folk-tale current in Northwest England in respect to the very order of the numerous elements which are found in both poems.

Let us glance rapidly, however, at Professor Griffith's discussion of the successive episodes that make up *Sir Perceval of Galles*. As all readers of Chrétien's *Perceval* will recollect, the poet begins his narrative with the meeting of his youthful hero and the knights in the forest where he has been reared in seclusion by his widowed mother. Only somewhat later on (ll. 415 ff.)<sup>3</sup> do we learn from this lady of the circumstances under which she and her husband came to take refuge in this spot and of the cause of the latter's death. One may remark in passing that these lines, 415 ff., as Professor Griffith himself acknowledges, are found in all MSS. of Chrétien's *Perceval*, as far as is known, so there is really no valid reason for doubting their authenticity. Now, the story of Perceval's parents and their flight to the forest which is so briefly summarized in Chrétien is told at greater length and with marked differences of conception in a number of other compositions relating to this hero, the most important of which are the *Parzival* of Wolfram von Eschenbach and the so-called Bliocadrans-prologue to Chrétien's *Perceval*, which, however, is certainly not by him. Professor Griffith's position is that "C [= Chrétien] with or without the disputed passage (i. e., ll. 415 ff.) cannot have been the source; and that C and PC [Pseudo-Chrétien, author of the Bliocadrans-prologue] with chance thrown in do not satisfactorily account for the agreements we have found" (p. 28). Furthermore, that Wolfram and the English poem, though they have no immediate common source, show more features in common than the other versions (pp. 25, 27).<sup>4</sup> In what is said here concerning the possible relation of the English poem to Chrétien and Pseudo-Chrétien, we are confronted at once with what strikes us as a fundamental vice of method in Professor Griffith's treatise—one which, to be sure, is by no means peculiar to him—namely, that he makes virtually no allowance for any capacity for invention on the part of the authors of the texts that have come down to us: If a text shows any variation of incident, this is always laid to the account of some hypothetical source. For instance, we have not observed a single passage in this book where the author of *Sir Perceval* is credited with any share of the

<sup>2</sup> I have no doubt that Professor Golther is right in explaining this as a corruption of "Blancheflor," the name of Perceval's lady-love in Chrétien. Cp. *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und historischen Classe der k. b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, 1890. Bd II, Heft II, p. 206, note 1. Having applied the name to Perceval's mother, the English poet (as Golther remarks) invented a new name—Lufamour—for his lady-love.

<sup>3</sup> My references to Chrétien throughout are to the undated and anonymous edition of the *Contes del Graal*, privately printed in Germany in 1910, and since acknowledged as his by Professor G. Baist of Freiburg i. B. It is described on the title page as "Abdruck der Handschrift Paris, français 794."

<sup>4</sup> Miss J. L. Weston in her *Sir Perceval*, I, 319, London, 1906, insists on the supposed agreement of Wolfram and the English poem.



above-mentioned capacity. But why should the authors of hypothetical sources have a monopoly of invention to the exclusion of those whose works have survived?

With regard to these initial episodes, the Bliocadrans-prologue relates that Perceval's father was killed in a tournament and his mother then took refuge in the forest.<sup>5</sup> The same things happen in the English poem and it seems unnecessary to go any further than this prologue in search of a source for the latter; for, adopting a hint from Professor Golther (see p. 205 of the article cited in note 1 above), we may say that the variant features of the English romance in this portion are explained by the influence of the common *motif* which represents a widow's son as taking vengeance on his father's slayer.<sup>6</sup> Nearly all students of *Sir Perceval* have remarked on the author's constructive skill, and it is quite in accordance with his manner that he should, so to speak, tighten up the construction by identifying the first victim of the son's prowess with the slayer of the father. As regards the features of resemblance which, according to Professor Griffith, connect this episode of *Sir Perceval* more closely with Wolfram than with the other versions, we can only say that we fail to see the likeness. The long story of Gahmuret's wanderings in pagan lands, his adventures with the dusky princess, Belakane, his abandonment of her and subsequent adventures with Herzeloide, seem to us to be about as different from the story of the English poem as anything can well be. Professor Griffith lays stress (pp. 19, 25) on the fact that in Wolfram's account, as in the English romance, the hero's father is engaged in two tournaments, one of which is a marriage tournament. But the tournaments in Wolfram are fought under totally different circumstances from those in *Sir Perceval*, to say nothing of their being connected with different women. In *Sir Perceval* they are features of the festivities held in honor of the marriage of Perceval's father and the birth of Perceval respectively. In Wolfram the first is connected with the relief of a pagan queen who is besieged by two armies, and the second is simply a general tournament proclaimed by another queen where the father of Perceval meets for the first time in the person of this queen the hero's mother. The father here is not slain at all in a tournament but in a battle later on at Bagdad.

Since within the limits of this review we have only space to consider the most salient points in Professor Griffith's discussion, let us now pass to the incidents in *Sir Perceval* which he calls the "Red Knight-Witch-Uncle Story," about one fourth of the whole poem. Perceval arrives at Arthur's court just at the time that the Red Knight carries off the King's gold cup, pursues the Red Knight, and kills him. Not knowing how to get the armor off the dead man, he is about to burn the body out, when Gawain comes up and strips it off for him. He now puts on the armor and the following day slays a witch, mother of the Red Knight, who had at first, on account of the color of the armor, mistaken him for her son. He next meets ten knights who turn out to be Perceval's uncle with his nine sons. These knights flee from him, thinking that he is the Red Knight, but on learning their error they entertain him in their castle.

<sup>5</sup> The idea of adding such a prologue to the Perceval story may well have been derived from the account of Tristan's parents in Thomas's *Tristan*.

<sup>6</sup> Professor Griffith in his table of correspondences (p. 25) cites a revenge *motif* as common to *Sir Perceval* and *Wolfram*. For the latter we presume that he has Lâhelin in mind. Apart from its insignificance, however, this character, of course, does not correspond to the Red Knight in *Sir Perceval*.

To prove that these incidents belong together and constitute a story entirely independent of Chrétien, Professor Griffith cites certain Scotch and Irish stories such as the *Knight of the Red Shield*, *Conall Gulban* (both contained in J. F. Campbell's *Tales of the West Highlands*, 4 vols., London, 1890-93), *Faolan*, etc., besides episodes in Gerbert's continuation of Chrétien's *Perceval* and the Welsh *Peredur*. We should have to write a chapter as long as Professor Griffith's to set forth the innumerable differences between the narrative of *Sir Perceval* and these tales and episodes. For our own part, we do not see why any one should boggle at the derivation of the English poem from Chrétien who is able to accept such tales as *Red Shield* and *Conall* (the most favorable examples) as its analogues. To our way of thinking the incident in *Red Shield* of the Carlin who attacks in the darkness the hero who had slain her son would just as well justify the connection of this tale with *Beowulf*. On the other hand, if we compare the episode in *Sir Perceval* with the corresponding part of Chrétien, what are the difficulties? Of course, the omission of things found in Chrétien means nothing. This applies, for instance, to the omission from the English romance of Kex's insulting behavior towards the damsel and fool at Arthur's court who did honor to Perceval. Then comes Perceval's attempt to burn the body out of the armor. In Chrétien the hero does not actually try this but merely says to Yonez (corresponding here to Gawain in *Sir Perceval*), who soon relieves him of his embarrassment by removing the armor for him:

Je cuidoe de vostre roi  
 Qu' il m' eust ces armes donées  
 Mes einz avrai par charbonnées  
 Trestot esbraoné le mort  
 Que nule des armes emport (ll. 1112 ff.).

Professor Griffith characterizes these lines as "remnants of a burning-the-body incident somewhere in the sources of C(hrétien)," these sources being presumably better represented here by *Sir Perceval*.<sup>1</sup> But surely this is a far-fetched conclusion. The English poet would have to be destitute of invention, indeed, if he could not turn this suggestion into an incident, especially since the suggested incident was of just the kind that would suit the rude sense of humor which he displays elsewhere.

One cannot ascribe any great importance either to the Witch feature of *Sir Perceval* which is absent from Chrétien. Witches with sons and witches who have the power of restoring the dead to life are so common in popular stories that we need feel no surprise if the author of the English poem should have given the *Red Knight* such a mother. As a matter of fact, we find the *motif* in different variants of the "Bear's Son" *märchen*, both son and mother being slain by the hero (F. Panzer's *Beowulf*, Munich, 1910, pp. 133, 138). Then too, as regards the episode of Perceval's uncle and cousins who mistake him at first for the Red Knight and subsequently entertain him at their castle, the only

<sup>1</sup> Since I wrote this article a Münster dissertation, *Der junge Parsival* (1910), by Carsten Strucks has come into my hands. In regard to this matter Strucks, p. 51, follows the same line of argument as Griffith and his discussion is accordingly, in my opinion, open to the same objection. So, too, with much else in his dissertation.

serious difference as compared with the Gornemans episode in Chrétien is that the Englishman has given a close connection here to what is left disconnected in the French, (1) by turning Gornemans into an uncle of the hero, and (2) by making this uncle the enemy of the Red Knight. But in all this we have merely another instance of the poet's habit, remarked on above, of "tightening up the construction."

For the variations from Chrétien in the next episode of *Sir Perceval*, in which the hero relieves Lufamour of Maiden-land (i. e., Scotland), who is besieged by a "Sowdane," and then marries her, Professor Griffith again resorts to Scotch stories. But surely the explanation of these variations lies nearer home. In the first place the English poet might have easily derived Arthur's interest in this enterprise, after he hears of Perceval's connection with it, from a later passage in Chrétien, ll. 4096 ff., where the king is inspired with the same interest on hearing of the young knight's exploits and vows that he will not rest until he finds him. As regards the other features, the present writer pointed out many years ago, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XIII (1898), 381, the likeness of this Lufamour episode to the concluding episode in the Latin romance (there printed), *De Ortu Waluuanii*.<sup>8</sup> In that romance the lady of Castellum Puellarum (identified in the romances with Edinburgh) is besieged by a *rex paganus* who is seeking her hand. As in *Sir Perceval* she sends to Arthur for assistance, but the king cuts a pretty contemptible figure in the affair and the rescue is really effected by the hero of the romance (the youthful Gawain), who does incredible execution among the pagans. Perhaps if the whole of the *Enfances Gauvain*, published recently (*Romania*, January, 1910) by Paul Meyer, had been preserved, we should have something even nearer to the English romance, for this poem (as far as preserved) and the *De Ortu*, though closely related, give different versions of substantially the same incidents. It seems to us that the author of *Sir Perceval* in this passage, as heretofore, is in the main following Chrétien, but has allowed himself to be influenced by a story like that in the *De Ortu* romance. It is needless to analyze further the sources of this episode, for after all it is unreasonable to deny the English poet any inventive power whatever.

We will not linger over the Tent-lady episode, for Professor Griffith acknowledges (p. 96) that the principal versions differ less in respect to these incidents than in respect to any others. After the second of the episodes in question *Sir Perceval* ceases to correspond at all to Chrétien.<sup>9</sup> The author's MS. of the French poem may have ended at this point; or more probably he was approaching the limits of length which he had set himself, and to have continued following Chrétien would have brought him into material which he could not connect con-

<sup>8</sup> The unpublished romance, *Yder*, seems to contain a similar story, to judge from the meager analysis given by Gaston Paris, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXX, 202 ff. The Sowdane in *Sir Perceval* is due, of course, to the *chansons de geste*, not to "ballad poetry," as I remarked (*loc. cit.*).

<sup>9</sup> It is consequently useless to discuss, as Professor Griffith does, why *Sir Perceval* does not include the revery incident. It is possible that the author may have already used this *motif*, ll. 1690 ff., by anticipation. But the revery is found in other Arthurian romances, e. g., Lancelot's revery in the prose *Lancelot* (ed. H. O. Sommer, Washington, 1910), I, 203, and Arthur's, *ibid.*, 226, 271.

veniently with what he had written, especially Grail material, which, for whatever reason, he was avoiding.

The concluding incidents of this romance—the persecution of Perceval's mother by the giant, and her madness—call for no especial discussion. Giants were as cheap as herrings to the writers of the mediaeval romances, and magic drinks, such as that by which the lady is cured of her insanity,<sup>10</sup> hardly less so. The conception of this madness may owe something to *Yvain* or to the prose *Lancelot*, but none of the features of the conclusion of *Sir Perceval* appear to be beyond a very moderate capacity for invention. The most distinctive characteristic of the narrative here as throughout the romance is the care which the author takes to knit the various incidents closely together. But this very trait is not so likely to be found in a romance which has no direct original as in the redaction of an earlier romance, since the author of such a redaction would be relieved in the main of the burden of inventing incident and so could apply his energies to the moulding of his materials in more logical forms.

Altogether, even after reading Professor Griffith's book we see no reason to doubt that *Sir Perceval* is a free redaction of the Bliocadran-prologue and Chrétien's poem, with omission of the Holy Grail material. In the story of Lufamour, as pointed out above, the influence of Chrétien's narrative seems to have been modified by that of an independent romance. Finally, the last episode may possibly be imitated from some unidentified romance, but we believe that even here there is nothing which the English poet may not easily have invented.

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*Concordanza delle rime di Francesco Petrarca.* Compilata da KENNETH MCKENZIE. Oxford, nella stamperia dell' Università; New Haven, nella stamperia dell' Università Yale, 1912. Pp. xvi, 519.

Professor McKenzie's Concordance is a finely made implement that will render great service in many kinds of scholarly work. It will aid, for instance, in revision of the text of the *Rime*: whenever form or spelling is in doubt appeal can now be had to a complete list of Petrarchan instances of the word in question. It will lead to a better understanding of many obscure passages. Petrarch's use of words is difficult and individual; he gives them often their Latin rather than their Italian value, and he thinks so constantly in terms of elliptic metaphor that the reader has always to be on the alert for a meaning beneath the one that meets the eye. Such constant comment of Petrarch on Petrarch as the Concordance affords is therefore of the utmost value. Moreover, since the language of Petrarch is the language of hundreds of imitators, the book is really the authoritative lexicon of Petrarchism, and an admirable medium for tracing the derivation of particular phrases and motives.

<sup>10</sup> The authors of the prose-romances freely modified the work of their extant predecessors—so why should not the authors of the verse-romances have done the same thing? To select merely two instances, compare the three prose Merlin-continuations—(1) Vulgate, (2) Huth MS., and (3) MS. 337—and the different versions of the *Mort Artu*, especially (1) Vulgate, (2) Malory's Books, 18, 20 and 21, (3) Spanish *Demanda*. In all discussions of the versions of the Perceval story it is to be remembered, moreover, that we have no critical edition of Chrétien's poem.

Professor McKenzie treats, naturally, all the *Canzoniere* and all the *Triumphs*, including the rejected chapters. The texts used are for the *Canzoniere* that of Salvo-Cozzo and for the *Triumphs* that of Appel's smaller edition, the words being spelled, however, as in the larger edition. The *Rime disperse* are not treated, doubtless because their genuineness is in so many cases uncertain. The few that are surely Petrarch's might well have been included: the fifteen forming the first group in Solerti's edition and those of his second group that are derived from manuscripts having Petrarch's own marginal comment.

The book is extremely accurate. In the casual turning of all the pages and the minute examination of a score or so I have seen only half a dozen slips, all of the most trifling nature. This attests a fine thoroughness in preparation of the copy and in proofreading: each page contains very nearly four thousand typographical units. I have examined certain passages of the *Canzoniere* to see whether any words had been through error omitted from the Concordance, and have not found any such omission. The alphabetization, so far as I have tested it, is perfect. Notable, too, is the skill shown in the determination of contexts, a much more difficult matter than one who has not tried such a task can well realize. It is by no means possible to let the line in which the word stands serve in all cases as its proper context, and in dealing with constructions as involved in order and as subtle in connotation as those of Petrarch the greatest nicety of judgment is required to select just the words which concern the meaning and use of the word in question.

Professor McKenzie, following the general concordance tradition, omits entirely the commonest minor words, and for most of the less common gives references without contexts. In view of the extreme importance of the *Canzoniere* in determining the literary language of Italy, and in view of the fact that many of the difficulties in Petrarch concern the minor words, it seems to me that they should have received fuller treatment. The system followed for such words in the Concordance to the Latin Works of Dante is, I believe, logical and effective: instances in which the usage is for any reason of special interest are given in full; and for the others very brief contexts are given when the phrasing in any way defines the use or meaning of the word, contexts and references being printed continuously. Professor McKenzie follows this very system, with excellent results, in the case of the word *solo*. His general exclusion of the minor words prevents the Concordance from being of service in certain cases in which it is very likely to be appealed to. Tassoni says, for example, that the *se non se* of 22.2 does not appear elsewhere in Petrarch. The Concordance affords no means of controlling this statement,—although the combinations *se non che*, *se non come*, *se non quando*, and *se non quanto* are treated. Similarly, we find no light on the *che* of 192.7. Full contexts should have been given for *pure*, perhaps the most difficult word in Petrarch, and for minor words which occur but rarely, as *lungo* (prep.), which occurs only twice, and *vosco*, which occurs only once.

The poems of the *Canzoniere* are numbered according to the order assigned to them by Petrarch in the autograph manuscript and adopted in the recent editions. A valuable table at the beginning of the book enables one to control the various numberings of the poems in the older editions. The fourteen chapters of the *Triumphs* should have been numbered, it seems to me, as in the editions of Appel. Those editions are universally recognized as the best, and surely either the larger or the smaller one will be in the hands of any student of

Petrarch sufficiently alert to use the Concordance. Professor McKenzie numbers the chapters according to a scheme of his own, very nearly identical with the schemes of Pasqualigo and Mestica. The matter is controlled by a comparative table at the beginning of the book, but one is obliged to consult this table, actually or in memory, in every reference from the Concordance to Appel's text.

Petrarch's spelling is not that of modern Italian, and his spelling of a given word often varies from time to time. The resulting orthographical conditions gave Professor McKenzie a very difficult problem of arrangement, or rather a long series of difficult and slightly varying problems. His solutions are practical and satisfactory. In most cases he chooses for his heading the modern form of the word, even though all the instances in Petrarch have an antiquated spelling. He usually enters, in the proper alphabetical place of the old form, a cross reference to the new form, but is not as consistent in this matter as he might have been. There are, for example, references from *Amphione* to *Anfione*, from *pecto* to *petto*, from *Tiphi* to *Tifi*, and from *vicio* and *vitio* to *visio*, but there are none from *Amphiarao* to *Anfiarao*, from *lecto* to *letto*, from *Iphi* to *Ifi*, or from *spacio* and *spatio* to *spazio*, although the spellings *Amphiarao*, etc., all occur. There is a general warning in the preface to the effect that "le antiche combinazioni di lettere *cho-*, *ho-*, *ph-*, *th-*, ecc., sono da cercarsi sotto *co-*, *o-*, *f-*, *t-*, ecc."; but the variety in spelling is so great that a thoroughly consistent scheme of cross references, even at the cost of a perceptible lengthening of the book, would, in my opinion, have been desirable. Varied spellings of the same word are grouped under the same heading when Professor McKenzie feels that the difference is merely one in spelling. When he feels the difference sufficient to constitute two separate words, he makes two separate articles, each ending with a reference to the other. Here too the cross reference system is not quite complete: *augello*, for instance, lacks the reference to *uccello*.

A few minor matters of concordance technique suggest comment. Since the first context of each article must for practical reasons stand on the same line as the heading, care should be taken that the first context come considerably short of the length allowed to contexts in general: otherwise the first lines are likely to run over and injure the look of the printed page. This defect is not avoided either in the Petrarch Concordance or in the Concordance to the Latin Works of Dante. When in the text any mark of punctuation other than a comma immediately follows the words selected as a context, Professor McKenzie prints the mark of punctuation in the Concordance. I think he is right, except perhaps in cases in which the juxtaposition is accidental, that is, when the mark of punctuation does not in any way concern the words it follows (*e. g.*, 55.12: *L' onde che gli occhi tristi versan sempre?*). Professor McKenzie uses the traditional three dots to denote omission, and returns to the use of leaders between contexts and references. I prefer two dots for omissions, and think the leaders do more harm than good, especially if final marks of punctuation are to be included. The 'word in question' is italicized after the traditional method, which is probably sound, though I think open to criticism. Enclitics which appear with verbs are italicized when the verbs are italicized, as *seguilla*. This is justified for Italian, I think, but only because the extra consonant, in such cases, is historically part of the verb form. I do not like the beginning of a context with an enclitic (*e. g.*, 'I tuo aiuto mi bisogna Per dimandar *mercede*).

Should there not be some sign to indicate when the 'word in question' appears in rhyme? From the Concordance as it stands one can tell usually, but not always. Why not use the vertical line after the 'word in question' when used as a rhyme word? In the several articles of the Concordance the quotations from the sonnets come first, then those from the *canzoni*, then those from the *sestine*, the *ballate*, and the madrigals. It is stated in the preface that this order is chosen as more practical than the real order of the *Canzoniere*, in which the several forms are intermingled. There is room for difference of opinion on that point. Each reference for a word in the *Canzoniere* is double. First comes the number of the composition in the real order of the *Canzoniere*, then a sign indicating its form (S for sonnet, C for *canzone*), then a number indicating its position in the series of poems of that particular form (and then, of course, the line reference): e. g., 294: S. 253.5. I question the utility of the double reference. The specification of the form has some value, I think, but not the second progressive numbering. The few who have occasion to use the old editions in which the poems are numbered in this way are sufficiently provided for by the comparative table at the beginning of the book. The type 294.5 would have been much simpler and would have brought together the two facts which everyone wants. A sign indicative of the form might have been added for the relatively few poems which are not sonnets: e. g., 71.67 (C).

The Concordance yields immediately certain interesting facts as to Petrarch's vocabulary, and should be made the basis of a thorough study of that most important topic. Of the words to which Professor McKenzie accords full treatment the one which occurs most frequently is *bello* (404 instances). Then come *amore* (359), *core* (311), *occhio* (305), and *dolce* (271). The number of words which are really metaphorical in value, such as *freno* and *nodo*, is very large, and most of them occur so often that they appear to be stock elements in Petrarch's thought, used by him as sufficiently and immediately expressive rather than with deliberate attempt at metaphorical effect. It is interesting, too, to find that a high proportion of the words of the *Canzoniere* satisfy perfectly Dante's requirements for ideal poetic words, the *pexa* of the *De vulgari eloquentia*.

I have ventured to question the wisdom of some of Professor McKenzie's decisions; but nearly all of those decisions concern matters of slight importance to anyone except a reviewer or a concordance maker, and I do not think that any of them, save the retention of the traditional scant treatment of minor words, will perceptibly limit the real usefulness of the Concordance. The problems that face the maker of such a work are numerous and intricate in the extreme, and Professor McKenzie's decisions in the great majority of cases are unquestionably judicious. For this, for the perfection of his workmanship, and for the long devotion of his patient industry, he is entitled to the deep and continuing gratitude of those who seek a thorough knowledge of the thought and the art of Petrarch.

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*Leopoldo I, Imperatore, e la sua corte nella letteratura italiana.* Per UMBERTO DE BIN. Trieste, G. Caprin, 1910. (Extr. from *Bollettino del circolo accademico italiano di Vienna*, an. sociale xxviii.)

It is a fact too little emphasized in the past that the triumphant march of

French culture over Europe from the time of Louis XIV met at one point a most serious repulse. We have only to recall the name of Metastasio to observe that the dominant traditions of the Hapsburg court were Italian and not Parisian. The Peace of Westphalia severed the destinies of Austria from those of Protestant Germany, where French influences were advancing without resistance. The anti-Austrian policy of the French king closed the Hapsburg armies to French soldiers of fortune, and cast coldness and suspicion upon prospective French residents in Vienna. Here, as elsewhere in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, culture was aristocratic and monarchical, reflecting the tastes and prejudices of the ruler and his advisers. As in the north, the emperors did not turn to national popular traditions for inspiration, but sought from abroad those teachers and entertainers whose presence at court would have a maximum of brilliancy with the least possible significance in politics. So the weakness of the Italian States in arms made them exceptionally welcome in the social activities of the Austrian court. Education passed as a matter of course into the hands of Italians, mostly Jesuits; Italian soldiers and banished gentlemen found ready employment under the eagle, and a long line of literary men, from insignificant academicians of the Seicento, to Metastasio in the eighteenth century found pensions and encouragement in Imperial circles.

Mr. De Bin gives a succinct outline of this intellectual movement, an outline that suggests numerous lines of special investigation for the future, and reveals unexplored territory quite as distinctly as actual acquisition. He finds Italian influences penetrating Austrian life already in the early Seicento, if not at the end of the sixteenth century. Forerunners of the invasion are the Catholic missionaries, who control education from 1551 through the reign of Maria Teresa, influencing especially the royal families of all that period. Only a few emperors show symptoms of culture not Italian, and these belong to the earlier years of the sixteenth century. He follows the growth of Italian atmosphere resulting from intermarriage with Italian houses. The high quality of Italian military engineering and practical and decorative architecture leaves Italy almost without competitors in these fields. Then comes the revival of Italian music, and the florescence especially of the Italian melodrama. Instruction in the chivalric arts, the practice of medicine, the direction of scientific teaching, seems to have been largely controlled by Italians. In matters of etiquette and court ceremonial other influences were more persistent, especially from France and Spain. The curious documents against the use of French and Spanish at court, while they signalize the triumph of Italian around 1689, demonstrate as well that its victory was not uncontested.

Mr. De Bin concentrates largely on the epoch of Eleonora Gonzaga and of her step-son, Leopold I, illustrating the use of the Italian language in conversation and correspondence and especially in religious preaching, in comedy and melodrama and in court festivities. Entering more directly into the literary field, he shows the vogue of Italian poetry at court and the cultivation of Italian verse by the royal families themselves, studying minutely the Academy of the Crescenti (or more exactly, according to Mr. De Bin's thesis, of the Occupati), which flourished from 1656-1677, accompanied and followed by other similar assemblies of varying productivity and vitality.

The title of this volume properly includes another problem which Mr. De Bin leaves untouched: the rôle of Austria in Italian literature, especially in



Italian Satire from 1500 on. Here we have a complete change of front, in Italy as well as in Germany, passing from the bitter hatred of the invading Imperials at the time of the League of Cambrai and Maximilian I to the laudatory poems on the Emperors of the seventeenth century, and especially on Leopold I and again on the Turkish wars at the end of this century and the beginning of the next. Italian archives literally swarm with materials of this sort. A passing note in point. We have the *Acclamazione panegirica all' Imperatore Leopoldo I*, of G. F. Busenello, a long encomiastic effusion in which the poet sees in the Emperor the compendium of ancient virtues and the future liberator of Europe from the Ottoman pest. What arouses curiosity is the question why a relatively insignificant Venetian lawyer should have written this poem to such a person. What were the lines of contact between them? That it is a gratuitous bid for the nomination of poet laureate is possible; that Leopold may have known personally or by reputation Marc Antonio Busenello, Grand Chancellor of Venice and a distinguished diplomat, is another possibility. But in either case, the damage done by the Imperials in 1631 to the Busenello family at Mantova, makes the sympathy of the poet shown in the poem in question difficult to explain. But in the light of other facts, the otherwise negligible effort of Busenello gains in significance, as showing how the Italian influences at the Austrian court were capable of awakening responsive notes in Italy. Mr. De Bin has found traces of the Obizzi family of Catai and Padova at Vienna. He does not mention, however, the notable career there of Ascanio degli Obizzi, whose life in the Austrian capital was the direct outcome of the assassination of his mother, Lucrezia Orologio, wife of Pio Enea degli Obizzi. It will be recalled that in this celebrated case, through a miscarriage of justice, justly earned by the stubbornness of the culprit under torture, Pavanello, the murderer, escaped. Pio Enea and his son thereupon took justice into their own hands, and the subsequent murder of Pavanello sent the father to prison and the son into exile. The great favor shown to Ascanio by Leopold I, doubtless reflected some of its splendor upon Busenello, who represented the Obizzi in the prosecution of Pavanello, and who actually figured in the murderer's arrest. One other wire, this one perhaps more tenuous, led from the humble Venetian poet to the Austrian throne. This was the friendship with Fra Ciro di Pers and with Carlo dei Dottori di Padova. These two men were in contact with the Academicians of Vienna, and they associated Busenello with themselves in welcoming to Italy from the Emperor's hospitality, Christina of Sweden, who took a lively interest also in the Austrian academies.

Busenello's poem, with all its good intentions, came finally to share in a small portion of the disrepute into which Austria fell after Campo Formio. Some Italian patriot thus disfigured its high sounding dedication in a MS. of Milan: "Al più inclito di tutti i principi *puttaneschi* . . . Leopoldo I-*pocrita*, migliore degli ottimi *ladri*, queste poche pure eteree stille di ruggiada cadente all'alba di tanto cielo, G. F. B. dona a te la forza, dedica, consacra. . ."

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*Pierre de Ronsard. Essai de Biographie.* Les Ancêtres; La Jeunesse. Par HENRI LONGNON. Paris, Honoré Champion. 1912. Pp. xii, 512.

This excellent work is divided, as the title shows, into two parts: Les

Ancêtres (les Ancêtres de Ronsard; le Père et la Mère de Ronsard) and La Jeunesse (les "Enfances"; Premières études et premiers vers; les Humanités; la Brigade; les Amours de jeunesse).

M. Longnon begins by proving the falsity of Ronsard's boast that he was a descendant of a Roumanian or Bulgarian nobleman who came into France to aid Philip of Valois against the English in the first half of the fourteenth century. According to Ronsard, Philip rewarded this son of a "seigneur nommé le marquis de Ronsart" and his companions by giving them

. . . des biens à suffisance  
Sur les rives du Loir . . .

M. Longnon asks:

How could Philip of Valois have recompensed these foreign auxiliaries by giving them lands in Vendômois, that is, in a region which in no way belonged to the royal domain, and of which, consequently, the king could not dispose? Besides, if they were really the descendants of a Baudouin de Ronsard who did not settle in Vendômois until after 1328 and who was richly endowed by the king, how can we explain the fact that as early as the first half of the fourteenth century, that is, at the time of their arrival, these newcomers swarmed . . . in Italy, and that those who remained on the banks of the Loir were such petty vassals as the seigneurs of la Poissonnière were at the end of the same century?

The fact is that "we must consider the Ronsards as autochthons of the banks of the Loir, as far back as we can trace." Natives of Vendôme or of the environs of Vendôme, we find them first serving as *sergents fieffés* of the forest of Gastine and cultivating their lands in the valley of the Loir, and then gradually rising to important offices in the service of the king, until the apogee is reached in Pierre de Ronsard, "one of the most richly endowed poets that the French genius has produced."

Interesting pages are devoted to André, Olivier, and Jean Ronsard. André, "the first certain ancestor of Pierre de Ronsard," was the poet's great-grandfather. He was one of the four *sergents fieffés* of the forest of Gastine as early as 1397. So it may be presumed that Pierre's affection for his beloved forest, "haute maison des oiseaux bocagers," was hereditary. Olivier Ronsard, Pierre's grandfather, is noteworthy on account of his relations with Louis XI and the part he played in political affairs:

Il est le premier de son nom qui soit sorti de ses terres pour aller, en des provinces souvent éloignées, faire de la vie politique une expérience qui ne sera point perdue pour ses descendants. Le 26 janvier 1464, il prend le titre d'échanson du roi . . . Le 11 décembre de la même année, le roi lui fait don de l'office de capitaine et châtelain de Montbonnot en Dauphiné, et lui concède en outre tous les revenus de cette terre, y compris la juridiction. Sept mois plus tard, il est révoqué de cette charge pour "être passé dans le camp des ennemis du roi."

For a time Olivier served Charles de France, duc de Berry, Louis XI's brother, but later he returned to Louis XI.

Jean Ronsard, archdeacon of Laval and the brother of Louis de Ronsard, is to be remembered for his influence on Pierre:

Ce qui l'avait attaché au petit Pierre, c'était de retrouver chez cet enfant précoce son propre amour des lettres et surtout de la poésie. Jean était lui-même "d'une culture très distinguée en toute doctrine profane et sacrée," et son neveu, l'ayant vu "toute nuit," pour servir les Muses,

User tant d'huile et de chandelles,

en avait conçu une telle admiration pour son oncle qu'il ne songeait plus qu'à l'imiter. Touché de cette dévotion, l'archidiacre s'était intéressé à lui, lui avait appris ce qu'il savait lui-même, lui avait fait aimer ce qu'il aimait, et en mourant lui légua sa bibliothèque qui était très nombreuse et très variée.

Louis de Ronsard, the poet's father, was the most adventurous "of all the Ronsards, past and future, fabulous or real." In the service of Louis d'Orléans, later Louis XII, and of Francis I, he made no less than twenty-two journeys into Italy (1494-1515). After the disaster at Pavia he went into captivity in Spain with the two sons of Francis I (1526-1539). He had considerable taste for literature; in fact, he composed verses which unfortunately have not come down to us. After the tragic death (1536) of the Dauphin François, whom he had virtually brought up, he remained at court, where "his credit and his influence increased every day." In 1515 he married Jeanne Chaudrier, widow of Guy des Roches, seigneur de la Basme, a lady of higher rank than the Ronsards.

M. Longnon now enters into the biography of Pierre de Ronsard, which he sets forth in a pleasing style, with here and there a new detail or hypothesis added to the biography as it has stood for years. We see Pierre as page of the Dauphin and later of the duc d'Orléans; we follow him in his journeys to Scotland in the service of Madeleine de France, the unfortunate queen of James V of Scotland, and to Germany with Lazare de Baïf; we accompany him to court where his intelligence and handsome presence create a favorable impression. Then come the illness and the resulting deafness which put a check to his preparation for a diplomatic career and make of him a scholar and a man of letters.

The chapters entitled "les Humanités" and "la Brigade," though offering but little that is new, are of particular interest because of the author's clear and vivid manner of placing his facts before the reader. Ronsard's studies with Jean-Antoine de Baïf and others under Dorat have never been better described. The recruiting of the Brigade, its members, its diversions, its enthusiasm—all of these points are carefully developed. We pass in review the friends of Ronsard's early career, not only the well-known Chasteigniers, Dorat, Du Bellay, Baïf, Jodelle, Denisot, and Olivier de Magny, but a host of minor characters, such as René d'Urvoy, La Hurteloire, Julien Pacate, Guillaume Capel, Bertrand Bergier, Maclou de la Haye, René d'Oradour, G.-M. Imbert, and Pierre de Mauléon. M. Longnon emphasizes the fact that the Brigade did not have the homogeneous formation that some think it had. He gives an excellent idea of the confused aspirations of the zealous young men gathered around Ronsard and Du Bellay and demonstrates that the Brigade and the Pleiad were not so much the result of a preconcerted, cut-and-dried plan as of the promiscuous efforts of enthusiastic souls "imbued with ancient literatures and weary of the Marotic poetry."

M. Longnon's treatment of Ronsard's love affairs is perhaps the portion of his book that will be the most severely criticized. The poet was anything but a constant lover; he paid court indiscriminately to blond or brunette, "grasselette ou maigrelette."

Maintenant je poursuis toute amour vagabonde,  
Ores j'aime la noire, ores j'aime la blonde,  
Et, sans amour certène en mon cœur esprouver,  
Je cherche la fortune où je la puis trouver.

In addition to his chief affairs of the heart (or generally of the senses) with Cassandre, Marie, and Sinope, Ronsard devoted his attentions to Rose, Macée, Denise, Madeleine, Jeanne, Marguerite, Agathe, Genève, and perhaps others. M. Longnon thinks Ronsard a singular combination of natural inconstancy and sincerity.

Il était heureusement l'esprit le moins systématique du monde, le tempérament le plus spontané et le plus riche en contrastes. Aussi peu défiant de lui-même, aussi peu en garde contre les tentations qu'un enfant, il mettait aussi dans toutes ses émotions la même naïveté confiante, le même enthousiasme bavard. Le sans-gêne avec lequel il a peint les replis les plus secrets de la chair n'a d'égal que la simplicité candide dont il a chanté les espoirs, les tendresses, les illusions d'un cœur vraiment épris. Sa sensualité et le goût littéraire en avaient fait le rival osé d'Anacréon, de Catulle et d'Arioste; mais ces maîtres n'ont jamais prêté à l'amour vrai un langage aussi touchant . . . Mais, aussi souvent qu'inconstant et paillard, il fut amoureux naïf et sincère. Il l'avait été auprès de Cassandre, auprès de Marie, auprès de Sinope; il le fut plus tard, sur son automne, avec Hélène. Au fond, il le fut avec toutes, si passagères qu'elles aient été.

M. Longnon does not hesitate to outline clearly each of Ronsard's amours, a procedure before which more than one of his predecessors had shrunk. Placing entire confidence in the commentary which Marc-Antoine de Muret composed for the edition of 1553 of the *Amours*, and naturally not neglecting the internal evidence offered by the poems themselves, M. Longnon attempts to distinguish the sonnets which the poet devoted to the chaste Cassandre from those relating to more facile conquests. Inasmuch as such a distinction is necessarily arbitrary at times, M. Longnon must not expect to win the approval of some of the more conservative critics who have preceded him and who have thought the question too obscure to admit of a final solution. M. Longnon does not underestimate the difficulty of his task. "At the risk of committing some errors of detail," he undertakes to clear up a thorny problem, and for so doing he deserves commendation. His effort is highly interesting and, in a measure, convincing.

All in all, M. Longnon gives a faithful portrait of Ronsard during the first half of his life. He does not seek to idealize the portrait; he represents the great poet with all his warts and wrinkles. Especially, he humanizes him. He shows Ronsard to have been not only an earnest scholar, an enthusiastic poet and a reformer of poetry with the firmest belief in the importance of his mission, but also a man "full of ardor and exuberance," a hotblooded seeker of pleasure, who was haughty at times, fickle and inconstant invariably, and who in the thick of his hardest labors found no little leisure to devote to "les pots et les fillettes."

It is to be regretted that M. Longnon has lessened the value of his work as a book of reference by failing to provide it with an index.—A query, p. 243: Is it not unusual to speak of Pontus de Tyard as the chief of the Lyonese school of poets?

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*El Divino Herrera y La Condesa de Gelves.* Por FRANCISCO RODRÍGUEZ MARÍN de La Real Academia Española. Madrid, Imprenta de Bernardo Rodríguez, 1911. 31 pp.

This work is a lecture published under the auspices of the Spanish Ministry

of Public Instruction and Fine Arts. After a few well chosen words of introduction, the author turns to his task, which "will be limited to setting forth what has been known hitherto of this famous Sevillian love affair, correcting and enlarging frequently with the results of my own investigations." A definite date is set for the birth of D. Álvaro de Portugal, March 19, 1534, without any reasons therefor. M. Adolphe Coster, in his discussion,<sup>2</sup> found it impossible to reach a definite conclusion and suggests as approximate the year 1532.

A few lines lower down on the same page (9), Sr. Rodríguez Marín tells us that "the count D. Jorge having died the 23rd of September, 1543, his widow was appointed administratrix of the estate of D. Álvaro, who had not yet completed his eleventh year," which indicates an error of one year in computation, since according to the first date he was, on September 23, 1543, a few days over nine years and six months old. In the same paragraph as the above citation Sr. Rodríguez Marín speaks of D. Álvaro as being in Brussels at a fête when he had "recently completed his seventeenth year." This same fête is described by M. Adolphe Coster<sup>3</sup> and he gives us the date: May 11, 1550. The same error seems to have been made here. By comparing the date given for his birth (1534), we see he had recently finished his sixteenth year at that time. One would like to see a consistent set of dates, with evidence therefor.

The date of the death of Doña Isabel Colón, mother of D. Álvaro, is given as September 26, 1551. In this connection he mentions her will, executed, so he says, six days previous to her death, but he does not tell us how he reached that date. Instead of giving us the text of her will or telling us its present whereabouts, Sr. Rodríguez Marín presents only certain interesting facts excerpted from the will.

Sr. Rodríguez Marín has new information on the question of the relations of Herrera to the Countess of Gelves. He bases his conclusion on new data gathered while visiting archives and on information contained in a manuscript formerly in the house of Osuna, but now in the Biblioteca Nacional. This manuscript contains more than a score of poetical compositions by Herrera, which are not included in the collection of José Maldonado Dávila y Saavedra, published in the seventeenth century. On the margins of many of these poems are written the years in which they were composed, taken probably from the original draft of Herrera himself or from some trustworthy copy. The poetry of Herrera is almost all autobiographical. And thus, aided by *dated* poems Sr. Rodríguez Marín arrives at the same conclusion as M. Coster, namely that Herrera's relations with the countess were platonic. While this conclusion appeals to us as sound, we must nonetheless point out that we are generally at a loss to know whether a given citation is new material from the aforesaid dated manuscript or from some other source.

<sup>1</sup> "... se limitará á exponer lo que hasta ahora se sabía de aquellos famosos amores hispalenses, rectificándolo y ampliándolo frecuentemente con el resultado de mis investigaciones" (p. 8).

<sup>2</sup> *Fernando de Herrera*, par Adolphe Coster, Paris, 1908, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> "Fallecido el conde D. Jorge en 23 de Septiembre de 1543, su viuda fué nombrada gobernadora del estado de D. Álvaro, que tenía once años no cumplidos, . . ." (p. 9).

<sup>4</sup> "... recién cumplidos los diez y siete años de edad, . . ." (p. 9).

<sup>5</sup> Adolphe Coster, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

In the Archivos de Protocolos de Sevilla, Sr. Rodríguez Marín found a document, witnessed by a notary, which states that on August 24, 1577, Herrera gave to the Count of Gelves the sealed will of the countess, executed on December 13, 1575. Seeking an explanation of this peculiar situation, Sr. Rodríguez Marín found in the same archives the record, by another clerk, of a power of attorney which the countess caused to be drawn up in August, 1577, in favor of another attorney of the court of Seville, but which she was not able to sign on account of ill health. On the 22nd of the same month she caused to be drawn up another power of attorney in favor of her husband, which for the same reason she was unable to sign. And on the 24th (August, 1577) she had still another drawn up in favor of her husband, by which the power conferred "may be used during her life as well as afterwards," this being her last will.

... In view of this information, our author reasons thus: Doña Leonor was at the point of death on August 24th, 1577. Don Álvaro wanted her to make a will. Finally learning that she had already made her will and not knowing who held it, the count dictated this last document and pretended by it to abolish her will. Then learning that Herrera had it, he demanded it of him and it was returned, Herrera thinking, as did everyone else, that she was about to die. She did not die from this sickness, which Sr. Rodríguez Marín thinks must have been something like spotted fever. This disease caused the loss of her hair, which explains the hitherto obscure sonnet beginning:

iQuién osa desnudar la bella frente. . . .

According to an ancient custom, still affected by the Spanish nobility, a wife's signature is preceded by the initial of her husband's baptismal name. Such a signature of the Countess of Gelves is shown by Sr. Rodríguez Marín: *A la <sup>a</sup><sub>q</sub>* doña Leonor de Milan. In later years, 1577 and thereabouts, she changed this signature, postplacing the initial A, and making a rubric that Sr. Rodríguez Marín considers an F, interpreting the whole as: *La Condesa doña Leonor de Milán, á Fernando*. This, according to our author, is the only expression the countess gave to her love for Herrera during the years which followed the moment of weakness so beautifully described by the poet himself.

Sr. Rodríguez Marín's address, graceful and polished, is all that could be desired; but would it not be better when publishing the discourse to give in foot-notes exact references to the material used?

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*Einführung in das Studium der französischen Literatur.* By Carl Voretzsch (in *Sammlung kurzer Lehrbücher der romanischen Sprachen und Literaturen*, II). Halle, Niemeyer, 1913. Pp. xix + 575.

After an interval of seven years the noted Romance scholar, Professor Carl Voretzsch, now a member of the faculty of the University of Kiel, presents us with the second edition of his well-known *Einführung in das Studium der französischen Literatur*. The original plan of this excellent guide-book has

\* "Se pueda usar e use así durante los días de mi vida como después dellos" (p. 22).

been maintained thruout, tho some of the texts cited as examples have been clipt or transferd to his *Einführung in das Studium der Altfranzösischen Sprache*. Compared to similar publications, the new edition deserves the praise given the earlier edition by Professor A. Jeanroy: "Les principaux mérites résident dans la netteté du plan, la pondération des jugements, la précision et la clarté du style, l'heureuse ordonnance et la richesse de la bibliographie." (*Romania*, 1907, XXXVI, p. 115.)

The work continues to be almost too bulky by the insertion of a sort of chrestomathy, with glossary. As the author will, in a future edition, make efforts, as in the past, to keep pace with the progress of science, he may be forced to suppress many of his texts, or to resign himself to issuing the work in two volumes. In the latter case, he may feel warranted in expanding the treatment of the 13th and 14th centuries.

Among the new material in the present edition, we mention the third division of the sixth chapter: *Chanson de Guillelme*. The bibliography, of course, cannot be complete. We venture to ask to supplement the reference to *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, 1902, p. 411 ss., by *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, XXVI, pp. 164-73.

MUNICH.

M. J. MINCKWITZ.

*Il Latino delle Iscrizioni di Sicilia*. Par NUNZIO MACCARRONE. Perugia, Unione Tipografica Cooperativa. 1910.

The author informs us in his preface that he collected the inscriptions that appear in this pamphlet as an introduction to a longer study on the genesis and development of the Sicilian dialect, but that inasmuch as, with one exception, they had no direct bearing upon his special problem, he decided to publish them separately in the hope of furnishing an aid for the study of Vulgar Latin. The inscriptions have been collected from the standard works of Mommsen and Kaibel and from later works and reviews. With two exceptions none of them is later than the sixth century. Most of them are in Latin characters, though there are many in Greek.

The study is divided into five sections: phonology, morphology, syntax, word-formation and vocabulary. The section on phonology is by far the longest. After the examples illustrating the various developments and spellings of the vowels and diphthongs, there are a few examples illustrating the following general phenomena: syncope of protonic vowel, of posttonic vowel, or of atonic vowel in hiatus; apocope; epenthesis; prosthesis. Of especial interest in view of the ultimate development of Latin *ɛ* and *o* in Southern Italy and Sicily are the examples cited for these vowels, which show *i* and *u* respectively. On the other hand the examples cited for *ɪ* and *ʊ* show *e* and *o*. Of the diphthongs listed, most are archaic spellings. Under consonants we have, first, examples illustrative of the various changes undergone by the labials *b* and *v*. Most of these examples serve to illustrate the interchange of these consonants in both initial and medial position. In Greek inscriptions the transcription *β* for *v* is far commoner than *ov*. There follow examples of the interchange of *t* and *d*, of the graphic *c* for *g*, and of the spellings *s* and *sc* for *c*, denoting assibilation of the *c*. There is one example of *l > r*, while a number of examples are cited of the interchange of *m* and *n*, *th* and *t*, *ch* and *c*, *ph* and *f*. One example of *h* used as a graphic device to denote the vocalic value of a preceding *u* is followed by several exam-

ples of the omission of the *h*. The remaining examples illustrate the following phenomena: double for single consonants and the converse; fall of consonants, internal and final; assimilation and dissimilation; metathesis; propagation; recomposition. The section ends with a few examples of orthographic peculiarities.

The section dealing with the morphology is occupied for the most part with lists of names of persons of the first, second and third declensions. For the first and second declensions there are long lists of Latin names in Greek characters. Only three such are given for the third declension, while there is a considerable list of Greek names in Latin characters. For the first declension we have also a list of Latin inscriptions consisting either of a Latin name with a Latin termination followed by a Greek name with a Greek termination, or of a single Greek name with a Greek termination, or of a Greek name with a Latin termination. There are three examples (two in Latin characters and one in Greek) of the Latin *-o*, *-onis* declension of proper nouns.<sup>1</sup>

The author has but little to say about the verbs. He cites examples of *-et* for *-it* in the present indicative, one example of *-iebat* for *-ibat* in the imperfect, and the two analogical forms *verxvit* and *vixitit* in the perfect.

The section dealing with syntax begins with examples of the violation of the rules of agreement between verb and subject, and between one noun and another in apposition with it. Examples are cited of the genitive and dative after *D(is) M(anibus)*, usually followed by the nominative in these inscriptions. There follow: an example of the use of the nominative for the vocative; an example of the use of the genitive in the expression *rarissimi exempli*; a number of examples of the use of the ablative to express duration of time; and some examples of the accusative to express "time when." Examples are then cited of prepositions used with special meaning or with cases other than those by which they are followed in classic Latin. Under pronouns are noted the confusion of *suus* and *eius-eorum* and the use of *suus* in an absolute sense. With respect to the use of the tenses, the historic present is illustrated by one example. Finally, the following adverbial expressions are cited: *omni momento* (for *singulis momentis*), *benememorie* (for *bone memorie*), *a solo* and *a novo*.

The section on word-formation includes a few examples of the use of the suffixes *-acius*, *-arius*, *-aster*, *-inus*, *-itus*.

Under vocabulary two words of Greek origin are noted and eight words are classed as new words or words with new or rare meaning (*alumnus*, *coarmius*, *conpar*, *delicatus*, *fidelis*, *patraster*, *patronus*, *seculum*).

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<sup>1</sup> There are examples, in these lists of proper names, of the interchange of Latin and Greek terminations.



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## OBITUARY

### MARCELINO MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO

(1856-1912)

In any conscientious attempt duly to voice the profound bereavement Spain has suffered through the departure of Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo to join the great majority, it is difficult to refrain from what to the uninitiated is certain to appear as an abuse of the superlative.

The relatives and pupils who have lost so devoted a friend naturally feel the blow most keenly and are the first to kneel at his bier, but close behind them we find Spain's leading scholars in every field of intellectual endeavor, who know that they have lost their greatest leader. And behind these, in serried ranks, the Spanish people from every walk of life stand with uncovered heads to pay tribute to their departed champion. For strange as it may seem when we recall that the life of Menéndez y Pelayo was wholly devoted to one phase or another of scholarly activity, he was in a very real sense a national figure and even the man in the street felt a touch of pride to think that Don Marcelino (as everyone called him, with affectionate and respectful familiarity) was a Spaniard. The sincerity and depth of this sentiment was amply proven in his native city of Santander when the funeral ceremonies were spontaneously and without proclamation by the authorities turned into a public demonstration, private houses throughout the city putting on crêpe and the population turning out *en masse* to form the funeral procession.

Nor is Spain alone in this feeling of loss. The world over, students of things Spanish share this sentiment, be their interests what they may: in history, in art, in general culture, in science, in literature or in religion and philosophy. And it matters not whether they knew him personally, or by correspondence, or merely through his published works. All equally feel a sense of personal and professional loss, for all turned equally and instinctively to him for aid and guidance in the solution of the problems that confronted them, nor ever turned in vain.

The marvellous progress made along all lines of human endeavor during the nineteenth century led naturally and increasingly to specialization in fields that became daily more restricted. The broadly trained scholar was decade by decade less often met. In these days of rampant materialism and of hyper-specialization it was a joy to look upon the genial face of Menéndez y Pelayo and realize that to his science and scholarship there were foundations as broad as humanity's life and as deep as humanity's heart. He proved himself not only the greatest Humanist of the nineteenth century, but a worthy companion to the great Humanists of the past, for to him as to no other modern could be applied the words that were placed by Terence in the mouth of Chremes in his *Heauton Timorumenos*: *Homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto*.

In an excellent study that appeared some years ago, Boris de Tannenberg<sup>1</sup> created two phrases that he applies aptly to Don Marcelino: "M. Menéndez y Pelayo est, avant tout, um cérébral. Je ne crois pas qu'on puisse imaginer un cas d' intellectualisme plus aigu." It is quite true and explains much in his career that would otherwise be wholly incomprehensible. He read everything, and a book once read was a permanent mental acquisition, for his prodigious memory never forgot anything.

An interesting evidence of this is to be found in the brilliant and charming sketch of Greek and Roman prose fiction which serves as the opening chapter of his *Orígenes de la Novela* in the first volume of the *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*. The sketch occupies fifteen high octavo pages, and in a note to page twelve Menéndez y Pelayo says it was written entirely from his recollections of his early readings in the originals.<sup>2</sup>

This memory, in addition to its power of storing and classifying permanently, had another power only less remarkable: that of temporarily photographing an object, and in particular a printed page. Times without number the present writer has heard him, while lecturing, without notes, on the great Spanish Humanists, conduct an exposition or an analysis up to the point where he needed the exact quotation of his author's original. Turning to one of the ponderous tomes that he had brought with him, he would throw it open, rapidly find the passage needed, glance at it a moment, push the volume away, and quote the whole page word by word in the original. Upon inquiry it was learned that his students were perfectly familiar with this phase of his memory and that two or three hours after the lecture he would be unable to quote literally those same passages without again glancing at them.

But even his insatiable appetite for books (M. E. Mérimée<sup>3</sup> says that as Librarian of the *Biblioteca Nacional* at Madrid "he did not administer the Library, he read it"), and his astounding memory will not wholly explain the quantity nor the nature of his published work. We must bear in mind two things: that he was a Spaniard, and that he was a Roman Catholic. Of both characteristics he was equally proud, and they both profoundly influenced his work, making of him the indefatigable defender and champion of traditional Spain; and it may be doubted if Spain could have found a more winsome and winning champion, for even where one cannot agree with his conclusions one can but admire his deep sincerity. Although throughout his whole life he remained steadfast in his personal religious convictions, it is admitted, even by those in other branches of the religious family than his, that time mellowed his heart and tempered the degree of harshness with which he characterized their views.

Like many another scholar who is interested in original investigation of the problems of scholarship and desires to carry forward the torch of Truth into

<sup>1</sup> Boris de Tannenberg: *L'Espagne littéraire. Portraits d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*. Première série. Paris, 1903. The study of Menéndez y Pelayo occupies pages 85-210. The phrases are found on p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> "En este imperfectísimo bosquejo de la novela antigua me he guiado únicamente por la impresión y el recuerdo de mis propias lecturas de los textos clásicos."

<sup>3</sup> *Bulletin hispanique*, XIV (1912), 329.

regions yet unexplored, and who finds his time seriously invaded by his teaching duties, Menéndez y Pelayo, after twenty years of lecturing at the *Universidad Central* at Madrid, felt that he would be happier if he could be relieved of his teaching duties and appointed to the Directorship of the *Biblioteca Nacional*. He says so in the following passage which is quoted from a letter he wrote to her Grace the late Duchess of Berwick and Alba (the scholarly mother of the present Duke), who had proposed his name to the Queen: "No puedo entrar con mejores auspicios (his nomination by the Duchess and the Queen's acceptance of the nomination) en esta nueva Dirección que se abre á mi vida, y en que creo poder prestar más útiles servicios que en la enseñanza, cuyo mecanismo me ha sido siempre antipático, al paso que el vivir entre libros es y ha sido siempre mi mayor alegría."<sup>4</sup>

But he soon learned that, while it is true that the investigator needs constant access to large libraries, and needs to have his time safeguarded against too frequent interruptions, it is also true that, if he wish his work to be pregnant with life and thought, and to have the touch that is warm and human, he needs in addition the inspiration that comes from regular but not too frequent contact with the brilliant young minds that are to be the scholars of the next generation. Thus it is that not long after he became Director of the great National Library of Spain with its vast collection of priceless manuscripts, incunabula, and other rare books, we find him giving regular courses of lectures (once or twice a week only) at the *Ateneo Científico, Literario, y Artístico* of Madrid, an intellectual center with membership representing all possible shades of religious, political, and social creeds harmoniously blended. The lectures given in the *Ateneo* frequently represent more advanced research work than any work offered in the University on the same general subject. And Menéndez y Pelayo fell no whit below the level of the others; nay, rather did he set the pace for them by continuing year after year his studies on his beloved *Grandes Polígrafos Españoles*. How long this general course lasted the present writer does not know, but to his certain knowledge the course on *Luís Vives* alone occupied two years.

As a critic and scholar Menéndez y Pelayo was generous almost to a fault. His library, his knowledge, and he himself were all at the service of any serious scholar who needed them. To the work of other scholars he was generous to a degree seldom seen, but which can be recommended without reserve to other critics. We do not mean to imply that he was given to flattery; he was not. But neither was there anything of the carping critic about him. He could fight valiantly for a principle, and if a work contained statements that he considered erroneous, he gently but firmly pointed them out and then passed on joyously to a determined search for all the good the work might contain. For after all, and this is characteristic of the man, what interested him was not Error, but Truth, which he sought always and everywhere.

With Religion, and Patriotism, and an unfaltering zeal to learn the Truth, as the controlling factors of his life, it surprises no one to learn that the man in Menéndez y Pelayo outshines the critic, the literary historian, the littérateur, and the philosopher. Spain realizes her loss in all these fields; but more than all else she mourns the loss of a great and loyal heart.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> No attempt has been made to give a list of the publications of Menéndez

<sup>5</sup> *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*. Tercera Época, Año XV, Tomo XXVII (1912), p. 219.

y Pelayo. One of his pupils, Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, has recently published a bibliography of bare titles which occupies thirty high octavo pages. Some general idea of the extent and variety of his work may be gained from the following list of the various series that will compose the definitive edition of his works: I, *Historia de los Heterodoxos españoles*; II, *Historia de la Poesía castellana en la Edad Media*; III, *Tratado de los romances viejos*; IV, *Juan Boscán*; V, *Historia de la Poesía hispano-americana desde sus orígenes hasta 1892*; VI, *Orígenes de la Novela española y estudio de los novelistas anteriores á Cervantes*; VII, *Estudios y discursos de Crítica literaria*; VIII, *Ensayos de Crítica filosófica*; IX, *La Ciencia española*; X, *Historia de las Ideas estéticas en España hasta fines del siglo XVIII*; XI, *Historia de las Ideas estéticas en Europa hasta fines del siglo XIX*; XII, *Historia del Romanticismo francés*; XIII, *Poesías completas y traducciones de obras poéticas*; XIV, *Traducción de algunas obras de Cicerón*; XV, *Calderón y su Teatro*; XVI, *Bibliografía hispano-latina clásica*; XVII, *Opúsculos de erudición y bibliografía*; XVIII, *Horacio en España*; XIX, *Estudios sobre el Teatro de Lope de Vega*.

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## NOTES AND NEWS

At the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association, held at the University of Pennsylvania, the following officers were elected: President, Alexander R. Hohlfeld, University of Wisconsin; First Vice-President, Hermann Collitz, Johns Hopkins University; Second Vice-President, Ashley H. Thorndike, Columbia University; Third Vice-President, Kenneth McKenzie, Yale University. It is expected that the Association will accept the invitation of Harvard University to meet at Cambridge next December. The Central Division of the Association met at Indianapolis, under the auspices of Indiana University, Purdue University, Butler College, Depauw University, Earlham College and Wabash College. T. Atkinson Jenkins, of Chicago University, was chosen Chairman for the ensuing year. The division will hold its next session at Cincinnati, as the guest of the University of Cincinnati.

The American Dialect Society held its annual meeting at the University of Pennsylvania. William E. Mead, of Wesleyan University, who has served for many years as Secretary, was elected President; Dr. Percy W. Long, of Harvard University, Treasurer, and Professor George D. Chase, of the University of Maine, Secretary.

We publish from time to time in this REVIEW the names and addresses of skilful and reliable archivists and paleographers in European library centers. We take pleasure in commending, for research to be undertaken in Spain, D. Antonio Blazquez, Madrid, and D. Antonio de Bofarull y Sans, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona.

Dr. Gertrude Schoepperle, of New York University, has been asked to serve as treasurer for the new Société des élèves de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, whose foundation was announced in our last number.

Dr. Douglas L. Buffum, of Princeton University, has been promoted to the professorship of Romance languages and literatures.

Many will be interested to know how the oral examinations in French and German at Harvard University have resulted. It will be remembered that, under the new arrangement, all students must pass an oral examination in one of these languages before receiving promotion to the Junior Class. There were 292 applicants from the Classes of 1914 and 1915, 209 for French, 83 for German. Of the applicants for French, 110 passed, 67 failed and 32 were absent. Of the 83 applicants for German, 38 passed, 32 failed and 13 were absent. These examinations have been conducted several times. Of the total of 719 examinations thus far given, 486 were in French, 233 in German. Of the candidates in French, 53 per cent. passed, of those in German, 56 per cent.

Another handsome memorial volume, filled with important scholarly articles, has recently appeared in Italy: *Studii dedicati a Francesco Torraca nel xxxvi*

*anniversario della sua laurea*, Napoli, Perrella, 1912. Of the thirty-nine articles included, all but three are by Italians; the exceptions being *Le Noie di Antonio Pucci secondo la lezione del codice di Wellesley già Kirkupiano*, by Professor Kenneth McKenzie (the manuscript in question is now in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence, having been generously presented to the city of Florence by Wellesley College); *Dante's Convivio in some Italian writers of the Cinquecento*, by Mr. Paget Toynbee; and *Sur une pièce de Rambant de Vaqueiras*, by Professor Alfred Jeanroy. A short article by Prof. Orazio Bacci, *La Data di nascita di Giovanni Boccaccio*, discusses the conclusions of Professor E. H. Wilkins, *The Date of the Birth of Boccaccio*, in vol. I of the *Romanic Review*. It will be remembered that Professor Wilkins concluded that the date could not be more definitely stated than "in 1313 or before July 20 in 1314." Bacci, however, deduces from the evidence that the author of the *Decameron* must have been born very near the middle of the year 1313.

Mr. Julius Klein, Woodbury Lowery Fellow in Spanish History at Harvard University, has had the good fortune to discover at Madrid the archives of the Mesta, or Sheep-Raising Organization of Spain, hitherto unknown to Spanish archivists and historians. These archives contain a number of royal charters of privilege to the Mesta from the fourteenth century onward, minutes of the meetings of the Concejo de la Mesta, accounts, notes on trials of cases between the Mesta and various individuals, pueblos, and religious organizations, and reports of the different Mesta officials. This rich collection is now the property of the Asociación General de Ganaderos, and Mr. Klein has been given access to it through the great courtesy of the Marqués de la Frontera, Secretary of the Asociación. He is at present engaged in summarizing and copying the most important documents in the collection.

Summer courses in Madrid, under the direction of Professor Menéndez Pidal, have been announced for the coming summer. The term will last from June 25th to August 5th 1913. To the admirable courses offered last summer a few new ones will be added this year; and the excursions to Toledo, El Escorial, etc., will be repeated. Last summer sixteen Americans attended the courses; they came from the following institutions: Chicago; Columbia; Harvard; Johns Hopkins; Naval Academy; Pennsylvania; and Vassar.

# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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## THE COMPOSITION OF THE *CHANSON DE WILLAME*

(Continued from page 111)

### II

#### TABLE OF CHAPTERS\*

	<i>Chanson de Willame</i>	<i>Covenant Vivien and Aliscans</i>
Part I. Lines 1-1106. "Lundi" refrain occurs 19 times, lines 10-1062.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. <i>Introduction</i>—Tells of William and Vivien and death of latter.—<i>W</i> 1-11.</li><li>2. Deramé's invasion. <i>W</i> 12-286.</li><li>3. Viv. refuses to flee on account of vow. <i>W</i> 287-313.</li><li>4. Viv.'s battle with Deramé. <i>W</i> 314-619.</li><li>5. Viv. sends Girart for Wm. <i>W</i> 620-742.</li><li>6. Viv. continues battle. <i>W</i> 743-795.</li><li>7. Viv. wounded and prays for coming of Wm. and for strength to keep vow. <i>W</i> 796-911.</li><li>8. Viv. falls and is left for dead. <i>W</i> 912-927.</li></ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. <i>Introduction</i>. Tells of Wm. and Viv. and death of latter. <i>C</i> 1-51.</li><li>2. Deramé's invasion. <i>C</i> 52-357.</li><li>3. Viv. refuses to flee on account of vow. <i>C</i> 358-439.</li><li>4. Viv.'s battle with Deramé. <i>C</i> 440-832.</li><li>5. Viv. sends Gir. for Wm. <i>C</i> 833-961.</li><li>6. Viv. cont. battle. (<i>C</i> 1328-1412; <i>A</i> 222-230.)</li><li>7. Viv. wounded, prays for coming of Wm. and strength to keep vow. <i>C</i> 1413-1441, 1452-1477, 1553-1567, 1628-1651, 1767-1894; <i>A</i> 89-94, 9-10, 61-68, 323-342.</li><li>8. Viv. falls and is left for dead. <i>A</i> 354-393.</li></ol>

\* This table gives chapter headings only. For explanation see page 86 of Part I and for a reconstruction in detail of the action in those chapters common to both texts see following text.

The references throughout this article are: *La Chanson de Willame*, original edition of the Chiswick Press, 1903; *Covenant Vivien*, edited by Jonckbloet; *Aliscans*, edited by Wienbeck, Hartnacke and Rasch. I have also compared the *Covenant* references with the similar passages in Terracher's edition of *La Chevalerie Vivien*.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 9. Girart delivers message. <i>W</i> 928-1001.   | 9. Girart delivers message. <i>C</i> 962-1103.                        |
| 10. Wm. takes army to rescue. <i>W</i> 1002-1106.  | 10. Wm. takes army to rescue. <i>C</i> 1103-1154, 1192-1229.          |
| [11. Gui refused permission to accompany Wm. Evidently cut out of text here and inserted below. See 17.] | [11. Guichardet refused permission to accom. Wm. <i>C</i> 1145-1194.] |

Part 2. 401  
lines, 1107-1507.  
The "Jeudi" re-  
frain occurs  
seven times,  
1126-1481.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 12. Battle said to last four days. All but three of Wm.'s army killed. <i>W</i> 1107-1127.      | 12. Not in <i>C</i> .                        |
| 13. Killing of Girart. <i>W</i> 1128-1174.  | 13. Not in <i>C</i> .                        |
| 14. Killing of Guischart. <i>W</i> 1175-1223.   | 14. Not in <i>C</i> .                        |
| 15. Wm. carries Guischart's body to Orange. <i>W</i> 1224-1301.                                 | 15. Not in <i>C</i> .                        |
| 16. Guiborc furnishes a second army. <i>W</i> 1302-1434.  | 16. Not in <i>C</i> .                        |
| [17. Gui is refused permission to accompany Wm. <i>W</i> 1435-1531. Properly belongs under 11.] | [17. See 11 above.]                          |
| 18. Wm takes second army to Aliscans.   | 18. Not in <i>C</i> . See 1st army under 10. |

Part 3. 253  
lines, 1508-1760.  
"Lundi" refrain  
three times,  
1584-1760.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 19. Gui follows and overtakes Wm. <i>W</i> 1504-1678.   | 19. Guichardet follows and overtakes Wm. <i>C</i> 1215-1327.  |
| 20. Wm. fights with pagans. <i>W</i> 1679-1703.   | 20. Wm. fights with pagans. <i>C</i> 1498-1552, 1568-1627, 1653-1766, 1895-1917; <i>A</i> 1-7, 19-56. |
| 21. Saracens bring great forces and defeat Wm. <i>W</i> 1704-1718.                                | 21. Sar. bring great forces and defeat Wm. <i>C</i> 1749-1759; <i>A</i> p. 26, ll. 16-18, 418-439.    |
| 22. Capture Bertran and other nephews of Wm. <i>W</i> 1719-1725.                                  | 22. Capt. Ber. and other neph. Wm. <i>A</i> 310-325, p. 26, ll. 21-30.                                |
| 23. All others killed except Wm. <i>W</i> 1726-8. [Gui also excepted in last line. An insertion.] | 23. All others killed except Wm. <i>A</i> 481-4.  |
| 24. Gui complains of fatigue and hunger. <i>W</i> 1729-1760.                                      | 24. Not found.  |



[Apparently inserted connecting passage. See 25.]

- |   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| <p>Part 4. 219 lines, 1761-1979. "Mercredi" refrain three times, 1779-1978.</p> | <p>25. Gui complains of fatigue and hunger. <i>W</i> 1761-7.</p> <p>26. Returns to pagan camp. Eats and drinks much wine. <i>W</i> 1768-1795.</p> <p>27. Wm. is unhorsed and in great peril. <i>W</i> 1796-1818.</p> <p>28. Gui returns to rescue Wm. <i>W</i> 1819-1856.</p> <p>29. 20,000 pagans flee before him. <i>W</i> 1857-1864.</p> <p>30. Gui and Wm. kill Deramé and win battle. <i>W</i> 1865-1979.</p>   | <p>25. Not in <i>C</i> or <i>A</i>.</p> <p>26. Not in <i>C</i> or <i>A</i>.</p> <p>27. Not in <i>C</i> or <i>A</i>.</p> <p>28. Not in <i>C</i> or <i>A</i>.</p> <p>29. Not in <i>C</i> or <i>A</i>.</p> <p>30. Not in <i>C</i> or <i>A</i>.</p>  |
| <p>Part 5. 1574 lines, 1980-3553. "Lundi" refrain nine times, 2090-3550.</p>    | <p>31. Wm. rides over field alone. <i>W</i> 1980-6. (Gui said to follow at distance. Inserted here.)</p> <p>32. Wm. finds Viv. dying. <i>W</i> 1987-1999 (Gui not mentioned).</p> <p>33. Wm. laments, gives holy bread. Viv. dies (Gui not mentioned). <i>W</i> 2000-2051.</p> <p>34. Wm. tries to carry off body. <i>W</i> 2052-4 (Gui not mentioned).</p> <p>35. Sudden attack forces Wm. to leave Vivien's body. <i>W</i> 2055-2090. [They capture Gui. An insertion.]</p> <p>36. Wm. kills Alderufe and flees to Orange. <i>W</i> 2091-2212.</p> <p>37. Scene at gate and in Orange. <i>W</i> 2213-2420.</p> <p>38. Wm. goes to Louis for aid. <i>W</i> 2421-2468.</p> <p>39. Court scene. Anger with Blanchefleur. <i>W</i> 2469-2634.</p> <p>40. The relief expedition. Renoart branch. Defeat of Saracens. Rescue of prisoners. <i>W</i> 2635-3553.</p> | <p>31. Wm. rides over field alone. <i>A</i> 666-683, 693-4.</p> <p>32. Wm. finds Viv. dying. <i>A</i> 695-705.</p> <p>33. Wm. laments, gives holy bread. Viv. dies. <i>A</i> 706-867.</p> <p>34. Wm. tries to carry off body. <i>W</i> 883-890.</p> <p>35. Sudden attack forces Wm. to leave Vivien's body. <i>A</i> 891-1082.</p> <p>36. Wm. kills Ald. and flees to Orange. <i>A</i> 1083-1384.</p> <p>37. Scene at gate and in Orange. <i>A</i> 1571-1911.</p> <p>38. Wm. goes to Louis for aid. <i>A</i> 1912-2401.</p> <p>39. Court scene. Anger with Blanchf. <i>A</i> 2402-2991.</p> <p>40. The relief expedition. Renoart branch. Defeat of Saracens. Rescue of prisoners. <i>A</i> 3124-8510.</p> |

[Among prisoners released are Girart and Guischart but not Gui.]

[Among released are Girart and Guischart.]

A summary of the above table showing more clearly the five divisions of the *Chanson de Willame* is given on p. 86.

### RECONSTRUCTION OF TEXT COMMON TO *Willame* AND *Covenant-Aliscans*

#### I. Introduction. *Willame*, verses 1-11; *Covenant Vivien*, verses 1-51.

The song tells of William who so often fought the pagans and of his nephew Vivien. (It tells how they fought against Deramé at Archamp and how Vivien was killed to the great grief of William and how William took revenge. *W.*)<sup>1</sup>

(William dubs Vivien knight and in his honor one hundred companions at Termes. On taking his sword Vivien makes a vow never to flee from the pagans. William expostulates and predicts that this vow will bring his early death. *Cov.*)<sup>2</sup>

#### II. Deramé's Invasion. *W* 12-286. *C* 52-357.

[Vivien goes into Spain and makes war against the pagans. *C.*]<sup>3</sup>  
With an army of 10,000 men Vivien is at Archamp.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The statement in parenthesis is, as indicated, taken from the *Willame*. It is not found stated at the opening in the *Covenant*, but is entirely in accordance with the facts of the *Covenant-Aliscans*. Perhaps the reason it is not in the *Cov.* in its present form is to be found in the breaking up of the *Cov.-Alis.* into two separate poems, resulting in the elimination of unnecessary references in the *Covenant* part to the events of *Aliscans*.

<sup>2</sup> In *Willame* all this first part of the poem is taken up with the Tedbalt-Estourmi episode which seemingly furnishes the reason for Vivien's refusing to flee. I do not consider this episode original, however. The motive furnished is inferior to the vow. Estourmi and Tedbalt are suspicious personages here. They soon drop out entirely.

Moreover, we do find the vow mentioned in *Willame* as early as v. 292, and many times after, as being the reason for Viv. refusing to flee and the cause of his death. More than once he prays, when near death, for strength to keep his vow (*W*, vv. 807, 900, 908). Finally, for confirmation in the *Willame* of all these facts, see vv. 2000-2022.

<sup>3</sup> In *Willame* we are not told how Vivien happened to be at Archamp with Tedbalt and Estourmi. Deramé's attack seems at first directed against Tedbalt and not Vivien. Everything would seem to indicate that the Tedbalt-Estourmi

King Deramé leaves Cordres with 100,000 men and comes here to attack him. Vivien learns of the overwhelming odds against him and is aware of his danger.

III. Vivies refuses to flee on account of his vow. *W* 287-313. *C* 358-439.

Vivien is urged to retire and to send to William for aid. He refuses and says that he had made a vow to God never to flee before the pagans (*W* 292; *C* 400), but he tells his followers that they have his permission to retire (*W* 288; *C* 423) and he will maintain the combat alone. His men all cry out that they will stand by him to the last. He thanks them and puts his trust in God.

IV. Vivien's battle with Deramé. *W* 314-619; *C* 440-832.

Vivien spurs his horse to the attack and with his own hands kills the first pagan (*W* 320; *C* 481). He shouts *monjoie!*, the battle cry of Charles (*W* 327; *C* 490).

Girart comes riding into the press, with his lance he strikes a pagan, drives it completely through him, and hurls him to the ground dead. Then he shouts the battle-cry *monjoie!* (*W* 436-440;<sup>5</sup> *C* 519-528.)

The battle is most grievous. Vivien encourages his men by word and example. By their prowess they make great execution of the pagans, but numbers are against them, and Vivien sees well that they will be overcome. (*C* 587-595; *W* 449-472.)<sup>6</sup>

incident has been inserted in the *Willame*, thus changing and cutting out much of the first part of the original text. The statement under *II* taken from the *Covenant* also represents, to all appearances, the true situation in the *Willame*. In the *Willame* also Vivien is in Spain and away from William. However, owing to the Tedbalt-Estourmi episode there is nothing in *W* to show how much of the *C* text in this part is original. Vivien's cruel war, his mutilation of prisoners, etc., may be original or may be the work of a *Cov.* reviser. In all probability a great deal of the *Covenant* in its present form is due to revisions.

<sup>5</sup>In *W* these men are at first said to be Tedbalt's, but Vivien later takes command of them. Although there is much variation in the numerals in both poems, the numbers of the armies given here are the ones generally used in both *C* and *W*. (See *Chevalerie Vivien*, ed. by Terracher.)

<sup>6</sup>It may be noted that about 100 lines intervene in the *Willame* between the first feat of arms of Vivien and of Girart. These lines recount the flight and discomfiture of Tedbalt and Estourmi and, as is the case in general with the Tedbalt episode, they have no parallel in the *Covenant*. In the original, the *coup de main* of Girart likely followed closely that of Vivien.

<sup>7</sup>The short passage in *W* at this point, describing the recognition of Girart, results from the Tedbalt episode. Undoubtedly *W* is here, as is often the case,

Vivien looks through the ranks of his men and sees many of them on the ground dead or wounded. He weeps and regrets the absence of William (*C* 594-607; *W* 473-482).<sup>7</sup>

Vivien's men rally about him, drive back the pagans and there is a lull in the battle (*C* 651-655; *W* 489-494).

The wounds are hastily bound up (*C* 656-667; *W* 517-523).<sup>8</sup>

Vivien encourages his men. He tells them that it is better to fight and die thus in their youth, fighting a good battle, than to live to be old and die in bed. They will be regretted and avenged by posterity. Moreover, their martyrdom will win for them the favor of God. At these words his men again rush to attack the pagans and kill 15,000 of them (*C* 680-693; *W* 500-516; 539-551).<sup>9</sup>

The pagans meet Vivien's attack with overwhelming numbers. His men are but a handful in comparison and are unable to break the Saracen ranks. They ask Vivien what can be done to save them. He urges them to press forward the attack. He has taken a vow before God not to flee and will not break it. If they will trust in God, He may yet save them and send William to their aid. His men cry out: "Has he lost his senses to think to break through these immense forces?" (*C* 694-728; *W* 552-578).<sup>10</sup>

much abridged, while on the other hand the text *C* is likely considerably lengthened by later revisions.

<sup>7</sup>A pagan king, Cordroan, severely wounds Vivien at this point in the *Covenant*. No mention is found in *W* of this incident, but the text of *W* is so clearly abridged that its presence in the original and its omission here is quite likely. Vivien evidently has received wounds in *W*, not recorded in the present text, and such incidents are apt to be described. The point in *W* where I should place this supposed omission is 483-6, a *laisse* of four lines.

<sup>8</sup>In *C* it is Vivien's wound only that is mentioned as receiving attention, while in *W* the statement applies to the wounded in general.

<sup>9</sup>If any one should have doubts, up to this point, that *C* and *W* are following the same original, this passage should be convincing. In poems so much changed from the original as these two must be, there will be inevitably many divergences in the facts themselves, in their order, and in numerous details. Such differences are found here but the agreement is too constant, too extensive, and too exact, it seems to me, to permit of any hypothesis except a common original.

<sup>10</sup>At this point and for the next two or three hundred lines the text of *C* has doubtless suffered many alterations through the invention of the Castle episode. It has already been fully treated, so I shall not discuss it here. In *W* at this point there is one line "Et cil sen vont lez le coin dun munt" (v. 569) which is the only suggestion of any place of refuge, if it be such a suggestion.

In the next forty or fifty lines of *W* we find Vivien again telling his men

V. Vivien sends Girart for William. *W* 620-742; *C* 833-961.

With the number of his men much reduced and their case hopeless Vivien sends Girart for aid to William (*C* 833-847; *W* 622-633).<sup>11</sup>

With great effort and much fighting Girart finally breaks through the ranks of the enemy, escapes them and goes for William (*C* 940-951; *W* 695-701).<sup>12</sup>

Girart makes the difficult journey<sup>13</sup> and reaches William's city.<sup>14</sup> (*C* 952-961; *W* 702-740.)

VI. Vivien continues the battle. *W* 743-795; *C* 1328-1412; *A* 222-230.

After the departure of Girart for aid, Vivien with his remaining men had maintained a desperate but losing battle with the pagans. Vivien with his own hands has killed a thousand (*C* 798; that his vow prevents him fleeing, but he gives them leave to do so. They all leave him except Girart, but turn back at the sight of so many pagans barring their way (vv. 594-619). This may or may not be in the original. Is the dream of William (*C* 1019), where he sees Vivien's men desert, a possible reference to this?

<sup>11</sup> Immediately following in *W* is a considerable passage in which Vivien tells Girart to remind William of the various battles where Vivien had aided his uncle. This has no corresponding passage in *C*, and there is no way to tell if it was in the original.

<sup>12</sup> In the next forty or fifty lines of *W* we have an effective passage where Girart, his horse dead, continues the journey on foot, throwing away his armor piece by piece because it would not aid Vivien in Archamp. We do not have a corresponding passage in *C* and are unable to say if it is original.

<sup>13</sup> Here for the first time we find an important difference between *C* and *W* in the sequence of events. *C* continues the narrative of Girart's trip for aid, his arrival, and William's relief expedition, reserving the account of Vivien's last combat and fall until William has reached the battlefield. On the other hand, *W*, once Girart has broken through the ranks and started for aid, returns to Vivien and relates his final struggle and fall, and then takes up again Girart's journey and the return of the relief expedition. As will be recognized, either procedure is logical. The two actions are going on at the same time. It is impossible to tell which is the original order, and the matter, moreover, is not important, since it is simply a question of transposition in one or the other text. I have followed the order in *W*.

<sup>14</sup> In *C* this city is Orange. In *W* in this passage (occurring twice) the city is Barcelona. The subject has been well discussed and I refrain. I should say, however, that in all other passages in *W* (none other occurring before v. 2054) this city is called Orange. As an expression of opinion I should willingly agree that this city is in the original in Spain, explaining Orange as a later change made everywhere in *C* and in all passages except this in *W*.

*W* 745). He encourages his men to fight in awaiting the arrival of William (*W* 742-753; *C* 1328-1337). The Saracens respond to the attack in overwhelming numbers and surround Vivien on all sides, placing him in most grievous peril<sup>15</sup> (*W* 754-5; *C* 1344-5; 1357-1364).

His great personal prowess alone maintains him. His lance beats down all who approach. In despair of overcoming him the pagans attack his horse, pierce its body with lances and darts and bring it to the ground. (*C* 1365-7, 1384-1390; *W* 760-771.)

With his horse dead the Saracens press the attack fiercely. He gets on his feet and defends himself desperately, but is terribly wounded by darts and almost killed. (*W* 772-780; *C* 1391-1400.)<sup>16</sup>

With his own hand he kills the pagan warrior who had most severely wounded him (*W* 783-793; *Aliscans*, 222-230).<sup>17</sup>

VII. Vivien wounded prays for coming of William and for strength to keep vow. *W* 796-911; *C* 1413-1441; 1452-1477; 1553-1567; 1628-1651; 1767-1894; *A* 89-94; 9-10; 61-68; 323-342.

Vivien fighting desperately realizes death is near. He prays God to send him first William and he will be content. He repents that he should have wished to save his own life. In anguish he beseeches God and the saints to pardon him his sins, to let him keep

<sup>15</sup> At this point *W* states that all Vivien's men are killed, while *C* brings to his aid in the next incident a small remnant of his army. With the tendency of *W* to abridge and cite only personal exploits and with *C*, on the contrary, drawing out the contest to improbable lengths, either or both may have departed from the original in this case. In any event, the question is of no great importance. The significant incidents of the struggle in both texts are to be found henceforth in Vivien's last fight personally, his desperate bravery, and final fall.

<sup>16</sup> One of several passages indicating that the castle incident of the *Covenant* is a late addition is found in lines 1415-9. Although Vivien is supposed to have led his men out of the castle only when he hears William coming, he speaks here as if in utter ignorance of the success of Girart's mission.

<sup>17</sup> It will be noted that I support this last statement in *W* by a reference from *Aliscans* instead of the *Covenant*. A close examination will show clearly, I think, that, beginning in the vicinity of this passage, the *Aliscans* and *Covenant* overlap often. In some places we have lines and passages literally agreeing. A few examples are: (*C* 1649-1651, *A* 233-6, *C* 1716, *A* 21, *C* 1717-8, *A* 30-1, *C* 1719, *A* 22, *C* 1733, *A* 24). It is probable that agreements of *C* and *A* indicate passages of the original, but in general I have preferred here to admit only those found in one or both of these texts that are also supported by *W*.

until death his vow not to flee a foot from the pagans.<sup>18</sup> (*W* 793-825; *A* 89-94, 323-342; *C* 1559-1567.)

In the agony caused by his wounds and his exertions, Vivien's sight is troubled, his mind wanders at times, and he fights blindly. They cut off his armor piece by piece so that it hangs in shreds. His entrails issue from his body and he sustains them with his hands. His good sword clogged with blood and carnage remains cramped in his right hand. He still prays to God to allow him to see William before his death and to keep his vow. (*W* 825-911; *C* 1768-1784; *A* 9-10, 61-68, 328-342.)

VIII. Vivien falls and is left for dead. *W* 912-927; *A* 354-393.

At last there comes riding a terrible warrior who hurls a lance at him and brings him finally to earth. They leave him lying beneath a tree by a small stream and turn to meet William, who is pressing forward to the attack<sup>19</sup> (*W* 912-927; *A* 354-391).

IX. Girart delivers the message. *W* 928-1001; *C* 962-1103.

When Girart arrived William had just returned from *Burdele sur Girunde* where he had fought long battles and lost many men. (*W* 933-5; *C* 1120-3, 838-9).<sup>20</sup> Guiborc is with him (*C* 1033-7; *W* 939). William looks out, see Girart coming toward him, recognizes from his attire and bloody sword that it is someone who has been in a great battle, and predicts that they will have news (*C* 1001-1014; *W* 940-951). He recognizes Girart and asks him for his message (*C* 1045, 1051-2; *W* 956-8).

<sup>18</sup> In *W* we do not have, as in *Aliscans*, a passage in which Vivien breaks his vow or rather is on the point of doing so. However, the lines cited above and others of the same nature show most clearly the importance of this motive. They indicate possibly that there was such a scene in the original. If this were not the case we see at least that the fear of breaking this vow is Vivien's obsession as death approaches, and from this to the scene recounted in *Aliscans* the step is a very short one.

<sup>19</sup> The stream is not mentioned at this point in *W*, but we find it verse 1988. Perhaps it may be claimed that I have taken too much for granted in *W* by saying that the Saracens turn to meet William who is approaching. That would seem to me, however, to be the only reasonable explanation for their not carrying away Vivien's body. Also we find Vivien still living after William has been defeated and arrives where his nephew lay. He must have been near at hand then.

<sup>20</sup> Possibly I may be criticised for putting this statement as coming from both *C* and *W*. It seems to me that it is justified from the passages I have given in *C* and others not cited. If, however, the evidence seems insufficient, I should willingly concede it.

Girart relates that he brings heavy news. King Deramé has come with his forces to attack them at Archamp<sup>21</sup> and has done grievous damage (*C* 1053-1070; *W* 959-969).

Vivien had refused to flee and now sends for William to aid him in his great peril (*C* 1071-2, 1097; *W* 970-1001).<sup>22</sup>

X. William takes army to the rescue. *W* 1002-1106, 1343-1398; *C* 1103-1154, 1192-1229.

On hearing Girart's message William was much grieved. He said: "I have fought so much against the enemy that I have lost most of my men." He does not see how he can assemble such a large army from so great distances and equip so many soldiers. Then Guiborc comforts him.<sup>23</sup> Through her efforts and resources an army is assembled and equipped. William ceases to mourn and is greatly rejoiced at this unexpected aid. (*C* 1115-1154; *W* 1006-1020, 1343-1398).<sup>24</sup> The army is quickly ready and is encouraged to fight for revenge.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> At this point (v. 962) the scene of battle is mentioned in *W* as being in France. It seems certain that localities are much confused in all parts of this poem as well as in the others.

<sup>22</sup> We have at this point in *W* Girart recounting the service of Vivien for William, mentioned by Vivien when he starts Girart on his mission. Again this passage does not appear in *C*, but by omitting it here I do not mean, of course, that it may not have been in the original.

<sup>23</sup> I should omit from the text the brief mention made here of Guischart for reasons elsewhere stated. I consider it inserted here to fit in with the Guischart episode of the "Jeudi al Vespre" portion of the *Willame*.

<sup>24</sup> It will be noted that I support a part of the above passage by referring in *W* to a number of lines in the second expedition. In other words I should combine the accounts of the first and second expeditions to secure a complete parallel to the corresponding passage in the *Covenant*. I think this can be justified. The most hasty examination of the passages recounting the preparation and starting of these two expeditions will show that the greater part of the text is literally the same in each. The one is a copy of the other and it is consequently entirely proper to take both of them in order to secure the complete text, because of the numerous alterations and omissions that have undoubtedly been made in both passages.

<sup>25</sup> The next 400 lines in *W* have the refrain "Jeudi al vespre" and the events related in these 400 lines are not found in the *Covenant-Aliscans*. To make this situation clear see the table of chapter headings. Chapters 12-18 in *W* belong to this "Jeudi" portion. These chapters relate how the battle is supposed to last four days and all but three of William's army are killed (*W* 1107-1127), the killing of Girart (*W* 1128-1174), the killing of Guischart (*W* 1175-1223), how William carries Guischart's body to Orange (*W* 1224-1301), how Guiborc furnishes a second army (*W* 1302-1434) and William's second expedition to Archamp.



XI. Gui (Guichardet) is refused permission to accompany William. *W* 1435-1531, 1040-1060; *C* 1145-1210.

Guiborc serves the knights with supper.<sup>26</sup> After the meal there comes before William a nephew, Gui, a brother of Vivien, only fifteen years of age.<sup>27</sup> He asks William to give him arms that he may go to the aid of his brother. (*C* 1145-1194; *W* 1040-1060, 1432-1449, 1513-1516, 1529-1531.)

To Gui's request William replies: "You are too much a child and of too young an age. (*C* 1166; *W* 1525.) You will not be able to endure the sight of the battle, the hunger and hardship."<sup>28</sup> In spite of Gui's entreaties, he refuses permission to go and entrusts Gui to the care of Guiborc. (*C* 1165-1181; *W* 1450-1453, 1480, 1524-1531.) After the repast the knights sleep, and the next day they are called to arms to start on the expedition. William mounts and rides at the head of his host. Guiborc comes to his horse's side, encourages him, commends him to God's keeping, and kisses him with much emotion. (*C* 1192-1210; *W* 1064-1081, 1483-1503.)<sup>29</sup>

XIX. Gui follows and overtakes William. *W* 1504-1678; *C* 1215-1327.

William rides out of his good city at the head of an army of twenty or thirty thousand men<sup>30</sup> (*C* 1215-1220; *W* 1504-1505).

<sup>26</sup> The passage in *W* where Girart is served at supper by Guiborc in the first expedition and the same passage with William instead of Girart in the second expedition are not related in the same way in *C*. However we do clearly have a supper scene in this latter text also.

<sup>27</sup> This incident about Guy has been, I assume, cut out of the *laisse* in *W* beginning 1040. In any case this same *laisse* is repeated as a part of the second expedition, beginning verse 1400, and there we find the incident very much as it is in *C*. I presume, of course, that no one will question that Gui of *W* and Guichardet of *C* are the same person. As I have already pointed out, it is necessary often to take both the passages of the first and of the second expeditions, in *laissez* that are identical or nearly so, in order to secure the complete text. This is what I have done here.

<sup>28</sup> It will be noted that in *W* a part of this speech is put in the mouth of Guiborc instead of William. However, it would seem that she is only repeating the earlier words of William, to whom the speech is more natural.

<sup>29</sup> One will note again at this point that it is necessary to take the corresponding passages in both expeditions in order to secure a more complete text. For example, line 1502 is unintelligible because of omissions preceding it. 1080, in the first expedition, makes it immediately clear.

<sup>30</sup> *C* has 20,000; *W* has 30,000. The difference in numerals is not surprising and often more striking ones occur in the same text.

Gui is left alone with Guiborc. On seeing the army leave he begins to weep and implores Guiborc to allow him to follow. She at first refuses, alleging the authority of William who had left him in her keeping. Finally, however, he secures her permission. (C 1230-1269; W 1506-1539.) Then Guiborc arms Gui as a knight. They put on his helmet and gird on a sword. When he is armed he takes his leave and gallops after the army.<sup>31</sup> (C 1270-1277; W 1540-1567.)

When Gui comes in sight of the army they are drawing near the battle-field at Archamp. William sees Gui approaching and asks who this strange knight is. "Do you not recognize your nephew Gui, whom Guiborc has armed knight," is the reply. William is touched by this and takes Gui with him to the approaching battle. (C 1306-1327; W 1562-1677.)<sup>32</sup>

XX. William fights with pagans. W 1094-1119,<sup>33</sup> 1679-1703, C 1498-1552, 1568-1627, 1653-1766, 1895-1917; A 1-7, 19-56.

When William arrives at Aliscans he sends forward half his army as a first division to attack the pagans, who were encamped along the sea shore. (W 1094-1101; C 1478-1484, 1498-1504.)<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Owing to the fact that it is the tendency of *W* to abridge, while *C* is clearly very often a revised and expanded text, it is sometimes difficult to judge whether a passage has been omitted in *W* or added in *C*. However, there would not seem to be much doubt that Gui's banal adventure with the robbers, recounted in C 1278-1302, is an example of the latter procedure.

<sup>32</sup> The considerable passage in *W* at this point, in which William encourages his men for the approaching battle, I should willingly consider original. Possibly one might see a reflection of this in *C* in such lines as 1226-8 and 1322-7, but as elsewhere, when I have not been sure that a passage is found in both texts, I refrain from including it.

<sup>33</sup> For this battle of William in *W* one must take similar passages in both expeditions: vv. 1088-1125, and vv. 1679-1727. They are largely identical, but each has events omitted in the other. Both are brief résumés only, it evidently being the compiler's intention to give merely the results here and to devote himself to the personal exploits of William and a few other heroes. This peculiarity of the *Willame* is discussed more at length elsewhere, so I mention it only at this point.

<sup>34</sup> This separation of the army into divisions with William in command of the rear corps is, it seems to me, clear in all three texts: *Willame*, *Covenant*, and *Aliscans*. In addition to the passages cited from the first two, if one will read the first few hundred lines of *Aliscans*, he will see that Bertran and the other knights are first mentioned as being in the thick of the fight and only after their defeat and capture is the interest concentrated on William's combats.

The pagans surprised by this attack are unarmed. They flee to their tents and ships and arm themselves hastily to meet this attack. (*W* 1102-1106, 1694-1702; *C* 1516-1523, 1529-1545, 1552-3.)

When the great pagan host is armed they sally forth with overwhelming forces against the attack of William's army. (*W* 1107-1119, 1702-3; *C* 1571-1590.)

XXI. Saracens bring up great forces and defeat William. *W* 1704-1718; *C* 1749-1759; *A* p. 26, verses 16-18, 418-439.

Then William appears at the head of his division and with the terror of his name and his great prowess is winning the battle, when the reserve of the enemy, all the great pagan leaders, fall upon him and he is hemmed in by 15,000 of the enemy. *W* 1704-1715; *C* 1668-1679, 1714-1740, 1749-1759; *A* 19-56, page 26, 16-18, 418-439.)

XXII. They capture Bertran and other nephews of William. *W* 1719-1725; *A* 310-325; p 26, 1-21, 30.

Now it fares ill with the French.

The terrible pagan warriors strike down and kill or take prisoner William's men. There are captured Bertran and other nephews and knights of William. These are bound and taken to the ships.<sup>85</sup>

XXIII. All others are killed except William. *W* 1726-8; *A* 481-4. Of his entire army William is the only one left.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>85</sup> There is no thought of entering into a discussion of this passage which has, I believe, already been exploited far more than its importance warrants. A few points, however, may be noted. The names mentioned here in *W* are: Bertran, Guelin, Guischart, Galter and Reiner. Verses 2343-2373 mention again the five captives with the name Guiotun taking the place of Guischart. Verses 2483-5, and 3049-3055 have the list as first given, while verses 3152-4 replace Reiner by Girart. Girart is also mentioned, verse 3455.

These changes are, I should say, inevitable in poems so much altered and revised. We see the same thing in the *Aliscans*. That the list in *W* should not agree perfectly with that of any MS of *Aliscans*, then, is not surprising. It would be exceedingly surprising if it should. Some names are, however, the same in all and no one will contest, I presume, that they come in all the versions from a common original.

What is more important to note here is that two knights are captured who are mentioned earlier in the "Jeudi al vespre" part as being killed, i. e.: Guischart and Girart. It is only one of the many passages showing the lack of agreement of that portion of the *Willame* with the "Lundi al vespre" poem.

<sup>86</sup> In *W* Gui is also excepted. This exception of Gui seems to me clearly

XXXI. William rides over field alone.<sup>37</sup> *W* 1980-6; *A* 666-683, 693-4.

The Count William rides over the field. (*W* 1980; *A* 693 variant.)

He is grieved and full of sorrow. (*W* 1981; *A* 694.)

The lances of his helmet are broken and it hangs towards the ground. (*W* 1982-3; *A* 669-670, 694, variants 1 and 2.)

He is stained with blood (*W* 1894; *A* 677\*).

XXXII. William finds Vivien dying. *W* 1987-1999; *A* 695-705, 724-7.

He sees Vivien lying beside a pool

At a spring of running water,

Beneath a leafy shade tree (*W* 1897-9; *A* 695-7).

Vivien's hands are crossed on his breast.

Sweeter did he smell than spice or balm.

In his body were fifteen wounds. Of the least of them would have died an emir. (*W* 1990-3; *A* 724-7.)

XXXIII. William laments, gives holy bread, Vivien dies. *W* 1995-2051; *A* 706-867.

William regrets Vivien's rashness and mourns for the loss of a relative, the like of whose prowess he will never see again. (*W* 1995-9; *A* 728-742.)

"Nephew Vivien," cries William, "When I knighted you in my palace at Termes,—For your love I gave a hundred helmets,—A hundred swords and a hundred new shields—Now you are dead—Your body pierced through and through. May God have mercy

an inserted passage, put in at this point to join the "Lundi" poem with the "Mercredi" portion, which is an episode devoted to the adventures of Gui. The following lines in *W*, 1729-1760, which are still in the "Lundi" poem, are a further introduction to the Gui episode and I should consider them interpolated into the "Lundi" text for that purpose. These transitional passages are the only ones of importance in the "Lundi" text which do not have a parallel in the *Covenant-Aliscans*, excepting the Tedbalt-Estourmi episode.

The next chapters 24-30 belong to the "Mercredi" text and are not found in the *Covenant-Aliscans*. They relate the marvellous exploits of Gui and how he and William kill Deramé. See table of chapter headings.

"In *W*, verse 1986, Gui is said to accompany him. The line is most evidently inserted, for Gui is certainly not present in the fine scenes just following found substantially the same in both *A* and *W*. That Gui should be present at this death scene of his brother, Vivien, and not be mentioned in any way is unbelievable.

on you and on these others who lie dead with you!" (*W* 2000-2009; *A* 767-770, 784-792.)

William repeats his lamentation over Vivien's body. It was Vivien's rash vow, not to flee from the pagans, he is sure, that has brought about his death. He beseeches him to speak and if possible to taste the holy bread he carries in his knap-sack, which will absolve him from his sins. At this appeal Vivien opens his eyes, recognizes William, confesses his faults, and receives from William's hands his last absolution. When he has taken the holy bread his soul departs to paradise. (*W* 2010-2051; *A* 792<sup>a</sup>-867.)

XXXIV. William tries to carry off body. *W* 2052-4; *A* 883-890.

William raises the body of Vivien and places it on his horse in front of him in an endeavor to carry it back to Orange.

XXXV. Sudden attack forces William to leave Vivien's body. *W* 2055-2090; *A* 891-1082.

Suddenly he is attacked by fifteen kings headed by Matamars and is forced to leave behind Vivien's body.<sup>88</sup> He then attacks these pagans with such fierceness that he kills or puts them all to flight. (*W* 2052-2090; *A* 888-1079.)

XXXVI. William kills Alderufe and flees to Orange. *W* 2091-2212; *A* 1083-1384.

Escaping the danger from the fifteen kings, William is next attacked by the mighty Aerofle (*W* Alderufe). With words of scorn for each other's religion they come together with a mighty shock by which both are overthrown. After a terrible combat William cuts off the leg of his giant antagonist and seizes the splendid horse of his enemy to replace his own which was exhausted. When Aerofle blames him for taking away his matchless steed William turns back and cuts off the head of the fallen pagan. Then disguised as a Saracen he again starts for Orange.<sup>89</sup> (*W* 2095-2208; *A* 1085-1379.)

<sup>88</sup> At this point in *W* we have a few lines relating to the capture of Gui, which have every appearance of being inserted. It is strange, for example, that Gui should be supposed to be with William all this time, yet in no way to take part in the death scene of his brother Vivien. Moreover, though Gui is now captured he is not among those released, but drops out of the poem henceforth. It seems to me evident that this passage reciting the capture of Gui at this point is due to the reviser who has inserted the "Lores fu Mercredi" part in the *Willame*. It is a connecting passage.

XXXVII. Scene at gate and in Orange. *W* 2213-2420; *A* 1571-1911.

Pursued by the pagan army, William at last arrives before the gates of Orange.<sup>40</sup> The porter does not recognize him in Saracen armor and calls Guiborc. She refuses to believe that William would return as a fugitive and denies him admittance, until he has proven who he is by rescuing single-handed some Christian prisoners from a large Saracen army before the walls, and unfastened his helmet, so that she can see his features. When he has complied she finally permits him to enter.<sup>41</sup> (*W* 2209-2327; *A* 1549-1767.)

Guiborc receives William and disarms him. Then she asks him what he has done with his army. He tells her how Vivien has been killed, Bertran and the other heroes captured and all his men lost. When she learns of these captured counts she urges him to go at once and seek aid from the Emperor. She and her women will defend the city during his absence. William yields to her counsels and just before dawn sets out on this mission.<sup>42</sup>

XXXVIII. William goes to Louis for aid. *W* 2421-2468; *A* 1912-2401.

<sup>40</sup> The differences in the account given of this combat by the two texts are not material. In *A* we have Aeroffe accompanied by Danebur whose role is brief. Also in *A* William puts on armor of Aeroffe to complete his disguise. *W* does not specifically state that he puts on this armor, but later he is mentioned as being armed as a pagan and is mistaken for Aeroffe. There is also a slight difference in the order in which the events are related.

<sup>41</sup> *A* recounts several incidents of this chase, particularly William's encounter with Baudus (*A* 1380-1548). These incidents are not mentioned in *W* and are not of sufficient merit to warrant one in considering them original. It is quite likely that this is one of the many additions that have evidently been made to the original text by the *Aliscans* reviser.

<sup>42</sup> The main incidents of this famous scene are the same in both texts. The chief difference is that it is, as usual, briefer in *W* than in *A*. While this constant difference is, no doubt, sometimes due to the abridgment of *W* as much as to the additions in *A*, in this and a few other fine scenes this abridgment of *W* is less apparent, and I should regard most of the difference due to the expansion of the *A* text.

<sup>43</sup> Again perhaps the differences between *W* and *A* in this passage do not require much comment. *W* mentions once again Gui, although possibly the name is found in another form elsewhere, and also devotes some space to the supper of William and Guiborc. This supper scene may be original. William must have taken supper in *A* also, for the time of his arrival and leaving seem to be the same in both.

William makes the journey to Louis' court sadly and arrives with broken armor.<sup>43</sup>

XXXIX. Court scene. Anger with Blanchefleur. *W* 2469-2634; *A* 2402-3133.

When the courtiers learn of his disaster they receive him coldly. He tells the Emperor of his misfortune and asks for aid, but Louis at first turns a deaf ear, and is encouraged in this by the Queen, Blanchefleur, William's sister. In fury William most bitterly inveighs against her and threatens her life. He is restrained by the members of his family who promise him aid and force the King to give William his army to free Orange.<sup>44</sup> (*W* 2454-2634; *A* 2044-3133.)

XL. The Relief Expedition. Renoart Branch. *W* 2635-3553; *A* 3124-8510.

On leaving the court of Louis William takes with him a giant pagan captive, named Renoart, found in Louis' kitchen. After a number of burlesque exploits on the part of Renoart, who carries a great club, and is continually getting into trouble, they arrive at Orange, with a large army including William's relatives. Guiborc learns that Renoart is her brother and has him knighted.

William now leads his army to Archamp and in a great battle, of many incidents, in which Renoart plays the chief role, finally overcomes the pagans, takes revenge for his former defeat, and rescues the prisoners.<sup>45</sup>

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*A* has a considerable passage devoted to the adieu of William and Guiborc, the latter's fears and William's vow not to forget her. This is not in *W*.

The list of captured heroes is, perhaps, taking the inevitable differences of these texts, more remarkable for the number of names that agree than for the differences.

<sup>43</sup> The detailed adventures of William on the way to the court may well be elaborations of the *A* version.

<sup>44</sup> This account is much longer in *A* than in *W* and in all probability many of these incidents in *A* are due to elaborations of the original. The most important of these incidents of *A*, not found in *W*, are William's adventures on his way to the court, and the role played by his niece Aelis.

<sup>45</sup> For our purpose it is useless to go into the many details of the Renoart branch or to point out the many incidents that may differ in the two versions. In general almost all of *W* is found in *A*, which has further many details, some of which may perhaps belong to the original version, but most of which are evidently later elaborations. As a rule the important incidents are found in both.

## THE SWORD BRIDGE OF CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES AND ITS CELTIC ORIGINAL

Outline: Chrétien's sword bridge—Paris's identification of it with the soul bridge of Oriental and Christian legend—The soul bridge in the Irish visions—The history of the idea in western ecclesiastical legend—The evidence of the *Walewein* which identifies the soul and the sword bridge—Explained by the general character of "ecclesiastical romance" subsequent to Chrétien—Other possibilities of origin of the sword bridge—Perilous Passage of pagan Celtic story—Final explanation—Crossing the sword bridge originally one of the champion-feats celebrated in heroic Irish legend.

THE origin of the perilous bridge in mediaeval allegory and romance has commonly been traced to the concept of the soul bridge leading to the Kingdom of the Dead, an Eastern idea that had found its way into Christian legend before the time of Mohammed,<sup>1</sup> or to the Perilous Passage of pagan Celtic story, a *motif* which some scholars have thought to be, so far as the bridge is concerned, simply a specialized form of the first. The purpose of this paper is to define more closely the significance of these two concepts, and to consider their connection with the sword bridge in Chrétien's *Conte de la Charette*, one of the earliest instances, if not the earliest, in which the perilous bridge appears in purely romantic literature. The result of this comparison seems to indicate that the soul bridge offers but a very doubtful antecedent to the sword bridge. If the Perilous Passage be differentiated from the soul bridge, it comes nearer to a satisfactory explanation of Chrétien's invention, but even so it leaves unexplained the form and the function of the sword bridge. It is believed that another explanation can be offered which not only accounts for the peculiar nature

<sup>1</sup> H. L. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, Lond., 1893, II, 399. The following terms are here synonymous: Soul bridge, Bridge of the Dead, Bridge of Judgment, of Purgatory.



of the bridge but confirms in an unexpected way the theory of the Celtic origin of the story as a whole.

Chrétien's account of the sword bridge is found in an episode peculiarly detailed and picturesque. He tells us that the realm of Méléagant, the land "dont nul ne retourne," is defended by two bridges. When Gawain and Lancelot on their errand of rescuing Queen Guinevere from her captor, Méléagant, come to the bridges, Gawain takes the first, the *pont evage*,<sup>2</sup> which has as much water above as below it; Lancelot takes the second and more terrifying one:

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"Li autres ponz est plus malvès  
Et est plus perilleus asez,  
N'ainz par homme ne fu pasez,  
Qu'il est comme espée trenchanz;  
Et por ce trestotes les genz  
L'apelent le pont de l'espée."

In another passage, after describing the terrible river which ran beneath the bridge, Chrétien goes on to say:

<sup>2</sup> This bridge seems directly reminiscent of the concept of an Otherworld lying underneath water. Although such a concept is not exclusively Celtic, one of the frequent episodes of old Irish story is that of a hero going by way of an under-water passage to a Land of Marvel. Loegaire, having dived through a loch, reaches the Kingdom of Fiacha of the Fairy Folk, *Loegaire mac Crimthan*, Book of Leinster, summarized by A. C. L. Brown, *Harvard Studies in Phil. and Lit.*, 1903, VIII, 40-1; cf. 76: the home of Terror, the head-cutting champion, is beneath the water, *Fled Bricrend*, ed. G. Henderson, Irish Texts, 1889, 99: Diarmid falls through a well to find an Elysian land beneath, *Gilla Decair*, Silva Gadelica I, 258-276; tr. II, 55, 292: Murough, in his quest for the ferule, dives through a lake into Tír na n-og, *Giolla an Fhiughu*, Lad of the Ferule, ed. D. Hyde, Irish Texts, 1899: Brian, one of the sons of Turenn, puts on his water dress, and leaps into the sea. After a fortnight he comes to the sunken island belonging to the Women of Fencara, Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, 87.

The sword bridge and the one beneath the water are so closely connected, it seems probable they are derived from the same kind of material. If the whole episode of Guinevere's abduction be Celtic in character (see here, n. 35), and the evidence just cited be taken as establishing the fact that a perilous under-water passage was a familiar means of approach to the fairy Otherworld, there seems some reason for accepting the *pont evage* as a simple enough development from the old Irish legends. Foerster, *Der Karrenritter*, Halle, 1889, p. LXIX, refuses to see in it more than "doblette" of the sword bridge. Foerster, p. LXXI, and Gaston Paris, *Romania*, XII, 530 ff., comment on the use of the under-water-bridge by Chrétien and André le Chapelain.

“Et li ponz qui est en travers  
 Estoit de toz autres divers,  
 Qu'ainz teus ne fu ne ja mès n'iert;  
 Ainz ne vi, se nus m'en requiert,  
 Si mal pont ne si male planche:  
*D'une espée forbie et blanche*  
*Etoit li ponz sur l'eve froide;*  
 Mes l'espée estoit fort et roide  
 Et avoit deus lances de lonc.  
 De chascune part ot un tronc  
 Ou l'espée estoit cloufichiée; . . .  
 Si ne semble pas qui la voit  
 Qu'ele puisse grant fès porter.”<sup>8</sup>

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Seeing the bridges and the monsters on the further shore, his companions in vain try to dissuade Lancelot from crossing it. He does not heed them, but proceeds to take off the armour from his legs and hands, preferring to wound himself on the sword's sharp edges rather than to risk slipping into the river.

Much of this is repeated in the prose<sup>4</sup> Lancelot. The British Museum Ms. 10293, for instance, uses almost the same words in

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Romania*, XII, 468, 473, and Foerster's edition of the poem, *op. cit.*

Chrétien's sword bridge is realistically treated by several mediaeval artists. As these instances have in general escaped notice, a brief list may be given below. For the reference to Caen and the British Museum casket, I am indebted to my colleague, Miss Helen Griffith.

Ivory panel set in cover of Add. Ms. 36615, Brit. Mus., early fourteenth century. A knight on his hands and knees crosses a great sword which stretches across turbulent waves. A shower of darts descends upon him. Cf. Catalogue of Additional Mss., 1900-1905, British Museum, Lond., 1907.

Ivory casket, fourteenth century, Brit. Mus., reproduced in *Guide to the Mediaeval Room*, Brit. Mus., 1907, p. 163; also in the *Burlington Magazine*, June, 1904, p. 288-319. The whole casket is carved with scenes from the romances. As in the panel, the companion piece to Lancelot is Gawain on the "Bed Perilous."

Carving on a capital of St. Pierre, Caen. Cf. Dawson Turner, *Letters from Normandy*, Lond., 1820, II, 179; Didron Aîné, *Les Triomphes, Annales Archéologiques*, XXIII, 323 (1863), dates the carving in the fourteenth century.

Miniature in Ms. No. 115, f. 355, Bibl. Nat. Paris, reproduced by A. Gasté, *Un Chapiteau de l'Eglise Saint Pierre de Caen*, Caen, 1887, Plate II.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. by H. O. Sommer, Carnegie Institute, Washington, 1911, Vol. IV, Part II, p. 200. The ms. is of the thirteenth century. With this and the *Charette* passage cf. that in the *Livre d'Artus* (Bibl. Nat. ff. 337) summarized by E. Freymond, *Zeitschr. f. franz. Spr.*, XVII, § 113.

describing the river. That the bridge is thought of as actual sword is shown by the account of the preparations made for Lancelot's crossing. Those of his company "lacent les pans de son hauberc emsamble et li cueusent a gros fiex de fer qu'il auoient aporte et . . . ses manicles dedens li ont poiez a boine poi caude . . . et tant des pans comme il ot entre les cuisses. Et ce fu pour miex tenir contre (le trenchant de) lespee. . . . Lors se met desour la plance a cheuauchons si armes comme il estoit. . . . Et cil de la tour qui le voient en sont tout esbahi . . . mais quil voient quil se traine par dessus lespee trenchant a la force des bras et a lempoignement des genous."

With the notable popularity and influence of the Lancelot stories in general this paper has nothing to do, but it is interesting to note that the sword bridge *motif* in the fourteenth century had become practically a convention. In the *Sone de Nausay* it is evident that the poet did not feel it necessary to describe the bridge, presumably because its character was too well known:

"Et priés de la une archie v. 17189  
 Ot en mer une grant cauchie  
 Qui jusc'as murs pas ne venoit;  
 Mais ensi que on tiesmongnoit  
 Qu la 'fu li pons de l'espee  
 U ot mointe tieste copee  
 Quant Meleagus en fu sire."<sup>5</sup>

Other examples from romantic story which have been cited as analogous to the sword bridge are to be found in the *Mule sans Frein*,<sup>6</sup> in the bridge tradition ascribed to Merlin,<sup>7</sup> the *Perlesvaus*<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Ed. by M. Goldschmidt, *Litterarischer Verein in Stuttgart*, No. 216, 1899. Cited by Foerster, p. XLIX; by J. D. Bruce, *P. M. L. A.*, XV, 336. Bruce discusses the relation of the Latin romance, *Vita Meriadoci* and the French poem. He thinks the mysterious island home of Gundebald in the *Vita Mer.*, a "terra de qua nemo revertitur" to which narrow causeways lead, represents a debased form of the description here quoted from the *Sone de Nausay*. The latter may not represent direct, but it certainly shows indirect, borrowing from Chrétien's poem.

<sup>6</sup> Cited by G. Paris, *op. cit.*, 510, n. 2. See *Histoire Littéraire*, XIX, 722, and the new edition of the poem by R. T. Hill, Baltimore, 1911. Verses 390-415 tell how Gawain comes to the river "plus bruaiaz que Loire—Si horrible, si cruel—ce est li fluus au diable!"

Tant est alez par la rivage,  
 Que il a la planche trovee,

Qui n'est mie plus d'un dor lee,  
Mais ele estoit de fer trestote.

He gets across by aid of the mule:

"Mes assez sovent avenoit  
Que la moitez do pie estoit  
Fors la planche par desor."

Cf. *Romania*, XLI, 144.

<sup>1</sup> Noted by L. Paton, *Studies in Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, Boston, 1903, p. 85, n. 3. Cf. Malory, *Le Morte Darthur*, Bk. II, ch. 19: "Then Merlin let make a bridge of iron and steel into that island, . . . and it was but half a foot broad, and there shall never a man pass that bridge, . . . but if he were a passing good man and a knight without treachery or villainy." Although the form of this bridge is possibly suggestive of Chrétien's, its character is essentially different. It is a variant of those tests, usually of chastity, which form so popular a motif in mediaeval story. The tests were made by means of a fairy horn or mantle, girdle, crown, chair, flower, ring, etc. Cf. F. J. Child, *English and Scottish Ballads*, I, 257-274, 507; II, 502; III, 503; IV, 454; V, 212, 289. For the Celtic origin of the horn and mantle tests, cf. T. P. Cross, *Mod. Phil.*, X, 289 ff. The magical bridge which no imperfect knight or lady of Arthur's court could cross, appears in *Der jüngere Titurel*, written before 1272 (ed. K. A. Hahn, Leipzig, 1842, p. 232). Hans Sachs retells the story with Vergil for the magician in *König Artus mit der ehbrecher-brugk* (*Dichtungen*, ed. Goedeke, I, 175). Cf. Child, I, 267, and Comparetti, *Virgil in the Middle Ages*, tr. E. F. Benecke, Lond., 1895, p. 339. Child notes: "'Die Brücke zu Karidol' (Cardoil) is alluded to in *Der Spiegel* by Meister Altswert" (ed. W. Holland u. A. Keller, Stuttgart, 1850, p. 179, v. 10-13). It is evident that the bridge test was late and can in no way explain Chrétien's idea in introducing the sword bridge.

<sup>2</sup> *Perlesvaus*, tr. S. A. Evans, *High History of the Holy Grail*, 1898, Everyman's Library, 1910, from the French prose romance, *Perceval le Gallois*, ed. C. Potvin, Mons, 1866-71, Vol. I. Cf. the dissertation of W. A. Nitze, *Perlesvaus*, Baltimore, 1902, p. 104, note. The description of the bridge is given in the *High History*, p. 84-5. Gawain comes to King Fisherman's castle, which is surrounded by great waters which are crossed by three bridges. The first bridge (the Pont de l'Anguille) seemed a bow shot in length and its breadth not more than a foot. A knight came to the head of the bridge and bade Gawain cross without misgiving. Gawain "commendeth himself to God and smiteth his horse with spurs and findeth the bridge large and wide as he goeth forward, for by this passing were proven most of the knights. When he had passed beyond, the bridge, that was a draw-bridge, lifted itself by engine behind him, for the water ran too swiftly for any other bridge to be made." The second bridge seemed to him as long as the other, and "so far as he could judge, the bridge was of ice, feeble and thin, and of a great height above the water." When he came in the midst thereof, "he seeth the bridge was the fairest and strongest that he ever beheld, and the abutments thereof were full of images." The third bridge was not terrifying. It had columns of gold; the figure of Christ appeared on the gate; at the sides were images of the Virgin and St. John, made out of gold and precious stones. An angel, "passing fair," pointed to the chapel where was the Holy Grail.

and its Welsh version, *Y Seint Greal*,<sup>9</sup> and again in the Dutch *Walewein*.<sup>10</sup> The Perilous bridge also appears in Gautier's continuation of Chrétien's *Perceval ou Le Conte du Graal*.<sup>11</sup> The three instances (*Perlesvaus*, *Y Seint Greal*, *Walewein*), especially, show a confusion of ideas which can be made to prove almost anything. Chrétien's realistic and striking description of the sword bridge serves simply as a starting point, if, indeed, it be even that. The later texts describe a perilous bridge which suggests in some details the fairy bridge of old Celtic story, but is chiefly reminiscent of the soul bridge of Christian vision literature. It is in accounting for Chrétien's bridge by way of these later developments, and in defining the type of his original that the divergence of critical opinion begins.

An article read by title at the Modern Language Meeting, January, 1913, would undoubtedly offer much interesting material in this general connection. It was by S. L. Galpin on *The Perilous Bridge in French Allegory*. The résumé in *P. M. L. A.*, XXVIII, p. XIX, *Proceedings* for 1912, says: "the type of perilous bridge found in French allegorical poems is easily recognizable as an adaptation of the well-known bridge of judgment of Christian vision literature."

<sup>9</sup> Ed. R. Williams, *Selections from the Hengwrt Mss.*, Lond., 1876-92, II, 241, 593. Same as above. Cf. J. Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, Oxford, 1891, p. 56. The variability of size (the Welsh text says the bridge widened so that two carts might have passed abreast) recalled to Professor Rhys the Bridge of Souls in the Irish visions. See here notes 14-16. He derived the name, Bridge of the Eel (Anguille), from the Snake, or Rainbow River which, Taliessin said, flowed around the world. Prof. Nitze, *Perlesvaus*, p. 104, suggests the reading *Aiguille*, Needle. If we are to deal with allegory, certainly it would seem that the Grail bridge was as effective a test of virtue as the "Needle's Eye" of the Scriptures!

<sup>10</sup> *Roman van Walewein*, ed. W. J. A. Jonckbloet, Leiden, 1846-48, v. 4939. (See here, page 183.)

<sup>11</sup> Perceval crossed a glass bridge by the aid of a mule lent him by a maiden. A knight then persuaded him to attempt crossing the Bridge Perilous and to attend the tourney at the Castle Orguellous. Cf. J. Weston, *Legend of Sir Perceval*, I, 24; 266. The Bridge Perilous was partly built by a fairy for her lover, Carimedic (Potvin, 28,825); when he was killed she left it incomplete, and vowed that none but the most valiant knight should cross it. When Perceval reached the high arch of the middle of the bridge, the half he had crossed swung around and fastened itself to the other side, so that he was enabled to cross in safety. Cf. Weston, II, 241; Paton, p. 85, n. 3; Nitze, *P. M. L. A.*, XXIV, 375.

The influence of the marvels of Irish story is to be seen in both episodes. (See below, n. 25; 34.) Whether the bridge episode was elaborated in the Latin version which was according to Professor Nitze (*Glastonbury and the Holy Grail, Modern Philology*, I, 257) the immediate successor of Chrétien's *Perceval*, it is impossible to say, but it is characteristic of the transformation of romantic into ecclesiastical story in the *Perceval* and the *Perlesvaus* to find the "active bridge" of pagan Irish story taking on many of the attributes of the soul bridge of Christian legend.

In his famous study of Chrétien's poem in *Romania*, XII, p. 508 ff., Gaston Paris maintained that as Méléagant's kingdom could be identified with the Otherworld of pagan Celtic belief, the bridge which gave access to it could be taken as the Celtic version of "une croyance répandue chez un grand nombre de peuples, aryens et autres, qu'il faut passer sur un semblable pont pour entrer dans le royaume des morts." He referred briefly to the Tchinvat bridge of the books of Zoroaster,<sup>12</sup> and to the similar bridge in Talmudic and Mohammedan tradition. In each case the bridge was crossed by the soul after death, and by its varying size and danger, it served as a judgment test. For the good it broadened to the length of nine javelins; for the wicked it narrowed to the width of a hair or thread, and this slender support became as sharp as a razor. The Tchinvat or *Kinvad* bridge, which may be taken as the archetype, stretched between high mountain peaks, and under it flowed a river. The dogs of Death<sup>13</sup> guided souls to the bridge, and protected good souls from the assaults of demons. A perfumed breeze blew from Heaven across the bridge. A celestial mansion could be seen. If the soul missed its footing on the bridge it fell into the abode of Endless Darkness.

<sup>12</sup> *Avesta*, tr. J. Darmsteter, *Sacred Books of the East*, Oxford, 1895, vols. IV and XXIII. For the *Kinvad* bridge see pages 156, 158, 218-9. Cf. D'Ancona, *I Precursori di Dante*, p. 46; W. Geiger, *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, Strassburg, 1896-1904; II, 684; also his *Civilization of the Ancient Iranians*, tr. Peshota Sanjānā, Lond., 1885, I, 100-102; N. Söderblom, *Rev. de l'hist. des Religions*, XXXIX, 411-412; *La vie future d'après le Mazdeisme*, 926. Cf. the prayer of the modern Parsi (cited by E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, N. Y., 1889, II, 100): "I believe . . . in the stepping over the bridge Chinvat in an invariable recompense of good deeds . . . and bad deeds."

For the Mohammedan belief see Paris, *op. cit.*, p. 508; D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*. Sir Walter Scott, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, Edin., 1868, III, 136, comments on the "Brig o' Dread" in the Lyke-Wake dirge of the Yorkshire peasants.

<sup>13</sup> M. Bloomfield, *Cerberus, The Dog of Hades, A Study in Comparative Mythology*, 1904; Tylor, II, 50, cites among other stories that of the Algonquin Indians in which a great dog guards the swinging bridge leading to the Villages of the Dead. Paris (509, n. 2) thinks the phantom lions seen by Lancelot reminiscent of the monsters which in so many myths guard the Land of the Dead. The concept reappears in several mediaeval visions of Heaven and Hell, but it is difficult to suppose that Chrétien's lions have any connection beyond that of a possible but most remote common source with the creatures described in the Vision of Tundal to which Paris alludes.

With some of these attributes of the Oriental soul bridge in mind, Gaston Paris sought to find analogues in ancient Celtic tradition. An analysis of the evidence presented by him and others shows that three points are at issue:

1. That the soul bridge, as a concept comparable to that in the *Avesta*, is found in Celtic literature:
2. That for western religious legend it is of Celtic origin:
3. That the sword bridge may be identified with it.

The analogue which Paris sought, he found in the writings of the Celtic visionaries. It is, of course, undeniable that many details drawn from pagan lore appear in these writings, and Paris believed that the bridge concept which appears in the twelfth century visions of Tundal<sup>14</sup> and Owain,<sup>15</sup> or as he might have added, the still

<sup>14</sup> *Visio Tundali*, ed. A. Wagner, Erlangen, 1882. The spirit of Tundal, a wicked Irish landlord, is taken while his body lies in a deathlike trance through Hell and Heaven. In Hell he sees two bridges, the first is a thousand feet long and one foot wide! It stretches from one mountain to another over a foul-smelling abyss. The second bridge is strewn with spikes; it is two miles long and scarcely a hand's breadth wide; it is guarded by fiery monsters. Over it Tundal has to drive a cow which he had once stolen.

The vision seems to have taken place about 1149 and to have been written down before 1153, Ward, II, 417. Wagner lists 54 Mss. exclusive of those in the British Museum, which show the wide popularity of the story in Europe. Six Mss. of the twelfth century have the Prologue by Frater Marcus, the Irish monk, who wrote down the story which Tundal told him in Irish. The inclusion of the vision in the *Chronicon* of Helinand, a Cistercian monk of Froimont (d. cir. 1229), whence it passed into the *Speculum Historiale* (Bk. XXVII, ch. 88) of Vincent of Beauvais, gives a further indication of its popularity and the means of its dispersion. Cf. Ward, II, 424; V. H. Friedel & K. Meyer, *La vision de Tondale*, 1907.

<sup>15</sup> The Middle-English poem, *Owain Miles*, ed. E. Kolbing, *Eng. Stud.*, I, 99-112, and Marie de France's *L'Espurgatoire*, ed. T. A. Jenkins, Chicago, 1903, are both derived from the *Tractatus de Purgatorio de S. Patrice* of the Benedictine monk, Henry of Saltrey, written about 1189. Henry wrote it down from the account given by Gilbert of Louth, a Cistercian monk, who had heard it from Owain himself, an Irish knight, who had visited St. Patrick's Purgatory, a pit on an island in Lough Derg, County Donegal. Among the other torments which Owain encountered was the Judgment bridge. It was of dizzy height, so slender that it would scarcely support one foot, and very slippery. When he called on the name of Christ the bridge grew firm and widened at every step.

Two of the earliest written references to the fame of this Purgatory and the Pilgrimages to it, are in the *Vita S. Patrice* of the Cistercian, Jocelin of Furness, written about 1183, and in the *Topographia Hibernia* of Giraldus Cambrensis about 1189. These early accounts localize the story in different places and neither mentions Owain, nor the bridge. Cf. Ward, II, 438. As Th. Wright

earlier one of Adamnan, the three most famous visions of Irish origin, was such a survival. The visions describe a judgment bridge, varying in size, spanning the abysses of Hell, and crossed only by the dead or the spirit of the mortal to whom the vision was vouchsafed. The concept of the bridge, obviously the same in each case, goes back to the same source, or at least to the same line of tradition. As to what this was, C. S. Boswell, the most authoritative student of the *Fis Adamnáin*,<sup>18</sup> is, perhaps, needlessly dubious when he says:

points out, *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, Lond., 1844, p. 133: "It appears from Jocelin's account that even so late as the end of the 12th century, the legend had hardly become fixed in the definite form which Henry's narrative gave to it." An old tradition records that Tiernan O'Rourke, Prince of Bressny, went in 1152 to the Purgatory. O'Connor (*St. Patrick's Purgatory, Lough Derg*, Dublin, 1895, p. 93), who cites the story, makes the improbable suggestion that the bridge episode of the Owain stories was due to the suggestion of the actual bridge between the Saint's island and the mainland.

The great popularity of the Owain story, once it was fairly started, is shown by its early translation into French and English, by its inclusion in the *Chronica Majora* (ed. Luard, Rolls Series, II, 192), which Matthew Paris wrote about 1299; by the great number of early Mss. Cf. Jenkins, p. 45, 85; E. Mall, *Romanische Forschungen*, VI, 149; C. Fritzsche, *Rom. Forsch.*, III, 360; P. Meyer, *Notices et Extraits*, XXXIV, I, 238 (1891); Ward, *Cat. of Rom.*, II, 445.

The account of the bridge in the Middle-English versions is much elaborated. Its height, slipperiness, its sharpness, are dwelt upon. It is highly arched in the middle and is likened to a "bent bowe." A. C. L. Brown, *Iwain, Harvard Studies in Phil. and Lit.*, VIII, 124, thinks the description shows traces of Celtic influence as this arched bridge resembles the one crossed by Cuchulinn on his way to Scathach's abode (*Tochmarc Emere*).

An interesting late version of the Owain story is found in the Breton *Mystère, Luis Enius ou Le Purgatoire de S. Patrice*, ed. G. Dottin, Paris, 1911, p. 350. Enius (the Spanish name for Owain) crossed the slippery ice bridge which spanned Hell's torments. He was aided by an invisible hand. A sweet breeze blew towards him from the celestial palace across the bridge. Cf. the Avesta accounts.

Professor G. L. Hamilton draws my attention to L. Fratri, *Tradizioni storiche del Purgatorio di San Patrizio*, *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, VIII, 140; XVII, 46.

<sup>18</sup> Ed. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I: translated by C. S. Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante*, Lond., 1908. For the bridge see p. 39. It was high in the middle, low at each end, it spanned a fiery river. For some who crossed it, it was broad; for others narrow at first, then broad; for still others it was broad at first but presently became so strait that they fell from it perforce into the mouths of fiery serpents.

Windische, *Irische Texte*, I, 167, ascribes the existing version to the tenth, possibly to the ninth century, which latter date is accepted by Zimmer (*Zeitsch.*



"It is possible that the author (of the *Fis Adamnain*) found his immediate prototype in the writings of St. Gregory, with which he was likely to be acquainted; equally possible that the idea was derived from the traditions of the Eastern Church with which it is probable that he had come in contact; or, again, from some floating tradition, originally emanating from either of the above sources." In another place (p. 112), Boswell speaks definitely of Gregory's account as "passing on to the Irish school the bridge incident of Oriental myth."

The concept of the visionary soul bridge undoubtedly came from the East. As it was incorporated, however, as early as the sixth century in ecclesiastical writings of Western Europe, there seems no reason for supposing that the monastic writers who recorded the particular visions mentioned above had recourse to any save the Western, and probably the literary tradition. The vision bridge occurs not only in the Dialogues<sup>17</sup> of Gregory the Great but in the *Historia Francorum*<sup>18</sup> of Gregory of Tours; in the eighth century in the vision of the Monk of Wenlock;<sup>19</sup> and most important of all, in the expanded Latin versions of the *Visio S. Pauli*<sup>20</sup>. The latter, *f. deutsch. Alt.*, XXXIII, 285, n. 2). The two Mss. are of the early twelfth and late fourteenth century.

<sup>17</sup> Latin and French texts of the Dialogues, ed. W. Foerster, Erlangen, 1886. In the soldier's vision no details about the bridge are given. It stretches over the river of hell, and the mansion of the blessed is on the other side. Cf. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 399, and Paris, *op. cit.*, p. 508. Becker, p. 18, is wrong in saying "the first Christian vision in which we find the bridge is that of St. Paul." Gregory's account is taken over in the *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Th. Graesse, Dresden, 1846, ch. CLXIII, p. 733, *De commemoratione animarum*.

<sup>18</sup> Noted by G. Baist, *Die Totenbrücke*, *Zts. f. rom. Phil.*, XIV, 159. Only one important detail about the bridge is given in this vision of the Abbot Suniulf, i. e., that it is scarcely the width of a man's foot. The bridge stretches over a burning pool. For the Latin text of Gregory of Tours, see H. Omont, *Historia Francorum*, Lib. IV, c. 33, p. 127, Paris, 1886.

<sup>19</sup> Cited by E. Becker, *Mediaeval Visions of Heaven and Hell*, Baltimore, 1899, p. 17. I have found no other reference to this vision. Cf. pp. 17, 44, 76, 85, for discussion of the Visions of St. Paul, Owain and Tundal.

<sup>20</sup> The bridge episode does not appear in the fourth century Greek text of the Vision of St. Paul, nor in the Latin of the eighth century (text ed. by M. M. Rhodes in J. A. Robinson's *Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature*, Cambridge, 1893). Of the six groups or redactions into which H. Brandes divided the later versions (*Ein Beitrag zur Visionslit., Diss.*, Halle, 1885, p. 75-80) "die Brücke der gerechten, welche durch ihre lange und ihre schmalheit charakterisiert wird, bleibt unerwähnt in frz. und engl. II" (the numerals refer to the

began its great popularity in the ninth century and served more or less as model for the many visions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>21</sup> This continuous ecclesiastical tradition, the earliest

groups); "Lat. und Engl. IV heben hervor dass die erlaubnis des übergangs vom dem verdienste der seelen abhängt." (Brandes, *Über die Quellen der mittel-engl. Versionen der Paulus Vision*, *Engl. Stud.*, VII, 58.) P. Meyer, *Romania*, XXIV, 359, 589, lists twenty-five Mss. (twelfth to fifteenth century) of this fourth redaction. Only three examples were known to Brandes. M. Meyer states that his list is still incomplete. Six rhymed French versions are given by him in *Notice sur le ms. français 24862 de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Notices et Extraits des Mss.*, XXXV, 155 ff., cf. *Romania*, XXXVI, 535; Långfors, XLI, 210. Cf. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, II, 396-416. T. Batiouchkof, *Le Débat de l'Âme et du Corps*, *Romania*, XX, 33, cites Italian versions of the *Visio Pauli* in which the soul bridge appears.

An interesting example of the soul bridge in art is found in an illumination in Ms. 815, fol. 59, Bibl. Municipale, Toulouse, a fourteenth century Ms. of St. Paul's Vision, written in England. Souls on their hands and knees cross the high, arching bridge. At the other end of the bridge is the gate of Paradise. Cf. P. Meyer, *Romania*, XXIV, 358.

<sup>21</sup> For general discussion of vision literature see Becker, *op. cit.* In the list of visions given by C. Fritzsche, *Die lateinischen Visionen des Mittelalter*, *Rom. Forsch.*, III, 354, one vision of the fifth century, three of the sixth, four of the seventh, one of the eighth, thirteen of the ninth, three of the tenth, three of the eleventh, three to the middle of the twelfth, are listed. The list is incomplete, but suggestive. Representative visions in which the bridge occurs are those already cited; sixth to ninth century, visions recorded by Gregory the Great and Gregory of Tours; Vision of the Monk of Wenlock; Visions of St. Paul, Latin, French, German, English, etc.; tenth century vision of Adamnan, Ireland; vision of Alberic, Italy, 1129; of Tundale, Ireland, 1149; of Owain, Ireland, 1153; of Thurcill, England, 1206. (Cf. Ward, *op. cit.*, 416, 436, 493, 506.)

For Alberic's vision see Dante's *Works*, Padua, 1822, II, 284. The bridge was over the river of Purgatory; it was easily crossed by the righteous; the evil were weighted down with heavy loads; when they came to the middle the bridge narrowed to the size of a thread. Before coming to the bridge Alberic saw a long ladder of hot iron, covered with spikes, on which sinners were forced to climb. Dr. Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 44, considers this a variant of the bridge theme. Cf. Vision of Tundale, note 14.

In the vision of Thurcill (pr. in Roger of Wendover's *Flowers of History*, ed. H. O. Coxe, *Eng. Hist. Soc.*, L, 1841; see C. Gross, *Sources Eng. Hist.*, L, 1900, p. 310) the bridge is very long, is covered with nails and spikes, and leads to the mount of joy. Cf. Ward, II, 506.

Later visions, such as that of William of Staunton, Durham, 1409, an account of a visit to Saint Patrick's Purgatory, are too late to be of interest here. The bridge and the sharp runged ladder are found in this vision. Cf. Ward, *Cat.*, II, 486.

Interesting articles by S. L. Galpin, *Publications Modern Language Association*, XXV, pp. 274-308, and *Romanic Review*, II, 54-60, discuss the influence of

record of which antedates by three centuries the date which any student has assigned to the *Fis Adamnáin*, in its turn the earliest Irish record in which the soul bridge appears, makes it highly improbable that the Irish visionaries were borrowing or adapting the idea of the soul bridge from any surviving pagan lore. The variable Bridge of the Dead, as was briefly pointed out by R. Thurneysen in his *Keltoromanisches*, Halle, 1884, p. 21, occurs solely, so far as Celtic literature is concerned, in ecclesiastical legend. To attempt, even tentatively, to argue as does G. Baist, *Die Totenbrücke* (*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XIV, 159), that the soul bridge, already conceived as a judgment test and thing of vision in the oldest version of the legend in the west, was originally Celtic, "in Urverwandtschaft mit dem Mythos der Zendavest oder ohne solche," that it resulted from the peculiarly Irish concept of the Otherworld as an island, and that it was introduced by Irish pilgrims who are known to have been in France and Gaul in the sixth century, is to venture into unprofitable discussion. There is absolutely no evidence to support a theory that ignores on the one hand the clear implication of literary tradition and on the other the fact that the soul-bridge concept represents a developed eschatological stage to which pagan Irish belief never attained. If ideas—to use the language of a more exact science than folk-lore—not equivalent to the same thing are *not* to be made equal to each other,—it is necessary to remember that the soul bridge, in even the most primitive myth in which it occurs, is characterized by its visionary quality; its association with the dead and a recognized Otherworld; and, if it is a Bridge of Difficulty, by its function as a judgment test. It is, therefore, much more than the mere idea of a bridge entrance to a land in which marvels occur. The soul bridge, whether it occurs "in the religious legends of cultured races from Vedic India to Iceland, or of such primitive races as the Quoits of Aleutia, the Bagdads of Nilghiris,"<sup>22</sup> has recognizable attributes which dis-

mediaeval Christian Vision Literature on French allegorical poems, such as De Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de l'Âme* and the second part of the *Roman de la Rose* by Jean de Meun.

<sup>22</sup> Boswell, *op. cit.*, 132; cf. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Index, Bridge of the Dead, Hades, Purgatory, Underworld, etc. In his *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, ch. XII, he gives a collection of the myths of the Heaven bridge. Cf. *Primitive Culture*, II, 95, n. 1.

tinguish it from the bridges in extant old Irish story. To confuse the two types is to blur the essential character of Irish paganism.

In the first place the pagan literature of Ireland, which is untouched by Christian influence, gives us no ground for equating The Irish Land of Promise or Land of the Ever Young with the Land of the Dead, a concept which is clearly discernible in the most ancient Greek mythology and in the religious legends of races much more primitive. The Irish describe an Earthly Paradise, an Elysium divorced from all idea of death,<sup>23</sup>—in short, a fairy realm. It lies beyond or beneath the sea, or it is hidden in a mound. In non-Celtic sources there are many parallels for its location. It is distinctive in not being conceived specifically as a region of the dead. Immortals inhabit it; mortals go to it in mortal form and return without too great difficulty,<sup>24</sup> and without recognizing it as anything more than a land of spectacular beauty and pleasure. The taboo against touching earth is by no means inevitably imposed on the returning Irish hero. He who had achieved the adventure in his own body and largely by means of his own initiative bears no resem-

<sup>23</sup> The usual names for the Irish Otherworld are: Pleasant Plain (Magh Mell); Land of Promise (Tír Tairngire); Land of the Living (Tír na m Beo); Land of the Youthful (Tír na n-Oé). Cf. L. Gougaud, *Les Chrétientés Celtiques*, Paris, 1911, p. 25: "Ce (i. e., Magh Mell) n'est pas là, un séjour pour les morts, comparable à l'Hades des Grecs. C'est le pays des dieux, des fées, des immortels." Cf. also J. A. MacCulloch, *Celtic Abode of the Blest, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. J. Hastings, Edin., 1909, II, 689-96; E. Hull, *The Idea of Hades in Irish Literature, Folk-Lore*, XVIII, pp. 123-66, 1907. She denies that in Irish pagan tradition there is any trace of a belief in life after death. A. Nutt, *ibid.*, p. 445 ff. Nutt in this article maintains Miss Hull's point, and replies to D'Arbois de Jubainville who disputed it. The philological side of the question is represented by endeavors to interpret the name Meléaguant, or Melvas. F. Lot, *Romania*, XXIV, 328, takes it to mean "Prince of the Dead" (Maelvas, Mael, prince; Vas = "bas qui en gallois ancien signifiait "mort" tout comme en Irlandais"). Lot, however, admits that Rhys's interpretation is entirely satisfactory. Cf. Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 51, Melwas = Maelgwas. (Was = youth = the Prince Ever Young.) For general comment and studies on the Irish Otherworld cf. G. Kittredge, *American Journal of Philology*, VII, 196 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the stories cited in note 2. In each case the hero returns to earth. In the tale of *Cormac i Tír Tairngiri*, *Irische Texte*, III, 212, Cormac returns with his whole family from the realm of the god Mannanan; so Cuchullin returns from that of the goddess Fand, *Serglige Conchulaind, Ir. Texte*, I, 197. In the *Imrama* tales, as in many of the fairy mistress type, the hero returns to tell his adventures. Summaries of *Bran*, *Maelduin*, etc., in Brown, *Harvard Studies*, VIII, ch. III.

blance to those bodiless spirits which in non-Celtic folk-lore enter by way of death or dream or magic into a world recognized as other than mortal.

In the second place, though strange and sometimes perilous bridges do lead to the Irish Otherworld,<sup>25</sup> their attributes are wholly

\* The oldest redaction of the *Tochmarc Emere* is represented by Ms. Rawlinson B. 512, Bodleian; cf. *Revue Celtique*, XI, 439. The account from the Book of Fermoy, *Do Fogluim Chonculain*, *Revue Celtique*, XXIX, 137, is as follows:

"Thus was the Bridge of Leaps . . . when one leapt upon it, it was narrowed till it was as narrow as a hair, and it was as sharp as a . . . , and as slippery as an eel's tail. At another time it would rise so that it was as high as a mast." On p. 137 the comparison "sharp as an orrdladh" is made. Stokes, Notes, p. 151, queries "some sort of a sharp instrument? cognate with *oirdeleach*, a cutting (cf. *ord-sleg*)." For the LU version see Hull, *Cuchullin Saga*, p. 75.

The following list of bridges in Irish story is not complete, but it is, perhaps, sufficiently representative.

*Tochmarc Emere*, E. Hull, *Cuchullin Saga*, p. 75; Scathach's bridge described above; a second bridge is mentioned later, the Téd Chlis ("something like a tight rope for dancers," O'Curry, *Manners and Customs*, II, 371). To walk this and fight on it twice with savage opponents was even more of a feat for Cuhullin than crossing the "active" bridge.

*Imra Maelduin*, *Revue Celt.*, IX, 447-495; X, 50-95. On the seventeenth island Maelduin finds a bridge of glass; when anyone stepped on it, he fell backwards. A brazen door which gave access to the fortress beyond the bridge made sleep-compelling music.

*Compert Mongain*, tr. K. Meyer, *Voyage of Bran*, Lond., 1895. Mongan builds a bridge by enchantment while he is on his way to visit the wife he has lost. He causes it to break when he and the priest who acted as the wife's guardian were half way over.

*Echtra Airt*, ed. R. Best, *Eriu*, III, 149; cf. summary in Boswell, p. 139. In the course of his adventures Airt has to cross a narrow bridge over an icy river. The bridge is defended by a giant.

*Echtra Chloinne Rígh na H-Iorruidhe*, Irish Texts, 1899, p. 180. Buinne Rough Strong comes to a bridge between two islands; corpses lie on the shores, spiked heads border the bridge. (For this detail, heads on spikes, see Child's *Ballads*, V, 482; Schofield, *Harvard Studies*, IV, 175; Brown, *Harvard Studies*, VIII, 137.)

In a modern Gaelic tale recorded by Campbell, *Tales of the West Highlands*, 1,261, the giantess Maol, when pursued to the edge of a river, pulls a hair out of her head and thus makes a bridge over which she runs. Superficially this suggests the *pont cheveu* (Paris, *Romania*, XII, 509), but it has no more real connection with that idea than has the account of the sun or moonbeam bridge up which in the ballad of "The Bitter Withy" the little Christ led his companions. In his study of the ballad, G. H. Gerould, *P. M. L. A.*, XVI, thinks this idea Oriental in origin, that it early slipped into ecclesiastical legend, and so reached the common people from whom the ballad came. Dr. Gerould notes,

different from those of the soul bridge. This fact, however, has not been recognized by those who have been willing to accept a single instance in pagan Irish story as proof of their theory that the soul bridge idea is of universal occurrence. This instance is the "Bridge of Leaps" in the *Tochmarc Emere*, a famous Irish story of which there are extant several versions. In the oldest version, the only representative of a pre-Norse redaction, the bridge is omitted altogether. The version of this story, which is usually cited with reference to the bridge, seems to be that of the Book of Fermoy,<sup>25</sup> a late manuscript of the fifteenth century. If one turns to the older text in the *Lebor na h-Uidre* (compiled about 1100) it would seem that the basis for the identification with the soul bridge of this "Bridge of Leaps" which the hero Cuchullin crossed on his way to Scathach's realm, is that it gave access to a seeming Otherworld. Without this suggestion of environment or the aid of

p. 144, that the word "lance" is substituted for bridge in one inedited version. The substitution seems purely fortuitous.

A story which scholars have generally held to be of originally Celtic character is that recorded by Antoine de la Sale in *La Salade*, a work written between 1438-1442 (ed. W. Söderhjelm, *Antoine de la Sale et la Légende de Tannhäuser*, in *Memoires de la Société Néo-Philologique à Helsingfors*, 1897, II, 101-67). De la Sale heard the tale on a visit to the Mont de la Sibylle, one of the Apennine peaks near Norcia. The story told him by the peasants was as follows: Whoever entered the cave had to encounter a mighty blast of wind, cross a bridge one foot wide that spanned a brawling torrent and was guarded at one end by two monsters, and also pass through two metal doors that swung back and forth unceasingly, before he came to a large crystal door which led into a beautiful castle. Here in the fairy Otherworld lived the Queen Sibylle. (Quoted from L. Paton, *Fairy Mythology*, p. 53.) Substantially the same story, i. e., of the knight who gets into the mountain cave, lives the Life of Otherworld delights, repents, etc., is told by Andrea da Barberino, *Guerino il Meschino*, written 1391 (ed. Venice, 1816, IV, cap. 134; V, cap. 149). The localization of the mountain Paradise in the many tales and allusions analogous to those just cited, and their bearing on the origin of the Tannhäuser legend, are discussed by G. Paris, *Le Paradis de la Reine Sibylle*, *Revue de Paris*, September, 1897; *La Légende du Tannhäuser*, March, 1898, reprinted in *Légendes du Moyen-Age*, Paris, 1903, pp. 65-109; III, 145; W. A. Neilson, *Origins of the Court of Love*, *Harvard Studies*, VI, 133-35; H. Dübi, *Drei Spätmittelalterliche Legenden in ihrer Wanderung aus Italien durch die Schweiz nach Deutschland*, *Frau Vrene und der Tannhäuser*, *Zeitschr. des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XVII, 249-264 (1907), a reference for which I am indebted to Professor Hamilton; P. S. Barto, *Studies in the Tannhäuser Legend*, *Journal of Engl. and Ger. Phil.*, IX, 293-320 (1909); A. F. J. Remy, *The Origin of the Tannhäuser Legend*, *ibid.*, XII, 1, 32-77 (1913).

the Book of Fermoy, it is doubtful if even the most ardent folklorist would see resemblance between the two. Scathach's bridge was a high arch so constructed that it overthrew anyone setting foot on one end. After two failures Cuchullin had to cross it by one of his "hero's salmon leaps," and one cannot help suspecting that the bridge of such peculiar characteristics exists in the story mainly for the sake of the famous feat. In so far as it is a bridge spanning the water which in almost universal folk-lore separates Earth from the Otherworld,<sup>26</sup> Scathach's bridge may, indeed, represent the Celtic version of that most ancient concept. To press the analogy further, however, is to venture on dangerous ground. One has need to remember that the *Tochmarc Emere*, though one of the oldest Irish epics, probably represents, in relation to its original mythic elements, a stage comparatively late. In the Irish stories wherein the Otherworld is apparently discernible, aside from supernaturally exaggerated marvels and pleasures, there is as little real recognition of its essential character as there is in those Arthurian romances in which continually the knights go to and return from a land "dont nul ne retourne." If Scathach's bridge is to represent a Celtic version of the soul bridge of the *Avesta*, then obviously at the time when the *Tochmarc Emere* was composed, it had lost its original significance as the judgment test of the dead. There is little weight in the argument that it would ever develop into that character which in the earliest record of it in Irish legend it would seem to have discarded.

Finally it may be urged that to try to derive the soul bridge concept as it exists in western religious tradition from the Irish fairy bridge is to ignore the fact that the most distinctive feature of the soul bridge, its function as a judgment test, is entirely foreign to the ancient Celtic spirit or belief. One of the most striking things in Old Irish story is its non-ethical quality.<sup>27</sup> Ideals of warrior honour, of heroic courage may be inferred from it, but concepts of objective morality, of retributive justice, are conspicuously absent. For his beauty or the fame of his courage the Irish hero was sum-

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Index, River of Death; A. Le Braz, G. Dottin, *La Légende de la Mort*, Paris, 1912.

<sup>27</sup> "L'eschatologie irlandaise est dénuée de toute signification éthique." L. Mariller, *La Doctrine de la Reincarnation des Ames et les Dieux de l'Ancienne Irlande*, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, XL, 1899, pp. 86-90; Dom L. Gougau, *Les Chrétiens Celtiques*, p. 24 ff.

moned to the Otherworld, and there is no indication that "Magh Mell" was considered the special reward of moral or even of militant virtue.<sup>28</sup>

By its function then, or rather its lack of function, no less than by its form, the Irish Otherworld bridge should be differentiated from the Bridge of the Dead. To identify the two is to disregard the essential attributes of each. Yet scholars have commonly made this identification, and have disputed only as to the pagan or Christian origin of the Otherworld bridge in Irish story. Some have agreed with Thurneysen<sup>29</sup> that the soul bridge idea passed directly from ecclesiastical literature into the Irish visions; others have urged that "Scathach's bridge is a variant of the well-known 'Bridge of the Dead' motif"<sup>30</sup> of general folk-lore. The danger of disregarding the essential attributes of the soul bridge is evident when it appears that even the bridge in the *Imra Maelduin* (see n. 25) has been said to represent "that Bridge of Difficulty which belongs in Persian and Indian mythology." It will be remembered that this was a judgment bridge, terrible and merciless to the souls of sinners; the sole danger in *Maelduin* is that the man crossing the glass bridge to the enchanted island against the will of its fairy mistress, falls gently backward and is lulled to sleep by sweet music—an effective but scarcely dangerous obstacle. The result of the misapprehension of the nature of the soul bridge and the failure to differentiate it from a fairy bridge is, of course, responsible for the identification with it of Chrétien's sword bridge, a conclusion

<sup>28</sup> Cf. the Valhal, which was the reward of the heroic Scandinavian warrior. It is significant that in the most essential feature of pagan Irish tradition, the belief in reincarnations, "there is not to be traced the slightest idea of chastisement or reward"; Nutt, *The Celtic Doctrine of Rebirth*, Lond., 1897. Cf. *Voyage of Bran*, I, 331.

<sup>29</sup> Thurneysen's view that the soul bridge passed from ecclesiastical into secular Irish story has been accepted by several scholars. Cf. G. Schiavo, *Zeits. f. rom. Phil.*, XVII, 74, and W. Foerster, *Der Karrenritter*, IV, LXXI. Neither one questions the identification of the sword and the soul bridge. Foerster explains Chrétien's invention as follows: "Das Entführungsmotiv verbunden mit dem Totenreichmotiv ist ein Stoff der Altclassischen Sage die im Mittelalter allgemein bekannt war. . . . Burgen, die im Flachland mit Wasser umgeben waren, sind zu abgedroschen; so konnte er auf die Gagenhafte Brücke, die über den Totenfluss führt, und die er aus seiner Lektur kannte, gebracht werden."

<sup>30</sup> A. C. L. Brown, *Iwain*, *Harvard Studies*, VIII, 75; *Boswell*, *op. cit.*, see here, n. 33; E. Hull, *Text-Book of Irish Literature*, Lond., 1910, p. 134.



for which Gaston Paris offered almost the only significant evidence. This was a passage from the Dutch *Walewein* which seems to show that mediaeval writers themselves identified the bridges. Paris's own summary of the incident (op. cit., p. 509) may be quoted.

"Gauvain (*Walewein*) arrive près d'une rivière dont l'eau . . . brûle comme du feu; le seul moyen de la passer est un pont plus aigu et plus tranchant qu'une lame d'acier (v. 4939 ss.). On lui apprend que cette rivière est le purgatoire: les âmes qui désirent arriver au bonheur céleste doivent passer le pont (v. 5824)." From this Paris concludes: "On voit ici clairement l'altération chrétienne d'une ancienne tradition celtique, d'après laquelle 'le pont de l'épée' donnait accès à la terre des morts."

Even if there were evidence in support of the supposed tradition, such an explanation as this completely disregards the conditions under which a romance like the *Walewein* was written. The *Walewein* and the *Perlesvaus* represent a time when monastic writers were more or less consciously competing with romantic fiction;<sup>31</sup> they reveal the deliberate effort to transform secular into ecclesiastical romance. In the case of the perilous bridge, for instance, the interest of Chrétien's episode is entirely changed. To cross the sword is no longer a romantic achievement, inspired by love, "si li estoit a soffrir douz"; it is a religious adventure. As one notes the immense development of vision writing in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in itself one of the most important phases of the

<sup>31</sup> This is so obvious a fact in the literary history of the time that it scarcely needs illustration. One may recall, however, the words of Frère Angier written in 1212 (*La Vie de St. Grégoire*, ed. P. Meyer, *Romania*, XII, 147):

"Les fables d'Artur de Bretaigne  
E les chançons de Charlemaigne  
Plus sont cheries e meins viles  
Que ne soient les evangiles.  
Plus est escouté li juliere  
Qe ne soit saint Pol ou saint Pierre."

Cf. also the Prologue of the *Bestiary* of Gervaise, *Romania*, I, 426, for the indication it gives of the attitude of the "religious" toward secular literature. The Middle English *Cursor Mundi*, 1320, in its opening lines almost repeats the words of Frère Angier. Professor Nitze has pointed out that the first redaction of the *Perlesvaus* was composed in the interest of Glastonbury Abbey (*Modern Philology*, 1, 257); Miss Weston has shown the possible connection of the Wauchier section of the *Conte del Graal* with Fécamp (*Legend of Sir Perceval*, I, 56). Cf. J. Bedier, *Les Légendes Épiques*, Paris, 1908-13, for the part taken by various monasteries in developing the Chansons de Geste.

church's competition with worldly literature; as one notes the constant tendency to elaborate the originally simple idea of the soul bridge (cf. notes 14-18) so that it became one of the most familiar *motifs* of vision writing; it is impossible not to see in such romances as the *Walewein* or the *Perlesvaus* the direct influence of this strongly rejuvenated church legend. For one who was familiar with the visions, and who was set to the task of rewriting romance, Chrétien's bridge leading to a mysterious realm from which no one returned, over a dark river which the poet in what is almost a stock expression described as "come li fluus al diable," there was but one natural equation to make, and the perilous sword became the bridge spanning the terrors of hell.

The writers of these and other allegorical pieces represent, chronologically and spiritually, a later stage, and they do not, therefore, explain Chrétien's invention. If his description be taken, as it commonly is, to represent the outcome of those processes by which the Celtic Land of Marvel acquired some of the attributes of the Christian Paradise,<sup>32</sup> and those by which it was rationalized into stories of fairy realms like Méléagant's, it would seem possible that the bridge, long since a fabled attribute of Paradise, might enter into the story. It is clear, however, that Chrétien's bridge is totally unlike any form of the soul bridge to which allusion has yet been made; it is much more nearly like the fairy bridges of old Irish story which are listed here in note 25. These were crossed by mortals as was Chrétien's, and served simply as the marvellous entrances to a marvellous land. The sword bridge, moreover, plays an integral part in Chrétien's narrative. For even the great lover Lancelot, to cross the bridge is a supreme feat of love, and there is no adequate reason for believing that the most essential element in the passionate adventure that is so realistically described, is to be derived from an utterly unrelated idea drifting out of the vague, confused concept of a Christianized Otherworld.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> The various stages by which the pagan concept of the Irish Otherworld was blended with that of the Christian Paradise are clearly traced by H. Zimmer, *Zts. f. deutsches Alterthum*, XXXIII, 274 ff. Cf. Brown, *Harvard Studies*, VIII, ch. VI, "The Otherworld Landscape."

<sup>33</sup> The marvellous, fantastic nature of the "Bridge of Difficulty" in such versions as the *Tochmarc Emere* is Boswell's reason for discounting Miss Hull's suggestion (*Cuhullin Saga*, p. 75) that the idea came into the Irish stories through

A word may now be said of the Perilous Passage *motif* of Celtic story. It has been shown that whatever may be its remote connection with the Otherworld bridge of general folk-lore, it does not present in the extant remains of old Irish story, any real analogy to the soul bridge into which that concept so commonly developed. The Irish bridges are of fabulous nature,—of glass; bright,<sup>34</sup> as Chrétien's was white; they are active; they turn themselves, they overthrow those setting foot on them. They are associated not with death and judgment, but with heroic adventure. The Irish hero exults in the strange ford or pass or bridge where his powers are tested. It is, perhaps, characteristic of Celtic story that in general it is the marvel, rather than the peril of such places, which is emphasized. As a Perilous Passage, the sword bridge, however

Scandinavian influence. In the *Edda* Hermóðr goes to seek the soul of the dead Balder. Coming to the river Giöll, he crosses its golden bridge. The maiden who guards it questions him, knowing that he can not be of the dead because the bridge rings beneath him. In the Otherworld journeys recounted by Saxo Grammaticus in his *Danish History* (written 1185–1208, ed. O. Elton, Lond., 1894, p. 346, 38), Thorkill guides Gorm Haraldson, the king's son, to the Land of the Giants. On their way to the court of the giants' king, they see a river crossed by a bridge of gold. Their guide does not permit them to cross it because "by the river Nature divided the world of men from the world of monsters, and no mortal track might go further." In the story of Hadding a woman leads the king through a mist to the Underworld. They pass a river of leaden, tumbling waters, whirling divers sort of missiles. It is crossed by a bridge. Beyond are the fighting armies of all men who have been slain by the sword. Unmistakably in each story the bridge is a soul bridge. The idea of retribution does not appear, but each story does represent that belief in the dead, that sense of separation from the living, which we do not find in Irish pagan literature. The more primitive character of the Irish Otherworld bridge is beyond question. Cf. Meyer, *Voyage of Bran*, I, 297, for a summary of the *Erik Saga*, in which there is also an Otherworld journey and the crossing of a bridge over a river that bounds the Land of the Living.

\* Professor A. C. L. Brown in his article on *The Bleeding Lance*, *P. M. L. A.*, XXV, 32, as well as in an article in *Modern Philology*, I, 101, urges that whiteness or shining in some marvellous object such as the Grail lance or Arthur's weapons (described in *Kulhwch and Olwen*), the names of which usually suggest whiteness, is an indication that the object "has passed through the crucible of Celtic fancy." This may be, but the danger of insisting that "this quality of shining is so exclusively Celtic that it goes far by itself to prove Celtic origin" is pointed out by R. Peebles in her dissertation, *The Legend of Longinus*, Baltimore, 1911, 179. She gives numerous instances from saint legends, etc., of a distinctly non-Celtic character, in which this special attribute is made much of. Cf. Brown, *Romanic Review*, III, 158.

amazingly elongated and strangely used, has little real analogy with the much more incredible marvels of Celtic story. Moreover, the form, the realistic quality of an actual sword used as a bridge, and its connection with the romantic episode of Guinevere's rescue, remain unexplained. To the writer's mind these are primary conditions in explaining the nature of the sword bridge. Granting them, it becomes possible to see in Chrétien's description simply the reflection of an idea inherent in the narrative and structurally necessary to it.

It has come to be generally recognized that in *Le Conte de la Charette*, Chrétien made use of Celtic sources, particularly of that type of story in which a fairy woman is carried away by an Otherworld lover or husband to his kingdom. Various scholars<sup>35</sup> have traced the steps by which Queen Guinevere descends from the fées, the Etains of Celtic story, and have shown how it came to pass that her mortal husband, Arthur, changed places with her lover Lancelot. Back of that lost French *conte* which was presumably the source of Ulrich van Zatzikhoven's *Lanzelet* and probably preceded Chrétien's poem by some years:<sup>36</sup> back of the *Vita Gildae*, written about 1145, in which it is Arthur himself who rescues Guinevere,<sup>37</sup> there must have been tales much more primitive. As Gaston Paris writes (*op. cit.*, p. 511):

"C'était donc Arthur qui, pour délivrer sa femme, la belle Guanhuvar, . . . franchissait toutes les barrières . . . , passait, sur le redoutable pont de l'épée, le fleuve de feu . . . , combattait et terrassait le ravisseur, et ramenait triomphalement son épouse. Arthur lui-même s'était sans doute substitué à quelque roi plus ancien, et cette héroïque et formidable aventure, . . . était peut-être chantée en Bretagne et en Gaule, sous d'autres noms, avant que César eût franchi les limites de la province et commencé la destruction, destinée à ne plus s'arrêter, de la civilisation gallo-bretonne."

Little indeed of that "épopée mythologique" does Chrétien's

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Paris, *Romania*, XII, p. 509; G. Kittredge, *American Journal of Philology*, VII, 176; K. G. T. Webster, *Engl. Stud.*, XXXVI, 340; G. Schoepperle, *Tristan and Iseult, A Study of the Sources of the Romance*, Frankfurt a. Main, 1913, ch. VI and Appendix V, where the most important contributions to the study and the sources of the story of Guinevere's abduction are listed.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Webster, *Eng. Stud.*, XXXVI, 348; G. Paris, *La Littérature Française au Moyen Age*, p. 247.

<sup>37</sup> F. Lot, *Romania*, XXVII, 566; Zimmer, *Zts. f. fr. Spr. u. Lit.*, XII, 248.

poem preserve, but if it be granted that as a whole the story represents the chivalric modification of a pagan Celtic story, then the crossing of the sword bridge is presumably of equally primitive character. If it be taken as one of those feats for which the Irish heroes were famous, feats which made Cuchullin worthy of Emer and loved by the goddess Fand, we need not infuse into the story elements which originally had no place there.

As O'Curry (*Manners and Customs*, II, 372) long ago pointed out, feats (Faebhar-chleas) with edged weapons such as knives, swords, or sharp edged shields were one of the three varieties of feats of championship which distinguished the heroes of Emain. In the *Do Fogluim Chonculainn* (*Rev. Celt.*, XXIX, 125, 129) it is told how Cuchullin works his way "cunningly, lightly, over the darts set up against him." In the *Siabur Charpat Conculaind* (Hull, *Cuchullin Saga*, p. 279), among the twenty-seven hero's feats, is listed the edge-feat, and the straightening of the body on the point of a spear. The edge feat is again referred to in the *Tochmarc Emer* (*ibid.*, p. 59). The edge-feat in fact was one for which Cuchullin was as famous as he was for his rope-feat and his "hero's salmon leap." Though these feats are not described in detail in any of the old texts, there is no mistaking their general character, and this general impression is corroborated by a passage which occurs in a late text. The story is that of *Diarmid and Grainne*, in itself one of the oldest of the Irish legends. Diarmid, who is eloping<sup>38</sup> with Grainne, appears before the pursuers sent by Finn, Grainne's husband, in order to distract and delay them. He does various feats on successive days.

"On one day the young hero rose and took with him to the hill two forked poles out of the next wood, and placed them upright; and the Moralltach (great and fierce one), that is the sword of Aonghus an Bhroga, between the two forked poles upon its edge. Then he himself rose exceedingly lightly over it and thrice measured the sword by paces from the hilt to the point, and he came down and asked if there was a man of them to do that feat."

"An allusion in the Book of Aicill, a law tract of the tenth century, shows that already at that time the story of the elopement of Diarmid and Grainne was traditional," *Revue Celtique*, XXXIII, 1. This particular exploit of Diarmid with the sword may not, of course, have belonged in the primitive story, but the antiquity of the feat it describes is indisputable.

Two of Finn's champions attempt the feat, but they are cut in two by the terrible sword.

It is not necessary to use this passage as more than illustration. There can be no question that feats of this kind were a favorite practice in Irish heroic life, as they were a favorite topic in ancient Irish legend. Their persistence in the more or less rationalized Irish tales that have come down to us is ample proof. They are in fact as characteristic a motif as is that of the fairy mistress. Inevitably the two motifs would be associated; and it is not surprising that their influence is perceptible in mediaeval romance. The arched active bridge which Cuchullin crossed on his way to Scathach's realm is paralleled, as has been pointed out, by the similar bridge in the *Perceval*.<sup>39</sup> The latter is supposed to have been left in its strange state by a fairy in commemoration of her dead lover. Doubtless in some earlier version the bridge was crossed by that lover by means of some such feat of jumping as Cuchullin was called on to perform, an exploit impossible for the knightly Perceval, and therefore omitted in the later story. The sword feat lent itself more readily to adaptation in the semi-rationalized sources which Chrétien must have used, and in that fact we may find the reason for its reappearance in the courtly romance. Centuries after those Irish pagans who sang of it in Caesar's time, perhaps; centuries in which the fairy Otherworld of their wild yet beautiful legends had taken on the composite, semi-rationalized, semi-Christianized character which it has in Chrétien's account of Méléagant's kingdom, all those details were introduced which seem to make easy the equation of the sword and the soul bridge. But it is significant that for all Chrétien's courtliness and mediaeval sophistication, the literalness of the primitive exploit remains in his story.

Two allusions in other stories deserve a final word. As each one fails to account for the relation between the bridge and the Lancelot episode, they seem improbable sources for the sword bridge idea. The first one, which to the writer's knowledge has never been cited in this connection, has the merit of offering a close parallel to the incident of a sword used as a bridge to a place

<sup>39</sup> See here, n. 11; also Weston, *Legend of Sir Perceval*, I, 267, who thinks it "most likely that in its original form" the episode of the fairy's bridge "was the subject of an independent *lai*."

that is intended to be an Otherworld kingdom. It is the tale told first, it would seem, by Paul the Deacon in the eighth century in his *De Gestis Langobardorum*. Paul probably heard it at Chalons-sur-Saone, where the story was localized. In brief it is as follows:

The Burgundian king, Guntram, whose capital is at Chalons, goes on a hunting trip. When he happens to be alone with one faithful servant, he is overcome with sleep, and lies down with his head on the servant's knee. Presently a little animal comes from the king's mouth and seeks to cross the stream near by. It is unable to do so until the servant draws his sword and lays it across the stream. The little creature runs across, disappears in a hill, then returns by way of the sword to the king's mouth. The king wakes, tells of a treasure cavern of which he has dreamed, and when the servant in his turn tells of what he has seen, they explore the hill and find there a great treasure. From this the king had a golden canopy made for the shrine of St. Marcellus who was buried in Cabillonum (Chalons). Paul himself saw it there.

In Paul's story the folk-lore element is of an unmistakable kind. The little animal is Guntram's soul, and the sword is literally a soul bridge. F. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Part II, *Taboo*, Lond., 1911, p. 39, 40 and G. Henderson, *Survivals in Belief among the Ancient Celts*, Glasgow, 1911, p. 82, cite references to Gaelic versions of the story which were told in the last century at Loch Shin and Durnoch, Scotland. In each version the marvellous character of the treasure cave is made evident.

Paul's account has as long literary history as that of the soul bridge. It appears in several of the great Chronicles which would certainly have formed a part of the Beauvais library to which we know Chrétien had access (cf. *Cliges*)—providing we wish to believe that the sword bridge was Chrétien's own invention. It is retold in the Chronicles of Regino (d. 915), of Aimon (1008), of Sigebertus (1112), etc.<sup>40</sup>

Another suggestion in explanation of the sword bridge is that hazarded by Miss Paton, *Fairy Mythology*, p. 85. She writes:

"The origin of such a bridge as the *pont de l'épée* is perhaps explained by a passage in *Kilhwch and Olwen* which mentions the

<sup>40</sup> See Potthast, *Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aevi* for bibliographical information. The writer hopes shortly to publish a study of this tale, noting especially its adaptation into the French *Gui de Warwyke*.

short broad dagger of Berwyn. 'When Arthur and his hosts came before a torrent, they would seek for a narrow place where they might pass the water, and lay a sheathed dagger across the torrent, and it would form a bridge sufficient for the armies of the islands of Britain.'"<sup>41</sup>

The difficulty of believing that this one waif of the primitive Welsh story was adopted into an episode in the French tale to which it would otherwise bear not the slightest relation, is enhanced by the character of the dagger itself. It is obviously magical, perhaps mythical, and it may be urged that this very magical quality differentiates the dagger from the sword bridge which, for all its rationalized fairy environment, has something that savours of original realism, of an intention no less straight-forward than was Shakspeare's when he made Worcester promise Hotspur an adventure "as full of peril"

"As to o'erwalk a current roaring loud,  
On the unsteadfast footing of a spear."

(*I Henry IV*, I, 3, 192)

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"Miss Paton's quotation is incorrect. Read as follows, changing Berwyn to "And Osla Gyllellvawr (who bore a short, broad dagger). *Mabinogion*, tr. Lady Guest, Lond., 1877, p. 226; see also H. Zimmer, *Ztschr. f. frz. Spr.*, XII, 231.



## OLD SPANISH *FUERAS*

THE present article, which is offered as a contribution to Spanish lexicography, will treat, principally, of the four following constructions:

1. The use of *fueras* as a preposition.
2. The use of *fueras* as a preposition, but followed by the pronominal *ende*, which frequently had no value whatever.
3. The conjunctive phrase *fueras que*.
4. The conjunctive phrases *fueras si* and *fueras ende si*.

Well-known constructions, such as the purely adverbial *fueras*, *fuera* (also *afuera*), and the old and modern prepositional phrase *fuera de* (in Old Spanish, also *fueras de*), are treated only incidentally and by way of comparison.

For phonetic and semantic reasons it is clear that the Romance forms *fors*, *foras*, *fueras*, etc., are derived from the Latin forms *FŌRĪS*, *FŌRĀS*, ablative and accusative plurals, respectively, of an old nominative singular *FŌRA*, = Skr. *dvār*, Gr. *θύρα*, Eng. *door*, etc. *FŌRĪS*, *FŌRĀS* were the older Classic Latin forms. By iambic shortening the final vowels became short very early, so that in Vulgar Latin the forms *fōrīs*, *fōrās*, were no doubt the forms in common use. In Classic Latin these forms were used only adverbially, with the meanings 'out of doors,' 'without,' 'out,' etc., often equivalent to the adverb *extra*. This adverbial value of *fōrīs*, *fōrās* was inherited by all the Romance Languages, which continued one or the other of the forms, attributing to the form chosen, however, the more common adverbial value of *fōras*, a construction maintained absolutely unchanged from the time of Plautus to the present day.

In Vulgar Latin, however, besides being used as adverbs, the forms *fōrīs*, *fōrās*, were also commonly used as prepositions, both governing the accusative case, and this prepositional value was also continued by the Romance Languages.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, § 81, Rösensch, *Itala und Vulgata*, 398-399, and Du Cange, III, s. v. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.* III, § 206 and more fully Tobler, *Verm. Beitr.* III, 85-89, treat of the semasiology of the problem involved, which,

The various uses of the derivatives of *fōris*, *fōras* in French, Provençal and Italian, as adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, etc., are well known to Romance lexicographers, but the Spanish constructions have been only partially studied. Indeed, only the adverbial *fuera*s and the prepositional phrase *fuera(s) de* are well known to Spanish grammarians and lexicographers.<sup>2</sup> The Spanish constructions, therefore, need further investigation.

These will now be studied according to the outline given on page one.<sup>3</sup>

to be frank, presents no difficulty whatever. No one, to my knowledge, has pointed out, that aside from the natural development of the adverbs into prepositions due to the meanings of the words *fōris*, *fōras*, per se, their use side by side with and their association with many other adverbs which had the same or very similar meanings and which in Classic Latin were used also as prepositions, such as *extra*, *praeter*, etc., was perhaps the greatest factor in giving them the double function of adverbs and prepositions.

<sup>2</sup> The Old French forms and constructions are carefully studied by Tobler, *op. cit.* See also Littré, *s. v.* and Goddefroy, *s. v.* who give numerous instances of the various constructions, especially the prepositional value of *fors*, used alone, a construction which has lasted to modern French, whereas in Spanish it did not survive beyond the 13th century. Additional information on the French forms is found in *Zeit. f. Rom. Phil.*, VIII, 256. For the Provençal forms and constructions, see especially, Levy, *Prov. Suppl. Wörterbuch*, III, *s. v.* Most of the various forms and constructions which are found in Old and Modern Italian are given by Tommaseo-Bellini, *Diz.*, II, *s. v.*

The Spanish adverbial *afuera* and *fuera* are treated fully by Cuervo, *Diccionario*, *s. v.* *Afuera* is the result of *ad + foras*, the logical Low Latin construction after a verb of motion. As adverbs both *fuera(s)* and *afuera(s)* occur in Old Spanish, see Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar*, II, *s. v.* The case of the post-positive *fuera(s)*, *afuera(s)*, which may often have a prepositional value, such as, "*se abalanzó (por) la puerta afuera*," etc., is also discussed by Cuervo.

<sup>3</sup> The phonology of the problem in Spanish presents no difficulties whatever. The Spanish forms are all derived from *fōras*. The regularly developed Castilian form is *fuera*s. It happens that I do not have any cases of the primitive \**fuoras*, but I have one case of *fuara* from the text of the *Concilio de León* (Muñoz y Romero, 88). The non-diphthongized forms *foras*, *fora* are also frequent in many Old Spanish documents where one would expect the diphthongized forms. In the *Fuero Juzgo* both forms occur. It may be that, when used as a preposition at least, the word lost its accent through proclisis (cf. French *fors*, Nyrop, *Gram. Hist.*, § 177).

The loss of the final *s* in Spanish was due to analogy, cf. Old Spanish *mientra*, *estonce*, *ante*, *nunqua* by the side of *mientras*, *estonces*, *antes*, *nunquas*, etc. The *s* of *fuera*s, *después*, *atrás*, *menos*, *más*, etc, passed to *mientra*, *estonce*, etc., and when the double forms existed side by side, those which originally had final *s* lost it in some cases; see Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. Hist.*, § 128(4).

The Old Spanish forms are, therefore, *fuera*s, *fuera*, *foras*, *fora*, \**fuoras*,

I. THE PREPOSITION *fueras*

Of those who have recently treated of historical Spanish grammar, Menéndez Pidal barely mentions the Old Spanish prepositional *fueras*,<sup>4</sup> and Hanssen gives but a single case as if it were a lexicographical curiosity.<sup>5</sup> In the oldest period of the language, i. e. XI<sup>th</sup>–XIII<sup>th</sup> centuries, the preposition *fueras* was in common and frequent usage. Its meanings were, except, but, besides, outside of, which could also be expressed by many other prepositional forms, especially *excepto*, *salvo*, *sino*, *sacado*, and the prepositional phrase *fuera(s) de* which was also used in Old Spanish.<sup>6</sup> It was a regular Old Spanish construction just as '*fors*' in Old French, which had exactly the same functions. There being, however, so many words which could have the same meaning, and *fueras* itself being in use with the preposition *de*, the old preposition *fueras* was crowded out, and by the beginning of the XIV<sup>th</sup> century there is absolutely no trace of it. Most of its meanings were expressed by *excepto*, *salvo*, *sino* or *fuera de*. *Fueras*, with the old prepositional force and meaning, survived, therefore, only in the group *fuera de*, which is even to-day a regular construction.<sup>7</sup>

*fuera*. Only *fueras*, *fuera*, *foras*, *fora*, occur frequently. After the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century only *fuera* occurs. The combination with *a* < *ad*, *afuera*, occurs since the earliest period and this also survives. In Old Spanish, however, this combination is very rare. For the sake of convenience the oldest form, *fueras*, will be used as the type form. In our study of the various constructions which follow, the forms are classified and studied with reference to meaning and function, as *fueras* occurs by the side of *fuera*, *foras*, *fora*.

<sup>4</sup>*Gram. Hist.*, § 129. In the *Cantar de mio Cid*, the word does not occur as a preposition.

<sup>5</sup>*Spanische Gram.*, § 73(9).

<sup>6</sup>The groups *foris de*, *foras de*, were already in use in Vulgar Latin and the Romance Languages, e. g. Spanish, continued such combinations by the side of the prepositional single forms; see Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, III., §§ 269, 447.

<sup>7</sup>In Old French the combination *fors que*, became a regular construction very early (see Tobler, *op. cit.*), although the single *fors* as a preposition is also very frequent, just as the Old Spanish *fueras*. The Old French *fors que* probably developed from the analogy of the numerous constructions of similar meaning which used *que* (see my article in *Matske Memorial Vol.*, p. 77). In Spanish and also in French the Vulgar Latin group *foras de* was continued as well as the single form. I have found in the *Fuero Juzgo*, however, one case of Spanish *fueras que*, a construction identical with the Old French, 156 b: "... assi que en aquellos treinta dias non coman condocho, nen beban vino, *fueras que á ora de vespervas*." The Latin text reads: "excepto vespertinis horis." The *fueras que* could have been rendered here by *fueras*, *sinon*, *excepto*, *salvo*.

The old preposition *fuera*s was used to modify or limit either a negation or an affirmation. Examples follow. The other Old Spanish form or forms which could express exactly the same meaning are given in each case.

A. A general negation is modified or limited.

'Asas se cleressia quanto me es menester,  
fuera tu, no aue ome que me pudies vençer;'  
[*Alixandre*, ed. M-F., 38 ab]  
excepto, sinon.<sup>8</sup>

'oy ha de ser el dia que lo as a prouar,  
fuera dios, non es ome que te pueda prestar,' . . .  
[*Ibid.*, 1668 bc]  
fuera de, sinon, excepto.

'ca avje á toda Asia a su poder tornada,  
fuera toda India non le fincaua nada.'  
[*Ibid.*, 1924 cd]  
fuera de, excepto.

'los de los elefantes, fuera los ballesteros,  
los otros nol valien a Poro todos sendos dineros.'  
[*Ibid.*, 2040 cd]  
fuera de, excepto,<sup>9</sup> salvo.<sup>9</sup>

'Tras unas altas sierras, Caspias son llamadas,  
que fueras un portillo non avje mas entradas.'  
[*Ibid.*, 2080 ab]  
fuera de, excepto, salvo.

'que, fuera por buen presçio, non daba Ren por al.  
[*Ibid.*, 2163 d]  
excepto, salvo, sinon.

'de los Regnos de Asia non le fincaua nada,  
fuera una çibdat que estaua alçada.'  
[*Ibid.*, 2195 cd]  
excepto, fuera de, sinon.

<sup>8</sup> *Fuera de* could not have been followed by the nominative case. Cf., *Alixandre*, 42 c: 'non ha fueras de ti mejor nin tal.'

<sup>9</sup> *Excepto* was in origin a participle which could agree in gender and number with the following substantive, but soon became an indeclinable adjective and then a preposition. *Salvo* was likewise a participial adjective in Old Spanish and could be inflected. Both govern the nominative case. See Bello-Cuervo, *Gram.*, §§ 1186, 1187.

'Non es qui la podiesse qual era perçebir,  
Fuera qui la podiesse en si mismo sofrir.'

[*San Millán*, 55 cd]

excepto, sinon.

'Non sabien en la cosa nul consejo tomar,  
Fuera ir á los montes otra viga buscar.'

[*Ibid.*, 233 cd]

excepto, sinon.

'Nin es omne nin angel nin otra criatura,  
Fuera Dios que lo faze por la su grant mesura.'

[*Sacrificio*, 167 ab]

excepto, salvo, sinon, fuera de.

'et non esca [fora] per ellos foras á meanedo.'

[*Fuero de Avilés* (Fernández-Guerra), 20]

'et non exa por ellos foras amezanado.'

[*F. de Oviedo, ibid.*]

' . . . con que los mato a todos assi que no  
finco dellos fueras Noe e su mugier e tres sos fijos: '

[*Pr. Crónica Gen.* (Pidal), 4 b, 35-36]

excepto, sinon, fuera de.

'et nunqua sea comungado, foras á<sup>10</sup> sua morte,' . . .

[*Fuero Juzgo* (Academy ed. 1815), XI a]

excepto, sinon.

Latin text: praeter.

'que la muier non pueda ende aver nada, fueras  
lo quel diere por amor.'

[*Ibid.*, 82 b]

excepto, fuera de, sinon.

Latin text: excepto.

'E si non ovieren otra cosa fueras tierras ó siervos,' . . .

[*Ibid.*, 194 a 6]

excepto, sinon.

Latin text: praeter.

<sup>10</sup> All the cases where *fueras* is followed by a subordinate preposition I have classified with *fueras* as a preposition, since the subordinate preposition does not alter the character of *fueras* in the least.

'e que non tengan en los corazones al, fueras  
lo que dicen por la boca,' . . .

[*Ibid.*, 194 a]

excepto, salvo, sinon.<sup>10a</sup>

'E otrosi dezimos, que los siervos de nuestra corte non puedan  
vender sus siervos, nin heredade á nengunos omnes libres, fueras á  
los otros nuestros siervos;'

[*Ibid.*, 98 a]

excepto, sinon.

Latin text: nisi tantummodo.

'Otroso, todo omme que oviere casas en la Villa, e las toviere  
pobladas, non peche ninguna cosa, fuera en los muros e en las torres  
de nuestro término.'

[*Fuero de Sepúlveda* (Calleja, 1857), Tit. IX]

excepto, sinon.

'Otroso, deben guardar que non judguen en los logares que an  
de poder judgar á ome de otra parte aquien demandan antellos,  
fueras en estas cosas sennaladas' . . .

[*Memorial Hist. Español*, I, 140]

#### B. A general affirmation is modified or limited.

'fuera los que estauan en la torre alçados  
todos jazien en fierros e en sogas atados.'

[*Alixandre*, 1565 cd]

fuera de, excepto, sinon.<sup>11</sup>

'por Padre lo catauan, essi sancto conçeio,  
fuera<sup>12</sup> algunt maliello, que ualia poquilleio.'

<sup>12</sup> Var. *foras*.

[*St. Domingo* (ed. Fitz-Gerald), 92 cd]

'Otroso, si qui granas cogiere con cuchillo ó con foz, ó en otra  
guisa, fuera con una mano, peche un mri.'

[*Fuero de Sepul.*, *op. cit.*, Tit. CXXVI]

excepto, salvo, sinon.

'et en esto todo ponga el yuvero todo lo que fuere menester,  
fuera la madera que ponga el sennor.'

[*Ibid.*, CXXXII]

fuera de, excepto, sinon.

<sup>10a</sup> Where no Latin text is given, the Latin construction is entirely different.

<sup>11</sup> *Sinon* was not as common in affirmative as in negative sentences, but before the XVIth century it was quite frequent, see *Matzke Mem. Vol. op. cit.*, pages 91-92.

‘ quantos ovieren destos á sacar, sáquenles de todo pecho, fuera moneda.’

[*Ibid.*, CXCIX]

excepto, fuera de, salvo, sinon.

‘ toda la pena e tod el dampno que deve aver el forzador, todo lo an a aver los hermanos fueras muerte.’

[*Fuero Juzgo*, 53 a]

excepto, salvo, sinon.

Latin text: excepta morte.

‘ aquesta debe ser metida en poder de la primera muier, que faga della lo que quisiere, fueras muerte.’

[*Ibid.*, 64 a]

excepto, sinon.<sup>18</sup>

Latin text: vita tantum concessa.

‘ que todo esto sea en voluntad de los fijos lo que quisieren ende tomar, fueras lo que reciben dalgunos estrannos.’ . . .

[*Ibid.*, 77 b, 25-27]

excepto, fuera de, salvo, sinon.

Latin text: excepto id quod.

‘ mas dévelo meter en poder de los parientes mas propincos del muerto, que fagan dél lo que quisieren, fueras muerte.’

[*Ibid.*, 117 a]

excepto, sinon, salvo (variant).

Latin text: excepto.

‘ Et todo quanto vos pudieredes aver de nuestra heredad o de otra part, fueras vuestra heredad, todo lealmentre sea empleado en pro.’ . . .

[*Chartes de l'Abbaye de Silos* (ed. Ferotin), 207, 20-22]

fuera de, excepto, salvo, sinon.

‘ Et nos mandamos á los caballeros et á los omes buenos de Toledo, que los diessen posadas, las mejores que pudiesen aver, fuera aquellas en que ellos moraban;’

[*Mem. Hist. Esp.*, *op. cit.*, I, 155]

excepto, fuera de, salvo.

‘ Et si el Rey de Leon ficer fer omenaxe de su Regno ad algun otro omne fora á suo filio,’ . . .

[*Tratados de paz, Alfonso VIII de Castilla y Alfonso IX de Leon, año 1206; España Sagrada XXXV, Appendix, CXXXV*]

excepto, salvo, sinon.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. 64 b: ‘ esta mujer pecador sea metuda en poder dellos, que fagan della lo que quisieren, si non muerte.’

‘Et debense ayudar sobre todos los omnes del mundo, assi moros como christianos, foras el Rey de Aragon, et el Rey de Franza.’

[*Ibid.*, CXXXVI]

excepto, salvo, sinon.

Contrary to the general rule of the position of *fuera*s as exemplified in all the previous cases, *fuera*s as a preposition could also be placed at the very end of the sentence, after the object which it governed:

‘E porque el oficio del Dean es más honrrado, e mayor que el de los otros comunalmente en las mas eglesias, el obispo fuera.’

[*Siete Partidas* (ed. Lopez, 1843-4), I, VI, 3]

The case which Old Spanish *fuera*s governed, when used as a preposition, cannot be easily determined. Of all the cases which I have found, only one case, the first one of those given above, can be of any value, where we have a pronominal form which remains in the nominative case. Pietsch (*Mod. Phil.*, II, 221) gives two more cases. These cases, however, cannot settle the question. In Vulgar Latin, *foras*, *foris*, governed the accusative and this must have been the rule in the very beginning both in Old Spanish and Old French.<sup>14</sup> In Old French the objective case was commonly used after *fors*, but by attraction to the subject of the verb of the principal clause, *fors* could also be followed by the nominative case, as was the case with *praeter* in Latin.<sup>15</sup> In Spanish the case may have been the same, but the nominative form in question may also be due to the analogy of *excepto*, *salvo*, *sinon*, which always governed the nominative.

The prepositional phrase *fuera*s *de* dates from Vulgar Latin and is also frequent in Old Spanish by the side of *fuera*s and practically with the same meanings, as is evident from all the previous examples, where *fuera*s *de* could substitute *fuera*s in most cases. No examples need to be given of this common construction which still lives in Spanish. With the meaning, outside of, from, away from,

<sup>14</sup> The cases which I have found for the Latin of Spain are all in harmony with this general rule. A few examples from *España Sagrada* are: *foras* I. corte, XXXVI, xxxviii; *foras una*, Ib. xlv; *foris illum cotum*, XXXVII, 34; *foras istos terminos*, Ib. 319; *foris autem montes*, 2b. 325; *foras Ecclesiam*, Ib. 349.

<sup>15</sup> Tobler, *op. cit.*, 86-88.



as in, 'por la locura que fezo deve seer echado fuera de la tierra por siempre' [*Fuero Juzgo*, 114 b], and 'ye á estos fuara del mercado peche LX soldos' . . . [Muñoz y Romero, *op. cit.*, 88], where no limitation is in any way implied, and where *fuera de* cannot be substituted by *salvo*, *excepto*, *sinon*, *fueras* alone does not seem to be used. The group *de fueras*, however, may be used with such meaning:

'Nullius homne qui sacar' armas esmoludas vel espadas nudas, de fora manta, conra suo vecino,' . . .

[*Fuero de Avilés*, 14]

'Nullo omme que sacar armas esmoludas ó espada nuda de ffora manto, contra su vezino.'

[*Fuero de Oviedo*, *ibid.*]

In Old Spanish and also in Old French, the limiting expressions *sinon*, *fueras*, *fors que*, etc., were very frequently strengthened by one or more adverbs, such as *sólo*, *solamente*, *tanto*, *tan solamente*, etc.<sup>16</sup>

When such an adverb was used with the group *fueras de*, it could be placed between *fueras* and *de*:

'nos non queremos fablar de los otros linages, fueras solamente de los fijos de Japhet,' . . .

[*Primera Cr. Gen.*, 5 a]

## 2. *Fueras ende* (*end*, *en*).

The Latin locative adverb *inde* developed in Vulgar Latin into an indefinite pronoun or a pronominal adverb.<sup>17</sup> In Old Spanish, its ordinary meanings as a pronominal adverb were, *de ello*, *de eso*, *por eso*, *por ello*, *en ello*, etc. Frequently the indefinite pronoun force was also extended into a partitive genitive with the force of a relative, a very common construction in Old Spanish. In this last use the meanings of Old Spanish *ende*, *end*, *en*, were, *de él*, *ella*, *ellos*, *ellas*, *eso*, *ello*, etc.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> See Matske *Mem. Vol.*, *op. cit.*, 86-87. Cf., also, *fueras tanto que*, in 3.

<sup>17</sup> See Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, §§ 60, 71, 384; Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar I*, § 134; Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.* III, § 64(3).

<sup>18</sup> Hanssen (*Span. Gram.*, § 58(3)) gives a full and clear account of the meanings and uses of Old Spanish *ende*, *end*, *en*. The phonetic processes involved in the shortened forms are also explained in § 15(2).

The use of the partitive genitive *ende* after a limiting preposition or adverb was very frequent in Old Spanish, as one would naturally expect. In the sentence, '*compró las casas, excepto las muy viejas,*' it would be very natural to add '*de ellas.*' This was done in Old Spanish by the use of the partitive genitive *ende* (*end*, *en*) placed immediately after the limiting preposition or adverb. The idea in question was expressed by *salvo ende*, *excepto ende*, *fuera ende*.

However, the frequent use of *ende* in this construction gave rise to its use after *fuera* even in cases where it had no meaning whatever. *Fuera ende* came to be looked upon as a unity and became of frequent use as a preposition equivalent to *fuera*, *ende* having no value whatever. The origin of *fuera ende* (*end*, *en*), as the equivalent of the preposition *fuera*, therefore, is to be found in the construction where *ende* had its independent function as a partitive genitive. Examples of both constructions follow.

A. The preposition *fuera*, followed by *ende* with the independent function of a partitive genitive pronoun.

The question of *ende* aside, the following examples belong in the same category with those in I., already treated. The cases where *fuera* is used to limit or modify a general negation are given first as in I.

(a) 'Nengun omne non ose casar ni ensuciar por adulterio con la esposa de su padre, ó con alguna que fué su mugier . . . ó con parienta de su mulier fasta VI. grado, fuera ende<sup>19</sup> aquellas personas que eran ya ayuntadas por mandado del príncipe.' . . .  
[*Fuero Juzgo*, 60 a]

Latin text: *exceptis illis personis.*

'Iuro por el que judgó con derecho que non entrasse nenguno de los fijos de Israel en la tierra de la promisión, porque non covieson por su palabra, fuera end Josue Ben Non, é Caleb, los cuales judgó que entrarien hy.'

[*Ibid.*, 197 b, end.]

Latin text: *excepto.*<sup>20</sup>

'Ya auie toda Asia a su poder tornada,  
Fuera end toda India nol ficaua al nada.'

[*Alixandre* (ed. Janer), 1783 cd]

<sup>19</sup> Variant, *en*.

<sup>20</sup> A preposition. It was so used in Vulgar Latin although its adjectival value developed early and is found in the early period of the Romance Languages.

(b) 'e mandolos a todos uender, fueras ende los mayores que non quiso equallos con los otros;'

[*Pr. Crónica Gen.*, 50 b, 10-12]

'et el aver que perdieren los fiadores, sea todo de los parientes del muerto, que lo ovieren de eredar, fuera ende los cient mrs. de omecilio.' . . .

[*Fuero de Sepul.*, *op. cit.*, Tit XLVII]

'Et de las otras cosas faga el príncipe lo que quiser, et délas a quien quiser, foras ende aquellas cosas que avia el Rey Don Citasundo.'

[*Fuero Juzgo*, VI b]

Latin text: *illis tantumdem exemptis*.

'E pues que esto ovieren cumplido aquellos testigos, deven aver la vicesima parte de los dineros del muerto, e non de las otras cosas, por su trabajo, fueras ende las cartas de las debdas,' . . .

[*Ibid.*, 41 b]

'mas los fijos ayan toda la buena de su padre, fueras ende la quinta parte que puede dar por su alma a quien quisiere.'

[*Ibid.*, 73 a]

'Onde por esta ley avemos dado conseio á todos los huérfanos, fueras ende aquellos que son de tal edad, que pues que an XV annos passados.' . . .

[*Ibid.*, 75 b]

'é assi non sea tenudo de pagar ende nada, fueras ende el oro ó la plata que non puede arder.'

[*Ibid.*, 91 a]

Latin text: *excepto auro et argento*.

The above group, preposition *fueras* + *ende* with the function of a partitive genitive pronoun, was current in Vulgar Latin, and is frequent in the Low Latin documents of Spain, e. g.:

"In Tano medios filios de Pelagio Martiniz, . . . et fillos et neptos de Martino Saciniz de Quintes, foras inde Petro Martiniz et illos casseros ambos cum filiis, . . .

'Et in valle de Carrenio Santa Marta cum sua hereditate integra foras inde illa tertia quae debet et tenet Munius Martiniz et sua mulier in vita sua,' . . .

[Muñoz y Romero, *Col. Fueros Municip.* (Madrid, 1847), 162]

B. The preposition *fueras* followed by *ende*, the latter with no value whatever. The group *fueras ende* is equivalent to *fueras* alone.

‘La testimonia del siervo non deve seer creyda . . . ; fueras ende los siervos que son del servicio del rey.’

[*Fuero Juzgo*, 34 b]

Latin text: *exceptis servis nostris*.

‘El omne franqueado ó la muier franqueada non pueden seer contra nengun omne testimonio, fueras ende en el pleyto que non puede aver omne libre.’ . . .

[*Ibid.*, 96 b]

Latin text: *excepto in*.

‘Nengun omne non meta físico en cárcel, maguer que non seya conocido, fueras ende por omecillo.’

[*Ibid.*, 172 b]

Latin text: *excepta homicidii causa*.

### 3. THE CONJUNCTIVE PHRASE *fueras que*.

When a new clause is introduced as the limiting idea to a general affirmation or negation, the preposition *fueras* is followed by the conjunction *que*. This conjunctive group is equivalent to *sinon que*, *salvo que*, *excepto que*<sup>21</sup> and to the Old French conjunctive *fors que*.<sup>22</sup> Examples:

‘que non es nuestro seso si non figuridat,  
fuera que nos contiene dios por su piedat.’

[*Alixandre*, 968 cd]

‘non sabie el mezquino otra cosa pedir,  
fueras que le dennase Dios los oios abrir.’

[*Sto Domingo*, 346 cd]

‘mas rancar non podieron puerro njn chirivja,  
fuera que barbecharon lo que yazia eria.’

[*Ibid.*, 378 cd]

‘E si el querrelloso esto non pudier provar por testimonias, quel iuez lo fizo por enganno, . . . é sea quito, fueras tanto que<sup>23</sup> el iuez puede dos días . . . folgar en su casa,’ . . .

[*Fuero Juzgo*, 17 b]

<sup>21</sup> Hanssen, *Spanische Gram.* § 62(13); Meyer-Lübke, *Gram.*, III, § 615.

<sup>22</sup> Tobler, *op. cit.*, 88.

<sup>23</sup> Variant: *salvo tanto que*. *Tanto* is frequently used here. See Matske *Mem. Vol.*, 86-87.

‘¿ qual cosa esperamos de la crianza fueras que aquellos que an á nacer ó non semejarán al padre ni á la madre, ó serán de dos formas?’<sup>24</sup>

[*Ibid.*, 47 a]

Latin text: nisi ut.

‘E assi esto mandamos guardar de los que son de orden, que non mandan casar los decretos, fueras que tiramos desta ley las muires que casaron por fuerza,’ . . .

[*Ibid.*, 61 a]

#### 4. THE CONJUNCTIVE PHRASES

##### *fueras si* AND *fueras ende si*.

The preposition *fueras* followed by the conjunction *si*, ‘if,’ developed in Old Spanish into a fixed phrase, a conjunctive phrase of a conditional and relative character, equivalent, as a rule, to *excepto que*, *excepto en caso que*, *excepto cuando*, *salvo que*, etc., *fueras que*, and the modern Spanish *á no ser que*,<sup>25</sup> English, unless, unless it be that. The conjunctive phrase *fueras si* was of a very wide use in Old Spanish. From the very common use of the prepositional *fueras ende*, where *ende* was in some cases a partitive genitive pronoun or had no value whatever, *ende* also appears in our present phrase, so that *fueras ende si* is used by the side of *fueras si* and with exactly the same meaning. In the conjunctive phrase, *fueras ende si*, therefore, *ende* has never any value. Examples of these constructions follow.

##### A. *Fueras si*.

‘ca los pleitos do se comienzan alli se deben acabar, fueras si el Rey los manda librar en su corte.’

[*Memorial Hist. Esp.*, I, 141]

‘Otrosi, todo caballero de Sepulvega que pró toviere de sennor, é fuere con él en la hueste, aya todos sus derechos en Sepulvega, fueras si fuere con su sennor en deservicio del Rey;’ . . .

[*Fuero de Sepúl.*, Tit. LXXVII]

<sup>24</sup>In questions such as this, *si non* has always been used in Spanish and to a certain extent, in French, Portuguese and Italian. See *Matske Mem. Vol.*, 89-90.

<sup>25</sup>Only *á no ser que* and the Old Spanish phrases *sinon si*, *fueras cuando*, can always be exact equivalents. *Fueras que*, *excepto que*, *salvo que* (see 3) introduced a limiting idea and were rarely conditional.

‘Hye ponemos que todo onme que reffugar el dinero foras si for falsso ho britado’ . . .

[*Ayuntamiento de Oviedo, Colección* (Vigil, 1889), 48 a]

‘nin sea constrennido en estos dias, fuera si era el pleyto ante comenzado.’

[*Fuero Juzgo*, 136]

Latin text: nisi forte.

‘ni mande ni constringa por sí, ni por sayon, fueras si fuere juez de mandado del rey,’ . . .

[*Ibid.*, 15 b]

Latin text: nisi.

‘E todos los otros siervos de nuestra corte non deven seer creydos en testimonia, fueras si lo mandare el rey.’

[*Ibid.*, 34 b]

Latin text: nisi.

‘non damos ende poder á todo omne, fueras si fuere el pecado muy manifesto,’ . . .

[*Ibid.*, 59 b]

Latin text: nisi aut.

‘establecemos que aquel que nasce non deve aver la buena de los padres, fueras si<sup>26</sup> depues que fuere nascido recibiere baptismo,’ . . .

[*Ibid.*, 72 a]<sup>27</sup>

Latin text: nisi.

‘Nul omme que prender fueras sis rrancurar al M. o al sagione. pectet: lx<sup>a</sup>. ssueldos al M. et torne la prenda.’

[*Fuero de Oviedo* (F-Guerra.), 17]

B. *Fueras ende si.*

‘Emperador ó Rey puede facer leyes sobre las gentes de su Señorio é otro ninguno no ha poder de las facer en lo temporal, fueras ende si lo ficiesen con otorgamiento dellos.’

[*Siete Partidas*, I, I, 12]

‘Desatadas non deben ser las leyes, por ninguna manera, fueras ende si ellas non fuesen tales, que desatasen el bien que debían facer.’

[*Ibid.*, I, I, 18]

‘fueras ende si el caballero ficiese traición ó falsedad, ó aleve, ó yerro, . . . no se puede escusar que non haya la pena que las leyes mandan.’

[*Ibid.*, I, I, 21]

‘mas aquel que face el pecado lo debe decir por su boca, fueras ende si non sopiese el language de aquel, á quien se debe confesar.’

. . .

[*Ibid.*, I, IV, 30]

<sup>26</sup> Variant: *salvo si*.

<sup>27</sup> Other cases: 76b, 77b, 86a, 132b, etc.

'Et decimos otro si, que si muchos querellosos vinieren antellos por razonar el pleyto que deben oir . . . fueras ende si fuere pleyto que fuere comenzado.'

[*Mem. Hist. Esp.*, I, 143]

'e que non sea fecho en barragana; fuera ende si fuere fecho fijo por concejo,' . . .

[*Fuero de Sepúl.*, Tit LXII]

'Nengun omne non se puede defender, que non responda al que se querella dél, . . . fueras ende si<sup>28</sup> se pudiere defender,' . . .

[*Fuero Juzgo*, 24 a]

Latin text: *excepto si*.

'el siervo non se puede querellar del omne libre, nil puede demandar nada, fueras ende si el sennor non puede venir al pleyto por si mismo,' . . .

Latin text: *nisi forte*.

[*Ibid.*, 29 a]

'non mandamos que tal persona sea metida en tormentos, . . . fueras ende si aquel que mete el personero,' . . .

[*Ibid.*, 30 b]<sup>29</sup>

With exactly the same meaning as *fueras (ende) si*, may be used also *fueras (ende) cuando*

'non se le perdonan los pecados per el Baptismo: fueras ende quando tuelle aquel engaño de su corazón.'

[*Siete Partidas*, I, IV, 5]

'Nunqua dias nin noches sin olio non estaba,  
Fuera quando el ministro la mecha li cambiaba.'

[*San Millán*, 331 cd]

Exact equivalents of *fueras ende si* were not of very frequent use in Old Spanish. Besides those already mentioned, the adverbial phrases *salvo (ende) si* and *si non si*, were also in use.

'Otrosi, todo sobrino de caballero, ó pariente que con él morare, non peche fonsadera ninguna, salvo ende si fuere casado.'

[*Fuero de Sepúl.*, Tit. CCXL]

'Ningún fisico non deve sangrar ni melecinar muger libre, . . . , fueras ende si<sup>30</sup> la dolor le acoitare mucho.'

[*Fuero Juzgo*, 171 ab]

Latin text: *excepto si*.

\* Variant: *salvo si*.

\* Other cases: 35a, 36b, 37b, 40b, 48b, etc.

\* Variant: *salvo ende si*. Cf., also, 24a, 72a, etc.

'que si algun judío ó alguna judía se quisiere casar primero casamiento, non se case si non si diere arras sabudas,' . . .

[*Ibid.*, 191 b]

'ca d'otra guisa non se deven someter los siervos cristianos en su servicio, nin seer en su poder, si non si fuere provado que son verdaderos,' . . .

[*Ibid.*, 194 b]

Latin text: nisi.

An adverbial phrase may come between *si non* and *si* (cf. *fuera solamiente de*, I, end.):

'Nengun judío desde el primer anno que regnamos . . . non sea osado de se apoderar . . . si non por ventura si les mandare el rey recabdar algunas cosas.'

[*Fuero Juzgo*, 199 a]

Latin text: excepto si.

It should be noted that the most common verb form which occurs in the clause introduced by *fuera (ende) si, si non si, salvo (ende) si*, is the future subjunctive, and in the Latin text, the future perfect indicative, from which the Spanish future subjunctive is derived. In such cases the Latin text usually has *nisi* or *excepto si*, the last a Vulgar Latin construction. The Old Spanish future subjunctive, however, had frequently its primary and original meaning, i. e., the force of a future indicative as well as of a subjunctive. Both in Old and Modern Spanish, the present indicative may in most cases be used as a substitute.

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## SUAREZ DE FIGUEROA'S *ESPAÑA DEFENDIDA* AND TASSO'S *GERUSALEMME LIBERATA*

OF all the literary forms which attained their highest development in Spain of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the epic alone offers little of permanent value. While the drama, novel, short story and lyric poetry were cultivated with success and with considerable originality, the epic poets were content to translate and imitate foreign models. The influence of Ariosto was dominant in the epic until about the year 1600 and the position of honor was accorded to Tasso throughout the first half of the following century. As Farinelli has said: "Non v'era poeta in Ispagna ai primi del '600 che non avesse succhiato in gioventù il dolce miele delle rime del Tasso."<sup>1</sup> This influence is attested, not only by the translations of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* by Bartolomé Cayrasco de Figueroa, Juan Sedeño and Antonio Sarmiento de Mendoza, but especially by the many epics composed under the inspiration of Tasso and with the evident desire to rival the master. It is true that many of these imitations have little literary value. They adopted the framework of their model, flagrantly plagiarized the descriptions and figures of speech and divested it of all its poetry and beauty.

Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa was one of the most fervent admirers of Tasso in Spain. We know that he went to Italy in 1588, at the age of seventeen and remained there until 1604. During this period he became interested in Italian letters, and in 1609 published a Spanish version of Guarini's *Pastor Fido*,<sup>2</sup> which was justly praised by Cervantes in *Don Quixote*.

<sup>1</sup> See his article published in the *Rassegna bibliografica della letteratura italiana*, Vol. III, p. 238 ff. entitled, *La più antica versione spagnuola della Gerusalemme del Tasso*, in which he mentions a number of translations and imitations of Tasso.

<sup>2</sup> It has not been definitely settled whether the Cristóbal Suárez who published a version of the *Pastor Fido* at Naples in 1602 is the same as Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa. The question is discussed in my monograph on Suárez de Figueroa, Philadelphia, 1907, 24-28. See also the notes of Señor Cortés to the Spanish translation of the same, Valladolid, 1911, p. 26.

In 1609 Figueroa entered the service of Don Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, whose marriage with Doña María de Cárdenas he had celebrated in *La Constante Amarilis*, and to this nobleman he dedicated his epic poem, *España Defendida*, which was published at Madrid in 1612. In the prologue, he acknowledges his indebtedness to Tasso. "*A éste pues, insigne en los requisitos apuntados, imité en esta obra, y con tanto rigor en parte de la traza, y en dos, ó tres lugares de la batalla entre Orlando y Bernardo, que casi se puede llamar version de la de Tancredo y Argante: supuesto me vali hasta de sus mismas comparaciones (téngase desde luego cuenta con esto, no imagine el censor, se pretende encubrir, ó passar de falso este, que él llamará hurto) y ojalá tuuiera yo talento para trasladarle todo en nuestra lengua con la misma elegancia, y enfasi, que suena en la suya, que entendiera lisongearla con semejante ocupacion.*" When an author affirms so frankly his imitation, he disarms criticism and censure. A comparison of the two poems will show, however, that Figueroa's indebtedness is far greater than he acknowledges, and also will serve as a chapter in the account, which is yet to be written, of the influence of Tasso upon Spanish literature.

The poem is divided into fourteen books in octaves, and relates the victory of the Spaniards, led by Bernardo del Carpio, over Charlemagne and the invading French army at the battle of Roncevaux.<sup>8</sup> The argument of the poem, in brief, is as follows. Alfonso the Chaste, being old and without heirs, agrees to present his crown to Charlemagne, an offer which the latter readily accepts. The Spanish nobles, however, resent this intrusion by a foreigner and annul the King's pact. Charlemagne insists that the agreement be fulfilled and after waiting five years, sends Roland and Archbishop Turpin to demand the crown in his behalf. When the proposals of

\*The story of Bernardo del Carpio is a curious example of the way an old story is changed to meet the peculiar requirements of a nation. The account of Charlemagne's invasion of Spain, as given in the *Chanson de Roland*, hurt the national pride of the Spaniards, and to offset this they composed their own version, according to which Roland was defeated in single combat by Bernardo del Carpio, the champion of the Asturian army, when on the point of entering Spain. Señor Menéndez y Pelayo has studied the story in the introduction to Lope de Vega's comedias, *Las Mocedades de Bernardo del Carpio* and *El Casamiento en la muerte*, in the Spanish Academy's edition of the works of Lope de Vega, Vol. VII.

the ambassadors are declined by the Spaniards, they retire with threats of war. The Spanish army, led by Bernardo del Carpio and aided by the Moors, defeats the invading army at Roncevaux, and Bernardo kills the mighty Roland in single combat.

### BOOK I

After the opening stanza and invocation to the Muse in the conventional epic tone, we have a description of the council in which Alfonso and his nobles hear the message sent by Charlemagne, urging him to comply with his promise to abdicate. This corresponds to the council in which Alete and Argante appear before Goffredo. Argante corresponds to Orlando.

E. D., stanza 7:

Hizo en entrando humilde reuerencia  
Turpin al Rey; mas la persona osada  
del Par Orlando armada de entereza,  
inclinó casi nada la cabeza.

G. L. II, stanzas 60-61:

Picciol segno d'onor gli fece Argante,  
in guisa pur d'uom grande e non curante.  
Ma la destra si pose Alete al seno,  
e chinò il capo, e piegò a terra i lumi.

In E. D., 8-24, Turpin urges Alfonso to fulfill his promise to Charlemagne and warns him not to trust the Moors. In like manner, Alete urges Goffredo to desist from the war and bids him not to trust the Greeks, G. L. II, 62-79. The vassals show displeasure at the proposals, E. D., 25 and G. L. II, 80. Alfonso, in gentle tone, declares the reasons for his refusal to accept their propositions, E. D., 26-33 as Goffredo in G. L. II, 81-87. The impetuous Orlando springs to his feet and challenges them all to mortal combat, as Argante in the *Gerusalemme*.

E. D., 36-37:

En suma, guerra, y paz teneys delante,  
sepa qual de las dos mas os agrada?  
Guerra (dixeron todos al instante)  
aqui la guerra sola es aceptada.

Apenas esto, quando el prouocante  
terció la capa, y empuñó la espada,  
diziendo con mayor corage, y brio:  
Pues á guerra mortal os desafío.

Quien desprecia la paz, aya la guerra,  
que jamas huuo falta de renzillas:  
yo solo pondré fuego á vuestra tierra;  
y assolaré yo solo vuestras villas.

G. L. II, 88-90:

“Chi la pace non vuol, la guerra s’abbia,  
ché penuria già mai non fu di risse;  
e ben la pace ricusar tu mostri,  
se non t’acqueti a i primi detti nostri.”

“O sprezzator de le piú dubbie imprese,  
e guerra e pace in questo sen t’apporto;  
tua sia l’elezione: or ti consiglia  
senz’altro indugio, e qual piú vuoi ti piglia.”

L’atto fèro e’l parlar tutti commosse  
a chiamar guerra in un concorde grido,  
non attendendo che risposto fosse  
dal magnanimo lor duce Goffrido.  
Spiegò quel crudo il seno; e’l manto scosse,  
ed “A guerra mortal” disse “vi sfido.”

Alfonso and Goffredo show the same gentleness in dismissing the bold messengers, E. D., 39 and G. L. II, 92. The remainder of Book I is devoted to a description of a boar hunt in which Bernardo takes part. Bermudo arrives with letters from the King, asking him to lead the Asturians in the approaching war with France. Bernardo refuses to obey, alleging the injustice and cruelty which Alfonso had shown to his parents and to himself.

## BOOK II

Book II relates the arrival of the Englishman Ricardo with his fleet to the shores of Galicia after a furious storm. Ricardo meets the shepherd Damon who tells of his misfortunes and sings in praise of the life of solitude. It will be remembered that Figueroa's

poetical name was Damon and part of the account is unquestionably autobiographical, but was doubtless suggested by the conversation of the old shepherd with Erminia in G. L. VII, 8-13.

### BOOK III

Book III opens with a council of devils in which Pluto advises his subjects to defeat the purposes of Charlemagne so that the Moors may have an easy victory later over the Spaniards. The description of the council is almost a literal translation of the *Gerusalemme*, IV, 1-18.

E. D., 2-3:

Ya el ronco son de la Tartarea trompa  
llama los tenebrosos moradores.  
Manda Pluton, quel ayre negro rompa  
qualquier executor de sus furores:  
Horrida magestad, horrida pompa  
(miserable consuelo en sus ardores)  
su espiritu feroz adquiere, en tanto,  
que se conuoca el Reyno del espanto.

Las profundas cauernas retemblaron,  
compelidas del impetu imperante;  
y las puertas de Auerno se encontraron,  
rompiendo sus cerrojos de diamante:  
Con tan fiero estampido no aterraron  
los furibundos rayos del Tonante,  
en Flegra la terrible osada gente,  
como el Herebo en sus entrañas siente.

G. L. IV, 3:

Chiama gli abitator de l'ombre eterne  
il rauco suon de la tartarea tromba.  
Tremar le spaziose atre caverne,  
e l'aer cieco a quel romor rimbomba:  
né sí stridendo mai da le superne  
regioni del cielo il folgor piomba,  
né sí scossa giammai trema la terra  
quando i vapori in sen gravida serra.

The hosts of Hell assemble.

E. D., 5:

Espantosos Centauros, y Gorgones,  
brotando estan abominables quiebras;  
Polifemos, Quimeras, Geriones,  
con diademas de Esfinges, y culebras:  
mil Hidras, mil Arpias, mil Pitones,  
por donde el Sol jamas tendio sus hebras  
corren, y entre ellos con atrozes rostros,  
otras varias visiones, varios mostros.

G. L. IV, 5:

Qui mille immonde arpie vedresti e mille  
Centauri e Sfingi e pallide Gorgoni;  
molte e molte latrar voraci Scille,  
e fischiar Idre, e sibilar Pitoni,  
e vomitar Chimere atre faville;  
e Polifemi orrendi e Gerioni;  
e in novi mostri, e non più intesi o visti,  
diversi aspetti in un confusi e misti.

Stanzas 12-21 contain a diatribe on contemporary conditions, in which Figueroa bitterly attacks those in authority. Pluto then narrates the history of Spain, telling the evil which the Devil had wrought since the sin of Rodrigo. He bids his subjects to assemble the hosts of Islam, and the devils set about to carry out the orders of their chief.

E. D., 40:

Al fin de aquel acento prodigioso,  
que de nueuo terror á Dite llena,  
parte todo vestiglo pressuroso,  
á executar lo que su rey ordena.  
Escureciendo el ayre luminoso,  
va con el ala vil que horrible suena,  
y en forma ygual, á platicar sus artes,  
acuden todos por diuersas partes.

This corresponds to G. L. IV, 18:

Non aspettâr già l'alme a Dio rubelle  
che fosser queste voci al fin condotte;  
ma fuor volando a riveder le stelle  
già se n'uscian da la profonda notte,

come sonanti e torbide procelle,  
che vengan fuor de le natie lor grotte  
ad oscurar il cielo, a portar guerra  
a i gran regni del mare e de la terra.

In the last part of Book III, the allegorical figure of Castidad appears in a vision to Alfonso and tells him of those who will succeed him on the throne of Spain, ending with a eulogy of Philip IV. This description is doubtless a reminiscence of Peter the Hermit's prophecy concerning Rinaldo and the future glories of the House of Este, contained in Canto X of the *Gerusalemme Liberata*.

#### BOOK IV

The review of the French troops with which the book opens corresponds in general outlines to the review of Goffredo's army in G. L. I. Rugero, Bradamante and Marfisa are mentioned among the French troops, and a short summary is given of the love of Rugero for Bradamante, the defeat of Rodamonte by the former and the conversion of Rugero and his sister, Marfisa, as narrated by Ariosto. Chronologically then, the action of this poem is placed after the events described in the *Orlando Furioso*.

#### BOOK V

Alecto appears to the Moorish king, Marsilio, in the form of Abdalla, his father, and bids him to form an alliance with the Asturians and to make use of his niece Zayda to bring confusion into the French army. In like manner, Aletto appears to Solimano and urges him to attack the Christians, G. L. IX, 8-9.

E. D., 2:

En Abdalla su padre transformado,  
con habla, y estatura conocida,  
toma la blanca barba, y el surcado  
rostro, que indicios dan de edad crecida.  
El corbo alfange en el siniestro lado,  
con la Almalafa larga recogida,  
retrato en todo del que hurtó la muerte,  
habla con el dormido desta suerte:

## G. L. IX, 8:

A costui viene Aletto; e da lei tolto  
 è 'l sembiante d'un uom d'antica etade:  
 vòta di sangue, empie di cresse il vólto,  
 lascia barbuto il labro, e 'l mento rade;  
 dimostra il capo in lunghe tele avvolto;  
 la veste oltra 'l ginocchio al piè gli cade;  
 la scimitarra al fianco, e'l tergo carico  
 de la faretra, e ne le mani ha l'arco.

## E. D., 15:

y mientras habla assi con el dormiente,  
 en su pecho penoso, y anhelante  
 viuoras pone, y su ponçoña vierte,  
 con que le incita á furia, á rabia, á muerte.

## G. L. IX, 11:

Così gli disse; e le sue furie ardenti  
 spirògli al seno, e si mischiò tra'venti.

In stanzas 21-82, the magician Malgesi offers to Charlemagne the use of his arts. The offer is refused, and the magician then relates the early history of the province of Asturias and the traditions concerning Bernardo del Carpio. In stanzas 83ff., we read of a magic book presented to Charlemagne, containing the word *America*, doubtless a reminiscence of the references to the discovery of the new continent in *Orlando Furioso*, XV, 18ff. and G. L. XV, 22ff.

## BOOK VI

The book opens with a description of the various provinces of Spain, presumably taken from the magic book presented to Charlemagne. The latter orders his army to advance to Roncevaux. Meanwhile, the Asturians prepare to resist the French. Bernardo, feeling that he is needed by the Spanish army, takes leave of his sweetheart Elvira in a scene which recalls the love of Erminia for Tancredi in G. L. VI.

## BOOK VII

The Asturians rejoice at the arrival of Bernardo. The Englishman, Ricardo, who is destined to play so important a part in the war, offers his services to Alfonso, and relates to him the story of his unhappy love affair with Isabela.



BOOK VIII

The eighth book opens with a description of the Moorish troops, which follows in general outlines the review of the Egyptian army, G. L. XVII. The Spanish forces assemble and Alfonso confers the title of commander-in-chief upon Bernardo, bidding him humble the power of France and to be on his guard against the treacherous Moor. The two armies are finally drawn up face to face and Ricardo kills Beltran in the first skirmish.

BOOK IX

At the opening of Book IX, we have a description of the grief of the French for the death of Beltran. They ask for his body, and the request is granted by Ricardo. The account of Beltran's funeral corresponds closely to that of Dudone, G. L. III, 67-70. Rugero claims the right to avenge the death of Beltran by challenging Ricardo, and his petition is granted by Charlemagne. Bradamante worries over the danger to which he will be exposed and offers to take his place.<sup>4</sup> Rugero, however, tries to reassure her by reminding her how he had conquered Rodamonte and Mandricardo. Marfisa, Rugero's sister, rises early and goes forth to meet Ricardo in her brother's place.<sup>5</sup> She summons him to fight, but after the first charge, the Briton sees a lock of her hair beneath her helmet and immediately falls in love with his fair opponent, stanza 48:

No de las astas el vigor crecido  
pudo causar en ambos movimiento;  
mas al parar la indomita, rompido  
halló de su zelada el ligamento.  
Hizo ondear (sin dilacion) Cupido  
vaga madexa de oro por el viento;  
y mostrando al varon la Fenix hembra,  
llamas de amor en sus entrañas siembra.

This is a close imitation of the famous stanza of G. L. III, 21, containing the description of the duel between Tancredi and Clorinda:

<sup>4</sup> This scene bears a close resemblance to *Orlando Furioso*, XLVI, 113-115, in which Bradamante shows anxiety in regard to the result of Ruggiero's duel with Rodomonte.

<sup>5</sup> This is probably an imitation of *Orlando Furioso*, XXXVI, 16 ff. in which Marfisa goes out to take Ruggiero's place in his duel with Bradamante.

Clorinda in tanto ad incontrar l'assalto  
 va di Tancredi, e pon la lancia in resta.  
 Ferirsi a le visiere, e i tronchi in alto  
 volaro; e parte nuda ella ne resta;  
 ché, rotti i lacci a l'elmo suo, d'un salto  
 (mirabil colpo!) ei le balzò di testa;  
 e, le chiome dorate al vento sparse,  
 giovane donna in mezzo'l campo apparse.

Ricardo bids Marfisa desist from her attack, since she has already conquered him by her beauty. This corresponds in general outlines with G. L. III, 27-28. Rugero reproaches Marfisa for having presumed to take his place in the combat, and in the meantime, Bradamante draws near and offers to fight with Ricardo. Rugero finally succeeds in sending his wife and sister back to the army, and postpones his duel with Ricardo.

Marsilio sends his niece Zayda to the French camp to disorganize the army by her wiles, stanza 68ff. Armida plays the same role in G. L. IV, 23 ff. He explains his project to her, 69-73, just as Idraote declares his plan to Armida, G. L. IV, 24-26. Armida accepts the commission gladly. In the Spanish version, Zayda has more womanly scruples and only agrees on considering the great service she may render to her uncle and to her country. Figueroa omits the description of the physical charms of Zayda, corresponding to G. L. IV, 30-32. The Spanish version then relates the discussion over the election of Beltran's successor, and Orlando's quarrel with the traitor Ganelon.

#### BOOK X

The description of the arrival of Zayda in the French camp is translated almost literally from the *Gerusalemme Liberata*.

E. D. 4:

Las lenguas la subliman, y los ojos  
 llenos de admiracion, la lisongean:  
 ella lo echa de ver, y sus despojos  
 ciertos (sin dilacion) juzga que sean.

G. L. IV, 33:

Lodata passa e vagheggiata Armida  
 fra le cupide turbe; e se n'avvede:

no'l mostra già, benché in suo cor ne rida,  
e ne disegni alte vittorie e prede.

Zayda meets Carloto who immediately falls in love with her, and promises to conduct her to Charlemagne. In like manner, Eustazio leads Armida to Goffredo, G. L. IV, 33-38. Zayda tells Charles how her uncle had unjustly banished her from the kingdom which rightfully belonged to her, and asks the aid of a hundred knights to redress her wrongs. This agrees with Armida's account to Goffredo, G. L. 39-69. After some hesitation, Charles promises to aid her after he has defeated the Asturian army. In like manner, Goffredo promises to help Armida after the capture of Jerusalem. Reynaldos and the other knights, unable to endure the laments of Zayda, urge that aid be given her at once, and Charles finally yields, stanzas 33-42. This corresponds closely to G. L. IV, 70-84 in which Eustazio and other enamoured knights overrule the objections and scruples of Goffredo.

Ganelon tries to enter into negotiations with Bernardo to bring about the defeat of the French. Bernardo refuses, and warns Charlemagne of the plot invented by the traitor. Charles summons him, convinces him that he is aware of his treachery and casts him into prison.

In the last part of the book (87-108), Beltran appears in a dream to Charlemagne, and after describing in mystical tone the joys of Heaven, warns the Emperor that his cause is unjust. The scene was probably suggested by the appearance of Ugone in a dream to Goffredo, G. L. XIV, 5-19, but aside from the framework, there is little similarity in the two accounts.

## BOOK XI

The description of the intense heat suffered by the French army, 1-9, is translated almost literally from G. L. XIII, 52-63. Zayda chafes at the delay in rendering her assistance and by her wiles brings about a quarrel between Dudon and Reynaldos, 10-30.

The latter part of the book, 31-92, is devoted to an account of the legend of *Las doncellas de Simancas* and a eulogy of the Figueroa family, which received its name as the result of a victory of a certain Bativa over the Moors who demanded a tribute of a

hundred maidens, among whom was his sweetheart Rosarda. The legend is, of course, Spanish<sup>6</sup> and was included here by the author, partly through personal vanity, and also to flatter the powerful Figueroa family. The use of the story in this connection may have been suggested by the well-known episode of the *Orlando Furioso*, X, 93ff., in which Angelica is saved by Ruggiero from certain marauders who went about in quest of damsels to expose to a monster.

### BOOK XII

Zayda insists that the promised escort be given her, lots are cast and fifty warriors are chosen to accompany her. Carloto, desirous of following the maiden, joins the party later, 1-18. Likewise in the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, ten knights are selected by lot to assist Armida, and Eustazio escapes from camp and overtakes them, V. 67-80.

Charles wearies of the war, urges that the expedition be abandoned and imprisons Hugo for inciting the soldiers to disobey the Emperor's orders. The scene then changes to the Spanish camp. Elvira laments the absence of her lover, Bernardo, and finally determines to rejoin him. She arms herself and while seeking Bernardo, sets free Carloto and the other French knights who had fallen victims to the arts of Zayda, 57-91. In like manner, Erminia departs in search of Tancredi, G. L. VI, 79-94. The description of Elvira's victory over the Moors may be borrowed from the *Orlando Furioso*, XXXV, where Bradamante defeats Rodomonte and sets free a number of captives.

### BOOK XIII

The two armies are drawn up for battle. Bernardo encourages his men, 4-10, in almost the same words as Goffredo in G. L. XX, 11-19. Bernardo addresses Ricardo, 13, as Goffredo addresses Rinaldo, G. L. XX, 11. The following stanzas, describing the first skirmishes, closely correspond in the two versions: E. D. 15 and G. L. XX, 21; E. D. 23 and G. L. XX, 5; E. D. 24 and G. L. XX,

<sup>6</sup> Señor Menéndez y Pelayo has studied the legend in the introduction to Lope de Vega's play, *Las Doncellas de Simancas*, Spanish Academy edition of the *Obras de Lope de Vega*, Vol. VII, p. LXV ff.

28-29; E. D. 26 and G. L. XX, 29; E. D. 29 and G. L. XX, 32; E. D. 30 and G. L. XX, 33; E. D. 58 and G. L. XX, 52; E. D. 59 and G. L. XX, 51; E. D. 91 and G. L. XX, 57.

#### BOOK XIV

The last Book opens with a description of the flight of the French who are closely pursued by the Asturians. Ricardo overtakes Marfisa. She wishes to avenge the death of Beltran, but he pleads his cause so eloquently that her heart is touched and she consents to accept his love, 5-22. The scene corresponds closely to that in which Tancredi pleads his cause to Clorinda, G. L. III, 25-28. In the latter version, however, the scene is interrupted by the arrival of some knights, one of whom wounds the fair Amazon.

Elvira meets Suero Hernando and tells him how she has followed Bernardo into battle, without being able to overtake him. When the latter hears the news, he sets out at once in pursuit of his sweetheart, 23-34. This is followed by an account of the duel which, as Figueroa acknowledges, follows closely the combat between Tancredi and Argante, G. L. XIX. A few extracts will show that the Spanish poem follows the Italian model even in the slightest details.

E. D. 51:

Mientras el de Leon entrar intenta,  
la espada que se opone desuiando,  
á la vista su punta le presenta  
astutamente el valeroso Orlando.  
Este al reparo va, mas tan violenta  
aquel la cala al punto, que alcançando  
al contrario del golpe inaduertido,  
dexó su yzquierdo lado mal herido.

G. L. XIX, 14:

Mentre il Latin di sottentrar ritenta,  
sviando il ferro che si vede opporre,  
vibra Argante la spada, e gli appresenta  
la punta a gli occhi; egli al riparo accórre;  
ma lei sí presta allor, sí violenta  
cala il Pagan, che'l difensor precorre,  
e'l fêre al fianco; e visto il fianco infermo,  
grida: "Lo schermitor vinto è di schermo."

E. D. 70:

Moria Orlando, y qual viuio moria,  
en lugar de quexarse, amenazaua :  
fueron brauas, horrendas, y ferozes  
sus postreras acciones, y sus voces.

G. L. XIX, 26:

Moriva Argante, e tal moría qual visse ;  
minacciava morendo, e non languía.  
Superbi, formidabli e feroci  
gli ultimi moti fur, l'ultime voci.

Elvira finds the wounded Bernardo, 73ff., just as Erminia finds the wounded Tancredi, XIX, 104 ff. The poem ends with a description of the joy of the Spaniards over their victory.

It will be seen that Figueroa composed his poem with a copy of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* constantly at his side. Not only the general outlines, but also the chief characters and incidents were borrowed with but slight changes. It is true that the imitation was rarely successful. Figueroa lacked entirely Tasso's poetic temperament. The beautiful figures of speech of the Italian are disfigured by his persistent use of *culto* words. The characters are stereotyped. Orlando and Charlemagne, although represented with greater dignity than in many of the Italian poems, are colorless. The figures of Bernardo and Elvira are more successfully portrayed, but Zayda is merely a silhouette of the charming coquette Armida. Figueroa is more interesting as a censor of morals than as a writer of verse, and his attempt to imitate Tasso confirms the dictum that moralists are rarely great poets. In spite of its shortcomings, however, the study of his epic is not without interest, presenting as it does, a French subject, treated from the Spanish standpoint, in the Italian manner.

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## THE SOURCES OF THE SYMBOLICAL LAY COMMUNION

THE most recent and the fullest discussion of the symbolical lay communion, a practise that is described in various medieval works, French, Spanish, Italian and German, has been given us by Professor J. D. M. Ford.<sup>1</sup> The latest instance cited by him of the mediaeval rite appears in the *Vita di Benvenuto Cellini*.<sup>2</sup> This literary evidence shows that it was the custom on the eve of a battle, or at the moment of dying to put in one's mouth, in place of the unavailable sacramental bread, blades of grass,<sup>3</sup> or a bit of earth, the latter substitute being confined to the instances other than French. In the majority of the French cases three blades of grass are the substitute for the communion; in one case the single blade of grass is broken into three pieces, in another case it is blessed three times.<sup>4</sup> As earth is the substitute for the sacrament elsewhere than in the French instances, one is tempted to consider it as the original substitute. The earliest French and German works which vouch for the respective substitutes do not furnish a criterion for

<sup>1</sup> *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XX, 197-230.

<sup>2</sup> To those mentioned by Ford, who have noted or commented on the French custom, are to be added: Ferdinand Wolf in his review of Michel's *Chroniques anglo-normandes*, published in the *Jahrb. f. Literatur*, vols. 76-77, Wien, 1836 and 1837, reprinted in his *Kleinere Schriften*, ed. E. Stengel (1890), 108, n. 3; E. Du Ménil, *La Mort de Garin* (1846), xliii-xliv; E. Gachet, *Glossaire du Chevalier au Cygne* (1859), 366; A. Tobler, "Ueber das volksthümliche Epos der Franzosen," *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, IV (1866), 192-193; F. Michel, *Floriant et Florete* (1873), xlii; A. Schultz, *Das höfische Leben*, II (1880), 265. To the French cases not cited by Ford, or in the course of this study are to be added *Chans. des Saxons*, II, 136; *Godefroi de Bouillon*, ed. Reiffenberg, II, 398.

<sup>3</sup> There is no authority for the substitute of leaves of a tree (Ford, 211). The phrase of *Raoul de Cambrai*, "trois fuelles d'arbre," cited by Ford after Gautier (209) from Le Glay's poor edition, should read, ".III. fuelles d'erbe" (v. 8441, ed. Meyer et Longnon).

<sup>4</sup> *Mort de Garin*, 2785:

Un foillet d'erbe entre ses pies a pris;  
Trois fois le seigne, en sa bouche l'a miz,  
Por corpus Deu l'a receu et priz.

the priority of one or the other, as they are almost contemporaneous. The *Estorie des Engles* of Geffrei Gaimar was written between 1147 and 1151;<sup>5</sup> *Meier Helmbrecht* of Wernher der Gartenaere between 1236 and 1250,<sup>6</sup> and Berthold von Regensburg preached the sermon,<sup>7</sup> in which he denounced the practise, during his sojourn in South Germany, Austria, and Steiermark, between 1250 and 1260.<sup>8</sup> Professor Ford has done well in rejecting the conjecture of an unintelligent writer,<sup>9</sup> who, in discussing the few French cases known to him, supposed that its appearance in the *Chanson d'Antioche* pointed to an Eastern origin of the practise. For it is by a mere chance that the evidence of the survival of two distinct popular beliefs appears only in the thirteenth century as a Christian ceremony, in different parts of Europe, of which the civilization and religion were nothing but a veneered paganism. In the same way it is only in the fifteenth century that one finds evidence for the widely spread popular belief that a rain- or hail-storm could be brought on by beating a body of water with rods,<sup>10</sup> and the fact that the custom of a murderer eating a sop of food within ten days of the murder, on the tomb of his victim, to save himself from vengeance, is not vouched for by imperial edicts, municipal statutes and medieval chronicles, is no reason to reject<sup>11</sup> the explanation given by the

<sup>5</sup> G. Paris, *La littérature française au moyen-âge*, 3d ed., 145.

<sup>6</sup> F. Vogt, in Paul's *Grundriss*, 2d ed., II, 1, 211.

<sup>7</sup> Ford (217-218) refers to two sermons in which Berthold refers to the practise (*Berthold von Regensburg. Vollständige Ausgabe seiner Predigten*, ed. Pfeiffer-Strobl, I, 303; II, 89), but the two sermons are really one (A. Schönbach, *Sitzungsb. d. Wien. Ak. Phil. Hist. Cl.*, 153, Part IV, 66, 67; cf. *Anz. f. Deutsch. Alterthum*, VII, 379), of which the Latin version appears as No. 34 in the *Sermones ad religiosos*. Cf. G. Jacob, *Die lat. Reden des Berthold v. Regensburg*, 35, 91, and Schönbach, WSB., 151, Part II, 153 (No. 68). Schönbach has not mentioned the practise, where one would expect to find it, either in his discussion of popular beliefs in Berthold's works, or in his account of the preacher's ideas on death, and the sacraments (*Zeugnisse B. V. R. zur Volkskunde*, WSB., 142; Part VII; *Ueber Leben, Bildung und Persönlichkeit B. v. R.*, WSB., 154, Part I, 94, 116-119).

<sup>8</sup> K. Rieder, *Das Leben Berthold von Regensburg*, 25; Schönbach, WSB., 147, Part V, 86.

<sup>9</sup> Rev. W. Silvester, *Dublin Review*, CXXI, 92; cf. Ford, 213-215.

<sup>10</sup> As I shall show in detail in my second article on "Rain-making Storms" (cf. R. R., II, 355 ff.).

<sup>11</sup> As by Torraca and Grandgent, *ad loc.*



majority of the older commentators of Dante's line (*Purg.*, XXXIII, 36):

Che vendetta di Dio non teme suppe.

This custom again is a survival of primitive beliefs.<sup>12</sup>

Wackernagel,<sup>13</sup> who was the first to discuss with any fullness the symbolic communion, considered that it was a survival of an old pagan belief that the earth was made from the body of a giant god, a belief that was brought into relation with the Christian doctrine of the Eucharist. Rochholz and J. W. Wolf<sup>14</sup> accepted this explanation, which has been fully confirmed, if with wider definitions, by recent studies upon the beliefs in the powers of the earth, and the rites connected with them. As the universal mother of all, and as such, sacred, the earth was invoked as a participant in the most solemn oaths, such as in the Old Norse rite of going under strips of sod, "at ganga under jarðarmen," particularly in the ceremony of becoming foster-brothers,<sup>15</sup> and analogous rites. Just as widely spread as the custom of having a mother bear her child on the bare earth,<sup>16</sup> or on its substitute, straw,<sup>17</sup> or laying the newly born

<sup>12</sup> As I hope to show in a future article, but for illustrations of the belief cf. J. G. Frazer, *Psyche's Task*, 86-88.

<sup>13</sup> *Zeitschr. f. deut. Alterthum*, VI (1848), 288-9.

<sup>14</sup> Ford, 201-2.

<sup>15</sup> P. E. Müller, *Laxdaela saga*, 1826, 396-400; Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, 4th ed., I, 164-6; K. Nyrop, *Dania*, I, 24-6; Pappenheim, *Zeitschr. f. deut. Philol.*, XXIV, 157-161; K. Maurer, *Zeitschr. d. Ver. f. Volksk.*, III, 103-7; K. Weinhold, *ibid.*, 224-5. I owe these references to my friend Mr. Halldór Hermannsson, of the Cornell University Library. Cf. his *Ancient Laws of Norway and Iceland* (Ithaca, 1911), pp. 49, 63, 67, 81.

<sup>16</sup> A. Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*, 6 ff.; E. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* (1911), 1 ff. An early and the only Greek evidence for the custom is found in the account of the birth of Alexander in the Pseudo-Callisthenes *τοῦ δὲ παύδου πατρὸς εἰς τῆν γῆν* (I, 12; ed. Müller); whence it passed into the Ethiopic translation (Transl. Budge, 12), and the Latin versions of Julius Valerius (Ed. Kübler, 11, 27) the *Epitome* (Ed. Zacher, 15, 12; ed. Cillie, 9, 14) and the *De praeliis* (Ed. Landgraf, 38, 19; cf. A. Hilka *Rom. Forsch.*, XXIX, 18, 39), but only appears in the Middle-English *Wars of Alexander* (Ed. Skeat, p. 18) of all the occidental vernacular versions which have been printed.

<sup>17</sup> Dieterich, *op. cit.*, 8, n. 1; Samter, *op. cit.*, 4-5; J. Jónasson, "Um faðingu og dauða í Þjóðtrú Íslendinga," *Festskrift hi H. F. Fálberg* (1911), 376. I owe the last reference to Mr. Hermannsson. Cf. W. Jochelson, *The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus*, 101. For the act as a ceremony by which the strength of the earth passes into the child cf. Deubner, in Hastings, *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, II, 649 b.

child on the earth, to bring the child in touch with the universal earth mother, the source of human life, is the practise of laying a dying man on the bare earth, or on straw, so that his soul can pass without delay to the earth, conceived as its source, or, as the kingdom of the dead.<sup>18</sup> A variation of the same practice is found in Finistère, Brittany. When a man is in a painful death struggle, an infallible method to hasten his death is to put his naked feet on the bare ground.<sup>19</sup> For the same purpose a piece of earth is placed on his breast in Thuringia.<sup>20</sup> Lastly, we find the Christian element as it appears in medieval literature, in the Magyar and Roumanian custom of placing earth in the mouth of those who have died un-

<sup>18</sup> Samter, "Zu römischen Bestattungsbräuchen," *Festschrift für O. Hirschfeld*, 249 ff.; "Antike und moderne Totengebräuche," *Neue Jahrb. f. class. Alterthum*, XV, 36 ff.; *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, 4; Dieterich, *op. cit.*, 25-29. "A Limoges le dernier Rituel, édité en 1698, avait encore conservé pour ce diocèse l'ancien usage de mettre mourir le malade sur le cilice (ou sur la paille) et la cendre." In the community of La Trappe, "à l'extrémité on les (i. e., les religieux) met mourir sur la paille ou sur la cendre"; Lebrun-Desmarettes, *Voyages liturgiques en France* (1718), 146. The Abbé Cochet, who cites these passages, found the bodies of ecclesiastics and laymen buried at Etran, from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, lying on or wrapped in straw, and remarks: "On dit communément en parlant d'un défunt qui n'est pas encore inhumé, 'Il est sur la paille.'" "Explorations des Anciens Cimetières de Roux-Mesnil et d'Etran," *Archæologia*, XXXIX, 132. There are two Scotch phrases used more than once by Sir Walter Scott, "strae death," "fair-strae death," meaning natural death, which have their source in Scandinavian terms analogous to the Old Norse *stradauda*, "one who dies on the straw," Danish *stråddød*, "Straw death" and Old Swedish *stradþia*, "to die on straw," terms referring to a natural as opposed to a violent death. But the custom which interests us is something more than a survival of the time when bedsteads were unknown, as Monseur ("La prescription religieuse de l'usage récent," *Rev. de l'hist., des Religion*, LIII, 299-301; cf. 204) and Zachariae (*Zeitschr. d. Ver. f. Volksk.*, XXII, 232-233) would have us believe is the case.

<sup>19</sup> A. Le Braz, *La Légende de la Mort chez les Bretons Armoricaains*, 3d ed. Avec des Notes . . . Par G. Dottin, I, 84. Dottin goes quite astray in connecting with this custom (*loc. cit.*), the custom in Morbihan of placing a "boule de granit" on the head of a dying man, on the authority of L. Bonnemère, ("Le mat béni," *Rev. des Trad. pop.*, XII, 100. Here we have a survival of the "holy mawle" with which an aged person was killed. Cf. *Rev. d. Trad. pop.*, VII, 153, 287; G. L. Gomme, *Folklore as an Historical Science*, 68-78.

<sup>20</sup> Wuttke, *Deutsche Volksglaube*, 3d ed., 724; Samter, *Festschr. f. Hirschfeld*, 251. The custom is noted by Grimm, who does not localize it; D. R. A., I, 154. Cf. also Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, ed. Ellis, II (1849), 235; Gregor, *Folk-Lore of the North East Scotland*, 207; J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of Scottish Highlands*, 241; *Folk-Lore*, XIII, 60, XVI, 66.

expectedly, and without confession, so that the earth may rest lightly on them in the afterworld,<sup>21</sup> and they may have peace; and in a belief of the Armenians, according to which a man dying alone may make confession to a tree or a rock, and put in his mouth a bit of earth in place of the sacrament.<sup>22</sup> The custom of the Armenians of kissing the ground when they face the altar in prayer<sup>23</sup> appears to be as much a survival of an older faith, as that of putting sacramental bread into the coffin as food for the dead on their journey,<sup>24</sup> and the persistent reverence for trees.<sup>25</sup> The Raskolnin or members of the Old Church in Russia use a similar substitute for the sacrament,<sup>26</sup> a custom in conformity to their belief that guardian angels give invisibly the sacrament at the moment of death, the only time when men are pure.<sup>27</sup>

The fullest account of the demand for, and the reception of a bit of earth as a substitute for the communion is found in an interpolation of the *Eckenliet*, as a completion of the demand of Helferich von Lüne, found in the genuine poem.<sup>28</sup> It appeared first in the edition of the poem printed in 1491, and was reprinted in the editions of 1559 and 1577,<sup>29</sup> showing how late the belief in its efficacy persisted in Germany.

“Mein leben das gaht auch dahin;  
Er ist vmb mich ergangen.  
Gib mir der erd in meinen mund  
Jn namen Christus ehre.

<sup>21</sup> v. Wlislöck, *Aus dem Volksleben der Magyaren*, 5; Samter, *Geburt*, etc., 4, n. 1.

<sup>22</sup> von Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia* (London, 1854), 317.

<sup>23</sup> H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia*, I, 69. A celebrated Albigenian leader of the early fourteenth century in the service “courbait la tête jusqu’au sol en s’appuyant de ses mains, baisant la terre” (J. N. Vidal, “Doctrines des derniers ministres albigeois,” *Rev. des Quest. hist.*, LXXXVI, 16).

<sup>24</sup> M. Tchéráz, *L’Orient inédit*, 236. As a practise of the early Christian church cf. J. B. Thiers, *Traité des superstitions qui regardent les sacraments*, Seconde Partie, Livr. III, ch. ii; in *Superstitions anciennes et modernes*, J. F. Bernard, Amsterdam, 1733, pp. 50–51.

<sup>25</sup> Tchéráz, *op. cit.*, 229 ff.

<sup>26</sup> von Haxthausen, *loc. cit.*;

<sup>27</sup> von Haxthausen, *Studien über die innern Zustände etc. Russlands*, I, 358. Cf. how the communion is given through “Rosinen durch das Mütterchen die feuchten Erde” in the same sect (K. K. Grass, *Die russischen Sekten*, I, 412, n.).

<sup>28</sup> Ford, 214.

<sup>29</sup> *Deutsche Heldenbuch*, V, xxxvi, 290.

Ja ich Held zu diser stund  
 Genesen nimmer mehre,  
 Mit mir so ringt der bitter todt.  
 Ach reicher Christ von hymmel  
 Verleich mir des hymmels brodt."  
 Da greyff herr Eck, der küne mann,  
 Da nider auff den grünen plan,  
 Vnd nam der reynen erde,  
 Vnd thet sye an der selben stund  
 Dem wunden mann in seinen mund.  
 Mit jamer sprach der werde:  
 "Der glaub der werd an dir volleyst  
 Für das hellische fewre.  
 Gott Vatter, Sun, heyliger Geyst,  
 Kum deiner seel zu stewre,  
 Das dir der hymmel sey bereyt,  
 Das helff dir Gott der gute,  
 Durch sein barmhertzigkeyt."<sup>80</sup>

The *Moralia* of St. Gregory (495) interprets "terra" in the passage of *Job* (IX, 24):

Terra data est in manus impii, vultum judicium ejus operit: quod si non ille est, quis ergo est?,  
 as "caro Christi",<sup>81</sup> and the pagan custom may have been given a Christian tone through the influence of this passage in one of the most popular of medieval works.<sup>82</sup>

It is striking that Ferdinand Wolf,<sup>83</sup> the first to comment on the Old French custom, has also been the first and only one—with that divination peculiar to genius—to suggest that its origin was to be sought in the symbolical and ritual use of grass and straw. Quite recently the deceased Sanscrit scholar, R. Pischel,<sup>84</sup> working out in detail the suggestions of Jacob Grimm<sup>85</sup> and Felix Liebrecht,<sup>86</sup> has

<sup>80</sup> *Ecken Ausfahrt, Nach dem alten Strasburger Drucke von MDLIX*, ed. Schade, 58-9.

<sup>81</sup> IX, 28; Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LXXV, 882C.

<sup>82</sup> A. Ebert, *Allg. Ges. d. Literatur des Mittelalters*, I (2d ed.) 596; Manitius, *Ges. d. Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I, 98-101.

<sup>83</sup> *Loc. cit.*, "Ueber den uralten Glauben an die heiligende Kraft des Grases und Halmes vgl. J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, S. 110-130."

<sup>84</sup> "Ins Gras beissen," *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1908, 445-464.

<sup>85</sup> D. R. A., I, 154 ff., 168 ff. Cf. J. Michelet, *Origines du Droit français*, 91-8.

<sup>86</sup> "Grashalm in Munde," *Zur Volkskunde*, 383-4.

shown that it was the custom among the Indian, Italic, Germanic, and Slavic peoples for a conquered man to take grass or straw into his mouth or hand, as a token to his conqueror of his submission, and as a plea for mercy. The source of the custom in Vedic India he traces to the formula spoken when a cow was saved from sacrifice: "Set her free. Let her eat grass." A vanquished man was treated symbolically as a beast of the field, whose life had been spared. In an Indian epic a king puts grass on his head to denote that he wishes to sell himself.

A striking survival of the custom in the occident is to be found in the homage the haughty hero of the *Poema del Cid* pays to his king;

Los inojos e las manos en tierra los fincó,  
Las yerbas del campo a dientes las tomó.<sup>37a</sup>

In medieval and modern Germany the custom has been noted of tying a wisp of straw to horses to show that they are for sale.<sup>37</sup> In a fifteenth century *Fastnachtspiel*, a lover complains that his mistress, to test him, has ordered him to go about for two years, with one eye closed, and a straw in his mouth:

Und steck ein halm in den munt.<sup>38</sup>

In Northern England and in Scotland up to a recent date, a farm-hand looking for a position walked round at fairs with a straw, or a green sprig in his mouth or hat.<sup>39</sup> In the early decades of the last century one could still see in the precincts of the courts of Westminster, men who were willing to bear false witness, go about with straw in their shoes, to show their profession.<sup>40</sup> And in India

<sup>37a</sup> Ed. Pidal, vv. 2021-2.

<sup>37</sup> Berthold von Regensburg, *Vollständige Ausgabe seiner Predigten*, II (ed. Strobl), 187, 637. This custom is not mentioned in the Latin form of the sermon published by Schönbach, *Sitzungsb. d. Wien. Ak.*, 151, Part II, 33; cf. 153, Part IV, 67. "Dans l'île de Man, dit Spelman (Coll. 156) c'est encore l'usage qu'on ratifie la vente des chevaux ou de toute autre chose, en donnant la paille" (Michelet, *op. cit.*, 97).

<sup>38</sup> Keller, *Fastnachtspiele*, 125; cf. Liebrecht, 383.

<sup>39</sup> W. Hone, *Every Day Book and Table Book*, II (1838), 668; *Notes and Queries*, 1st Sv., IV, 43; J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* (ed. 1890), II, 318; Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, II, 455.

<sup>40</sup> Pike, *A History of Crime in England*, II (1876), 377. "Almost within the memory of persons yet living" is his phrase. Cf. Hone, *op. cit.*, I, 157; W. E. Milliken, *Antiquary*, VII, 194. I know no authority for Tawney's statement

the same class of men is recognized by the straw in their ears.<sup>41</sup> No doubt the "man of straw," who lends his name to another for a business transaction owes his name to the same conception.<sup>42</sup>

Grass like earth, holy, was also invoked in oaths. Thus Raoul de Cambrai pursuing his old enemy Ernaut de Douai refuses to hear his plea for mercy;

"voir" dist Raous, "il te convient fenir,  
A ceste espée le chief del bu partir;  
Terre ne erbe ne te puet aténir,  
Ne Diex ne hom ne t'en puet garantir,  
Ne tout li saint qi Dieu doivent servir."

He has blasphemed, so Ernaut plucks up courage to reply;

"Qant Dieu renoies et la soie amistié,  
Car terre et herbe si m'avroit tost aidié,  
Et Dieus de gloire, c'il en avoit pitié."<sup>43</sup>

and in fact his life is saved and it is Raoul who dies unrepentant.<sup>44</sup> In the same way in English ballads one finds such phrases as;

And she sware by the grass sae green;<sup>45</sup>

and a favorite oath in the *Merry Devil of Edmonton* is "By grass and by hay."<sup>46</sup> Etienne de Bourbon tells how vows to go on the (Pischel, 456) that a straw carried in the mouth marked the profession of this gentry.

<sup>41</sup> R. H. Wallace, N. E. Q., 8th Ser., X, 195.

<sup>42</sup> The evidence in regard to "grass-widow," "Strohwittwe," is too confusing to state with certainty that these terms too had the same origin.

<sup>43</sup> Ed. Meyer et Longnon, 3015-3019, 3029-3031.

<sup>44</sup> Settegast's explanation of the episode ("Erde und Gras als Rechtssymbol im Raoul de Cambrai," *Zeit. f. rom. Philol.*, XXXI, 588-593), which postulates a judicial combat in the older form of the poem, is as fantastic as it is unnecessary. Cf. P. Meyer, *Romania*, XXXVII, 476.

<sup>45</sup> F. Wolf, *loc. cit.*, "und [ueber] den noch in späterer Zeit in England üblichen Schwur beym heil. Gras, Halm u. s. w.: *Edw. Barry*, Sur les vicissitudes et les transformations du Cycle populaire de Robin Hood. Paris, 1832. 8, p. 94. Cf. Grimm, D. R. A., I, 163; Child, *Ballads*, II, 137, 143-4; W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 2d ed., 142.

<sup>46</sup> Act. II, Sc. I, 6, 32, 58; Act. IV, Sc. I, 38, 68, 75; Sc. II, 23, 41, 67: *Shakespeare Apocrypha*, ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke; cf. A. E. H. Swaen, *Englische Studien*, XXIV, 237.

crusade were made on crosses of grass.<sup>47</sup> The three blades of grass representing originally a pagan symbolical number,<sup>48</sup> came to be regarded as a symbol of the trinity, in whose name they were taken, or even of the three pieces into which the sacrament was divided by the priest.<sup>49</sup>

It is not strange that grass which was popularly regarded so holy to such a late date, should have been taken as a symbol of the sacrament in the thirteenth century and later. Once taken in the mouth as a token of submission, when in fear of death from a mortal conqueror, it became a Christian symbol, a token of submission to the divine power, when death seemed imminent. That the basis of the Christian practise was the primitive custom is shown by a remarkable survival found in Switzerland half a century ago. In order to heal a family breach, or to stop a dangerous bleeding wound, it was only necessary to take in one's mouth a straw from the thatch of one's house, to stand with a drawn knife before a consecrated crucifix, and saying: "Gott, Sohn und heiliger Geist sollen mich verdammen," to drive the knife into the crucifix.<sup>50</sup> Blades of grass and straws played a large part as symbols of livery of seisin, in the ceding of landed property of various kinds in Roman and Germanic legal procedure,<sup>51</sup> but in Germanic law splinters from the door-post was the symbol of the delivery of a house.<sup>52</sup> In the *Roman du Rou* we are told how a soldier presented to William the Conqueror, on his landing in England, a handful of straw from the thatch of a house as a token of seisin of the country;

<sup>47</sup> *Anecdotes historiques*, ed A. Lecoy de la Marche, pp. 38, 90. Gautier (*La Chevalerie*, 732, n.) has not noted any other instances of the practise. On the custom in modern folk usage cf. Le Braz *op. cit.*, II, 255; *Gentleman's Mag. Library. Pop. Superstitions*, 119, Sébillot, *Folk-Lore de France*, III, 476, 500.

<sup>48</sup> Grimm, D. R. A., I, 286-9. On the use of three blades of grass in a magical performance cf. Panzer, *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie*, II, 301.

<sup>49</sup> Ford, 200, 211.

<sup>50</sup> E. L. Rochholz, *Deutscher Glaube und Brauch im Spiegel der heidnischen Vorzeit* (1867), I, 46.

<sup>51</sup> Grimm, D. R. A., I, 169 ff., 176 ff. I have not been able to consult A. L. J. Michelsen, *Über die festuca notata und die germanische Traditions symbolik. Ein germanistischer Vortrag.* Jena, 1856 (cf. *Krit. Übers.*, IV (1854), 156-9; *Lit. Cbl.*, VII (1856), 653-4); nor J. S. Warren, *De Stroohalm als Rechtssymbol*, Progr. des Dordrechter Gymnasium, 1882.

<sup>52</sup> Grimm, D. R. A., I, 158, 178, 239-240.

Donc corut uns hoem al terrain,  
 Sor un bordiel tendi sa main,  
 Plein poig prist de la couerture,  
 Al duc torna grant aieure.  
 "Sire, dist il," auant uenez,  
 Ceste saisine receuez!  
 De ceste terre uos saisis,  
 Votre est sainz dote le pais."<sup>53</sup>

But straw from the thatch of a house was regarded as having a more personal relation to the occupant as is shown in the oft-cited<sup>54</sup> Swiss custom, vouched for by the pioneer historian of that country, Johann Müller.<sup>55</sup> When a man living alone, killed some one who attacked him by night, he appeared before the judge, holding three straws from his roof, a dog with his rope (or the cat from the hearth) and the cock from the hen-house, and swore to his innocence. On the Isle of Man, to rob a fisherman of his luck for the day, another fisherman has only to pluck a straw from his thatch in the morning, as he passed to his own work. As Professor Rhys suggests; "getting possession of the straw was supposed to carry with it possession of everything belonging to the other man including his luck in fishing."<sup>56</sup>

And in fact this belief was the basis of a popular test for a witch, once used in England, which is best expressed in a passage of Dekker's *Witch of Edmonton*,<sup>57</sup>

(*Enter W. Hamlac, with thatch and a link.*)

*Haml.* Burn the witch, the witch, the witch, the witch.

*Omn.* What hast got there?

*Haml.* A handful of thatch pluck'd off a hovel of hers; and they say, when 'tis burning, if she be a witch, she'll come running in.

*O. Banks.* Fire it, fire it; I'll stand between thee and home for any danger.

(*As that burns, enter the witch.*)

*I Countryman.* This thatch is as good as a jury to prove she is a witch.

<sup>53</sup> Ed. Andresen, 6607-6615.

<sup>54</sup> Grimm, D. R. A., I, 176; II, 126; Panzer, *Beiträge*, II, 472.

<sup>55</sup> *Schweizergesch.* III, 254 (1806).

<sup>56</sup> *Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx*, I, 345.

<sup>57</sup> Act IV, Sc. I.



*O. Banks.* To prove her one, we no sooner set fire on the thatch of her house, but in she came, running as if the divel had sent her in a barrel of gun-powder, which trick as surely proves her a witch. . . .

This method which is not known to any of the continental witch-mongers, such as Institoris and Sprenger, Molitoris, Remigius, Boguet, Bodin, Delrio, and de Lancre, or to their opponents, Weier and Bekker, is mentioned with disapproval by both credulous and sceptical English writers on witchcraft, such as were respectively William Perkins in his *Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft* (1608),<sup>58</sup> and John Gaule in his *Select Cases of Conscience Touching Witches and Witchcraft* (1646).<sup>59</sup> This test was offered as evidence against Elizabeth Sawyer of Edmonton, hanged as a witch in 1621, whose trial offered material for Dekker's play.<sup>60</sup>

So in the Swiss custom, the man with the straw in his mouth from his own thatch, offers himself as a servant to the devil.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Ed. 1610.206. On the author and his book cf. W. Notestein, *A History of Witchcraft in England*, 227-230, 227-229; G. L. Kittredge, in *Studies in the History of Religions Presented to C. H. Toy*, 18-21.

<sup>59</sup> P. 73. On the author and his book cf. Notestein, *op. cit.*, 174-175, 186-187, 236-237.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Notestein, 112, 136, n. At a later period the tiles of a witch's dwelling were substituted for the straw of the thatch in sympathetic magical practises; cf. Blagrave, *Astrologic Practice of Physic* (1689) 106; J. Glanvil, *Sadd ucismus Triumphatus*, (1726) 319-320; 334. In Greece a handful of earth from the witch's doorway (J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, 15) or a piece of his clothing is used (*Ib.*; Carnoy et Nicolaides, *Traditions populaires de l'Asie Mineure*, 353). With this practice is to be compared that of detecting a witch by burning some part of the person or thing bewitched; cf. J. G. Dalyell, *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, 323-326; Blagrave, *loc. cit.*; Rhys, *op. cit.*, 300-302; 304-307; *Proc. of the Brit. Acad.* IV, 224-225. On the use of straw from a thatch in magical rites in ancient India cf. V. Henry, *La magie dans l'Inde antique*, 162, 202, 204.

<sup>61</sup> Liebrecht, *op. cit.*, 383. Louis Gaufridy, the unfortunate priest, burnt at Aix in 1611 for witchcraft, as the victim of an ecclesiastical persecution, was seen by two Capucins set to spy on him, to pick up some of the straws which made his bed in prison. The hysterical girl, responsible for the charges against him, explained his action with satisfaction to his judges: "On les (*i. e.* les magiciens) cognoit, dit-elle, quand ils s'enclinent en terre, prenant vne paille, car lors ils demandent conseil au diable, et luy font hommage de ceste paille," (S. Michaëlis, *Histoire admirable de la Possession et Conversion d'une Penitente* etc., 2d. ed., Paris, 1613. Deuxième Partie, 99). The author was one of those principally responsible for the death of Gaufridy.

This belief of the Catholic population of Solothurn was a parody of the touching medieval French ceremony, in which a dying man surrendered his soul to his Creator, as the witches' Sabbat—a belief which cost the lives of unnumbered multitudes—was a parody of the Roman mass. One would expect to find some light on this subject by comparing the various versions of the rite in the French epics containing it, which were translated into other languages, and by noting the devices of the translators to interpret in their own terms a foreign custom. With the exception of the Spanish translator of the ceremony found in *Les Chétifs*,<sup>62</sup> and of the Dutch translator of *Garin de Loherain*, who in his rendering;

“ Doe dus ghec lagt die ritter goet  
Hadde, nam bi onder sienen voet  
Drie bladre, die hi in Gods ere  
Nutte over onsen Here,”<sup>63</sup>

has also kept very closely to his French text;

“ Sa corpe bat, pleure por ses pechiez,  
Pris a trois pous d'erbe entre ses piez  
En nom de Dieu bien les a mengiez,”<sup>64</sup>

the translators have avoided the difficulty by running away from it. The Icelandic version of *Elie de Saint Gilles* has omitted a passage at this point.<sup>65</sup> The Middle High German *Reinold von Montalban*,<sup>66</sup> the *Storia di Rinaldo da Montalbano*,<sup>67</sup> of Andrea dei Magnabotti, and other Italian versions in verse and prose<sup>68</sup> omit the episode, while Caxton (c. 1489) and the sixteenth century translator of the French prose version have made special efforts to omit the pregnant phrase of their original:

<sup>62</sup> Ford, 200, 211.

<sup>63</sup> M. Mathes, *Roman der Lorreinen* (Bibl. v. Mnl. Letterkunde, 17) Vv. 7-10; cf. Stengel, *Zeit. f. rom. Philol.*, I, 140

<sup>64</sup> Ms. de l'Arsenal, B-L. F., 181, as cited by E. du Méril, *La Mort de Garin*, xliii, where is another reading of the version of *Garin*. There is not any German version of the *Garin*, as stated by Ford (216). Müller, *mhd. Wb.*, only cites what is still another reading of the passage in the O. F. *Garin*.

<sup>65</sup> *Elissaga ok Rosamundu*, ed. Kölbing, 19; cf. Kölbing, *Beiträge*, 103.

<sup>66</sup> Ed. Pfaff., vv. 7798 ff.

<sup>67</sup> Ed. C. Minutoli, 166.

<sup>68</sup> P. Rajna, *Propugnatore*, III, Part 2, 80, 100.

"Alarde sayd to hym, 'brother Reynawde, let us lighte from our mewles a fote, & shryve our selfe the one to the other, to thende that we be not over com by the devyll,'" <sup>69</sup>

"Bruoder," sprach Allard zuo Rengnold, "lass uns abstan und nider knuwen und got unsern schöpffer umm hilf und gnad an rüeffen, damit und er uns gnedig sig unserm letsten end"; <sup>70</sup>

"Et communions nous de feuilles du boys a celle fin que nous ne soyons surprins de l'enemy." <sup>71</sup>

Two late redactions of the *Chanson de Roland*, the so-called *Roman de Roncevaux*, and that found in a Lyons manuscript represent that Oliver, when dying;

".iii. peuls a prins de l'erbe uerdoiant,  
en l'onnor deu les usa maintenant" (115, 12-13);

".iiij. poiz a pris de l'erbe uerdoiant,  
en loy de dieu les use maintenant" (72, 12-13). <sup>72</sup>

The author of *Galiens li Restorés*, who made use of such a redaction, <sup>73</sup> has gone one or even two better than his model, in having Roland give the symbolical communion to Oliver:

"Adonc [a] Oliuier la veüe troubla,  
Roulant print .III. peux d'erbe dont i l'acomicha";

and Turpin and Roland give it to themselves;

"Lors [Turpin] a prins trois peux d'erbe et s'en va commechier";

"Roulant lieuve da main, son chief print a saignier,  
Puis a prins .III. peulxd'erbe et se va commicher." <sup>74</sup>

<sup>69</sup> *Foure Sonnes of Aymoned*. O. Richardson (E. E. T. S.), 232.

<sup>70</sup> *Die Haimonskinder*, ed. A. Bachmann, 115, 11-13.

<sup>71</sup> Cited by Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. vii, from the Lyons (?) edition of 1480, that doubtless used by Caxton (*Ib.* vii), if the exact source of the German translation is unknown (Bachmann, p. x). The manuscript of the French prose version has "et des peus de cele herbe nous acomenion" (Barrois, *Éléments carlovingiens*, 238). The change from blades of grass to leaves must itself rest on a misunderstanding of the one responsible for the rifacimento.

<sup>72</sup> W. Foerster, *Das altfranz. Rolandslied. Text von Paris, Cambridge, Lyon, etc.* (Altfranzös. Bibl. VII), 105-6.

<sup>73</sup> *Ed.* Stengel & Pfeil (A. u. A., LXXXIV), pp. xlv-xlvi, 81.

<sup>74</sup> *Ed. cit.* 230, 24; 47, 234, 3. Cf. p. 215 for correct transcription of the passage of the prose version of the first citation from a manuscript, and an early edition, which Ford (209-210) gives as two separate passages after the incorrect copy of Gautier.

In Pulci's *Morgante*, Turpin, for whose presence at the death of Roland there is no precedent in its chief Italian source,<sup>75</sup> advises the hero;

"E perchè Iddio nel ciel ti benedica,  
Piglia la terra, la terra, la tua madre antica."  
"Però che Iddio Adam plasmoe di questa,  
Sì ch'è' ti basta per comunione."<sup>76</sup>

For Roland's subsequent action:

"E final mente, la testa inclinata,  
Prese la terra, come gli fu detto,  
E l'anima spirò del casto petto,"<sup>77</sup>

Pulci's probable source was an Italian work, in which an unfamiliar rite<sup>78</sup> was replaced by one well known, even in the time of Pulci, who published the second part of his poem containing the episode in 1484, forty years before Cellini dates his involuntary use of the rite.<sup>79</sup>

We have not the French original of the account given in the *Narbonesi* of Andrea dei Magnabotti, of how the companions of Vivien when they were about to begin a last desperate struggle:

Si baciaron tutti in bocca e raccomandaronsi a Dio e si cumunicarono colla terra, l'anime loro rendendo di buono cuore a Dio,<sup>80</sup>

but we may be sure that Andrea adopted to the usages of his own country the French rite that was performed under the same conditions in *Raoul de Cambrai*:

Mains gentix hom s'i acumenia  
De iij. poux d'erbe, q'autre prestre n'i a;  
S'arme et son cors a Jhesu commanda.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>75</sup> P. Rajna, *Propugnatore*, IV, Parte 2, 117.

<sup>76</sup> XXVII, 147, 7-148, 2.

<sup>77</sup> XXVII, 153, 6-8.

<sup>78</sup> The rite has not been noted in any of the Italian versions of the story of Roland's death. Cf. P. Rajna, *Propugn.*, IV, P. 1, 71, 371; P. 2, 74, 118; *Viaggio di Carlo*, ed. Ceruti, II, 186, 198. Perhaps it was found in the incomplete *Orlando*, the model of first part of the *Morgante* (P. Rajna, *Propugn.*, II, P. 1, 7 ff., 220 ff., 353 ff.; ed. G. Hübschner, A. u. A., LX).

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Ford, 221-2.

<sup>80</sup> Ed. Isola, II, 158; cf. Jeanroy, *Rom.*, XXVI, 199, n. 3; R. Weeks, *Origin of the Conv-Vivien*, 21.

<sup>81</sup> Ed. P. Meyer et A. Longnon, 2428-2430.

Giovanni Villani tells us that the Flemings did the same thing before the battle of Courtrai (1302):

feciono venire per tutto il campo uno prete parato col corpo de Christ o, sicchè ciascuno il vide, e in luogo di comunicarsi, ciascuno prese un poco di terra e si mise in bocca.<sup>82</sup>

Villani was in Flanders in 1306<sup>83</sup> but he was never in the vicinity of the scene of the battle, and only began to write his work nearly fifty years after it took place.<sup>84</sup> But as the sources for his information at this point were probably semi-official letters sent by Florentine merchants in France and Flanders to the home authorities, one may accept as true this and other details not found in accounts, nearer in time and place to the event.<sup>85</sup> And yet one of the most reputable of these, that of Velthem,<sup>86</sup> tells in true epic style how St. George appeared as an aid to the Flemish forces.<sup>87</sup>

The next instance of the rite appears in the account of the battle of Agincourt, in a version of the *Brut*, made about 1436, a work based at this point on an English original, written soon after 1415, the date of the battle.<sup>88</sup> Before advancing on the enemy:

oure men knelit doune al attones, and made a cros on þe grounde, and kissit it, and put hem in þe mercy of God.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Libr. VI, ch. 56; ed. Moutter, II, 62.

<sup>83</sup> De Pauw, *Bulletin de la Comm. d'Histoire de Belgique*, 5, Ser. VI, 594; V. Fris, *ibid.*, X, 1 ff.

<sup>84</sup> Pirenne, *ibid.*, 4, Ser. XVII, 38 ff.; Funck-Brentano, "Mém. sur la bataille de Courtrai et les chroniqueurs qui en ont traité," *Acad. des Insc. et Belles Lettres, Mémoires présentées par divers. Savants*, X, 277-8.

<sup>85</sup> Funck-Brentano, *op. cit.*, 278.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 269, n. 4. This same chronicler tells how, when the Comte d'Artois, the leader of the French troops, was about to take the communion, the host disappeared (269).

<sup>87</sup> Matzke, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XVII, 152 ff.; XIX, 449-450. Professor Matzke in his study neglected to note the appearance of the legend of the militant saints in the chronicles of the crusades. I hope to publish soon a study of similar traditions, from that of the appearance of Castor and Pollux at Lake Regillus to almost the present time.

<sup>88</sup> *The First English Life of King Henry the Fifth written in 1513 by an Anonymous Author known commonly as The Translator of Livius*, Edited by C. L. Kingsford, p. xv. For the dating of the English original I am indebted to a recent communication from Mr. Kingsford, who called my attention to the passage of the *Brut*.

<sup>89</sup> *The Brut or the Chronicles of England*, Ed. by F. W. D. Brie (E. E. T. S.) 555.

The Latin *Brut*, which was compiled not later than 1436 or 1437 gives a fuller account:

Omnis Angligenarum exercitus unam porciunculam terre in ore suo sumentes, ac terram ante initium certaminis trina vice deosculantes, genibus provolutis, hostes aggrediuntur.<sup>90</sup>

Tito Livio of Forli, who wrote his *Vita Henrici Quinti* under the patronage of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, in 1437 or 1438,<sup>91</sup> in making use of the Latin *Brut*, summed up the account before him in the phrase; "A singulis in ore capta terrae particula."<sup>92</sup> An anonymous author of the first English life of Henry V, written in 1513, in translating the phrase of Livio, gives two explanations of the ceremony, of which the second is the true one:

Euerie one of them tooke in his mouth a little peece of earth, in remembraunce of that they were mortall and earth, or else in remembraunce of the wholie Communion.<sup>93</sup>

If the French contemporary writers do not give this detail in their accounts of the battle,<sup>94</sup> a statement in the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* of

<sup>90</sup> C. L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, 326. I am here again indebted to the kindness of Mr. Kingsford for sending me a copy of this passage, printed in a book nearly ready for publication.

<sup>91</sup> Kingsford, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXV, 58-60.

<sup>92</sup> *Ed.* Hearne, 1716, pp. 18-19. The phrase has been adopted in the later *Vita et Gesta Henrici* (*Ed.* Hearne 1727, p. 65) wrongly attributed to Thomas Elmham (Kingsford, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXII, 577; XXV, 61-71; Wylie, *ib.* XXIV, 85). It would be curious to see if Decembri in his translation of Livio's work, completed in 1463, which is found in a MS. (2610) of the Imperial Library at Vienna (Wylie, E. H. R. XXIV, 84 ff.) has recognised a custom of his own country, in his rendering of the phrase. In the poem on Agincourt attributed to Lydgate (cf. H. N. MacCracken, *The Lydgate Canon*, xlvii) one finds only the second part of the ceremony described in the Latin *Brut*. Harris Nicholas, *History of the Battle of Agincourt* (321);

Oure Kynge knelyd doune all in that stownde,  
And all the Englys men in eche asyde  
And thryys there thay kyssed the gronde,  
And on ther fete gan they stond up ryzte.

<sup>93</sup> *The First English Life* etc., 59. Stowe changed the phrase to "mortall, and made of earth, as also in remembrance of the holy communion," *Annales* (1631), 349. On Stow's use of this translation cf. Kingsford, E. H. R. XXV, 92; *First Eng. Life*, v-ix, xv, xlv-xlvii.

<sup>94</sup> Jean Le Fèvre de St. Rémy, *Chronique*, II, 253; Des Ursins, *Chronique de Charles*, VI (Michaud et Poujoulat, *Mémoires*, XII), 520.

Thomas Elmham, an English chaplain present at the battle, shows why this substitute for the communion was taken by the body of the English troops.<sup>95</sup> The evening before the battle:

Et tunc unusquisque qui non prius conscientiam suam confessione mundaverat, arma penitentiae sumpsit, et non erat tunc paucitas, nisi solum paucitas sacerdotum.<sup>96</sup>

There were not enough priests with the army to hear the confession of, or give absolution to all, so they confessed to each other or to themselves, and took earth as a substitute for the sacrament,<sup>97</sup> as the Christians did in the Spanish *Poema de Alfonso XI*,<sup>98</sup> and the Flemings at Courtrai, even if there were priests present.

Sixty years later, Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, in a letter written May 27, 1475, in describing the attack of his troops on the imperial camp near Neuss, four days before,<sup>99</sup> tells how:

tous à bon visage et joyeusement marchèrent en faisant le signe

<sup>95</sup> St. Rémy, who was present as a prisoner of the English, tells of their devotions the day before, and of their confessing the night before the battle (*op. cit.*, 242, 244).

<sup>96</sup> Ed. Williams, 47.

<sup>97</sup> It is upon the basis of the evidence of the two English lives of Henry V, and of Villani, of which the latter was only known to him through the continuation of the *Annales* of Baronius by Spondanus (II, 336), that Lingard (*History of England*, 1849, III, 498, n.), after stating in his text, "the men, falling on their knees, bit the ground, arose, shouted and ran towards the enemy," adds in a note, "This singular custom had been introduced by the peasants of Flanders before the great victory which they gained over the French cavalry at Courtray in 1302. A priest stood in front of the army, holding the consecrated host in his hand; and each man, kneeling down, took a particle of earth in his mouth, as a sign of his desire and an acknowledgement of his unworthiness, to receive the sacrament." These passages furnish, without the need of any comment, as good a test as one would wish to have of the reliability, and the peculiar method of writing history of the author cited. Yet Nicholas (*op. cit.*, 120, n.), Freeman (*Reign of William Rufus*, II, 331, n.), Ramsay (*Lancaster and York*, I, 219, n.), and Ford (211, n.) have quoted them in good faith. And yet already Michelet, who had read his Villani, in preparation for the story of the battle of Courtrai in his *Histoire de France* (III, 1837, 78) inspired by Grimm's *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, had pointed to the only explanation of the symbolical rite in his *Origines du Droit français* (1837) 152-3. He cites here the passages from Cellini, Du Bellay, D'Aubigné, and Fleuranges, and refers to Vieilleville.

<sup>98</sup> Ford, 199.

<sup>99</sup> On date of battle and letter cf. *Mémoires de Olivier de la Marche*, ed. Beaune et D'Arbaumont, III, 99, n. 6.

de la Croix en eulx, regardant à Dieu, et les Anglois<sup>100</sup> à leur coutume croisant la terre et baisant icelle.<sup>101</sup>

Had the ceremony been simplified since the battle of Agincourt, and become what we shall find it among the German and Swiss mercenaries of a century later, or was the Duke too distant a spectator to see just what his auxiliaries were doing?

Finally in the same region, on the borderland of France and Belgium, where *Raoul de Cambrai* was enacted and written, and where Courtrai was fought, we come upon the most pathetic instance of the lay communion. Here it was not substituted for the real sacrament on account of a paucity of priests. The man who felt the need of it was one of many victims of the fanaticism, the spite and the greed of a clique of ecclesiastic criminals, including Jean, the suffragan bishop of Arras, Jacques du Boys, the dean of Notre-Dame d'Arras, and the inquisitor Pierre le Broussart. This so-called "Vaudois" trial of 1460 was most remarkable in many ways.<sup>102</sup> The accused under the stress of torture, through judicial suggestions and false promises confessed to the most incredible crimes, including making a pact with the devil, and attending the Sabbat, a curious anticipation, if not in fact the model for later procedure in trials for witchcraft. The most remarkable thing in connection with the case is that by the decree of the Parliament of Paris, thirty years later, in 1491, the character of the victims was rehabilitated, their property restored to their heirs, and those of the conspirators still living heavily mulcted. One of the twelve, who were sent to the stake, known as Egidius de Blancourt (Blencourt) or Colin de Bullecourt, from the place of sentence:

<sup>100</sup> On the English troops sent by Edward IV to Charles cf. Ramsay, *op. cit.*, II, 403.

<sup>101</sup> Labarre, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France et de Bourgogne*, I, 362. Jean Molinet, the official chronicler of the court of Burgundy (Cf. P. A. Becker, *Zeit. f. rom. Philol.*, XXVI, 649, 651), gives a less detailed account: "Il (c'est à dire le duc) donna signe d'approcher ses batailles; et toutes gens marchèrent joyeusement faisant le signe de la croix. Dont les Anglois, a leur manière de faire, baisèrent la terre" (Buchon, *Chroniques françaises*, XLIII: *Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, 130).

<sup>102</sup> The fullest account is in H. C. Lea, *History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, III, 519-534. Fredericq has collected the documents together in his *Corpus documentorum inquis. . . . Neerlandicae*, I, 345-483; III, 89-111.



fust mené à la justice de l'évesque, et illecq ards et ramené en cendres, et tout pareillement que les autres, dit qu'on le faisoit mourir à tort, et ce qu'il avoit confessé avoit esté à la forche de gehenne; et mourut, comme il sembloit, en vraie et bonne foy; et prist, luy estant prest de mourir, trois paux de terre ou d'herbe, et au nom du Père et du Fils et du Saint-Esprit, et ainsi il mourut.<sup>104</sup>

He had recourse to this substitute, because in not confessing to an imaginary crime, and dying penitent, he could not avail himself of the usual privileges offered by inquisitors to their victims,<sup>104</sup> expressed in one of the sentences of the ecclesiastical court in this trial, by the phrase:

si signa penitencie in vobis vel aliquo vestrum apparuerint, sacramenta confessionis et eucaristie non deneget.<sup>105</sup>

The contemporary chronicler Jacques du Clercq, or his authority, evidently was not acquainted with the rite, and in the confusion of the hour could not make out whether it was grass or earth, that was picked up, but as it happened on French soil, we may be sure that it was three blades of grass.

What seems a survival of the custom was found among the German lansquenets in French service in the religious wars of the sixteenth century. In his account of the conte de Reintgrave, Brantôme tells how, when Charles IX was reviewing the troops he had engaged in Germany:

luy et ses compagnons de loing, ayans baisé la terre, et en jetté chascun une poignée derrière les epaules à leur mode."<sup>106</sup>

before they advanced in battle array. The second part of the ceremony is vouched for elsewhere as a distinct ceremony,<sup>107</sup> and according to Paulus Jovius,<sup>108</sup> it was used to conciliate the god of victory. But the kissing of the ground as a single act is reported of the German troops, who fought under Coligny at the disastrous

<sup>104</sup> *Memoires de J. du Clercq*, Livre IV, Ch. 9, in Buchon, *Chroniques francaises*, XXXIX, 35-6.

<sup>105</sup> Lea, *op. cit.*, I, 546.

<sup>106</sup> Fredericq, *Corpus*, I, 370. The French form is given, *ibid.*, III, 91.

<sup>107</sup> *Discours sur le Couronnels de l'Infanterie de France*, *Oeuvres*, ed. L. Lalanne, VI, 121.

<sup>108</sup> Barthold George von Frundsberg (Hamburg, 1833), 58-9, cited by Grimm, *D. R. A.*, I, 160.

<sup>109</sup> *Historiae sui temporis*, II (1552), 477; cf. *Oeuvres de Brantôme*, VI, 502.

battle of Montcontour in 1569. On the eve of battle "les lansquenets ayant baisé la terre à leur mode," rushed into the fight.<sup>109</sup>

An earlier account of the same custom is found in the *Mémoires* of Fleuranges,<sup>110</sup> where the author is telling about a skirmish in Luxemburg in 1512:

Et adonc lesdicts Lansquenets et le jeune Adventureux avecques eulx baisèrent la terre, comme ils font de coutume, et marchèrent tout droilt contre leurs ennemis.

The Swiss troops practised the same rite according to Martin Du Bellay in his account of a skirmish between the imperial troops and those of de Lautrec, which took place near Naples in 1528;

L'escarmouche se dressa . . . apres que noz Suisses eurent (comme ils ont accoustumé) baisé la terre.<sup>111</sup>

Finally when the symbolical and religious use of earth was forgotten in Occidental Europe,<sup>112</sup> we find its survival in the popular German belief that a witch must be taken to the place of execution in a copper caldron, so that he may not touch the earth, of which he need have only the smallest bit, in order to disappear through the practice of his magical arts, and the aid of the devil.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> D'Aubigné, *Hist. universelle*, V, Ch. xvii, ed. A. de Rublé, III, 120.

<sup>110</sup> *Fleuranges, dit l'Adventureux* (Petitot, *Mémoires sur l'histoire de France*, XVI), 227.

<sup>111</sup> *Mémoires*, ed. Bourilly et Vindry, II, 66. This may well be the source of the phrase "et avoient déjà les Suisses et lansquenets baisé la terre" in the account of the same engagement in that romance (cf. A. Hauser, *Sources de l'Histoire de France* (1494-1610), II, 33), the *Mémoires de la Vie de Francois de Scepeaux, sire de Vieilleville* (Petitot, XXVI), I, 31.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. however, Sébillot, *op. cit.*, I, 208-211; IV, 138.

<sup>113</sup> Grimm, D. M., 4th ed., II, 899; Panzer, *Beiträge zur deutsch. Myth.*, II, 112; Zingerle, *Zwei Hexenprozesse*, 52, 54. Cf. the punishment of being boiled in a caldron; Child, *Ballads*, II, 321, n.; 327; V. 53; 230, 281; Gonzenbach, *Sicilianische Märchen*, I, 327; Cosquin, *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, I, 189. However, can we not call the belief forgotten when we find in newspapers of recent date an account of how the Camorrist priest, Vitozzi "who had been confined in the Florence Penitentiary, kissed the ground when he was discharged, and loudly proclaimed his innocence" (*New York Times*, May 1, 1913, in a telegram from Rome, dated April 30)?

## MISCELLANEOUS

### ROMANIC *aduolare*

IN the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXVI, 88, W. Kaspers tries to show that French *aller* comes from *aduolare*, with *ll* < *dl* < *dvl*. This theory ov the sorce ov *aller* seems reazonabl, but the account ov its development iz faulty. A French consonant-groop recwires the retencion ov a following vouel, hwen the last consonant iz more sonorus than the wone before it. Hence if thær had existed such a form az *\*advolar*, it probably wood not hav lost the weak vouel. Even if we assume *\*advolar* or *\*advolar*, with fricativs ov nearly ecwal sonority, the loss ov the vouel wood be rather unlikely: *m* and *n* hav practicaly the same sonority, yet French *mn* recwires a following vouel, az in *omme* < *omne* < *homine*, *somme* < *somne* < *somnu*. The werd *veuf* dœs not contradict this principl, for it iz not rēaly derived from *\*vedvo*; it iz a recent formacion, based on the analojy ov *neuf* beside *neuve*.<sup>1</sup> But suppozing that the derivativ ov *aduolare* miht hav lost *o* in French, another difculty remains. The Latin sound-groop *dw* makes French *v*: *avenir* < *aduenire*, *avis* < *ad uisu*, *avocz* < *aduocatus*, *veve* < *uidua*. Thus *aduolare* wood giv *\*avoler* or *\*avler* az a normal development in erly French. This fact makes the assumed formacion ov *\*advler* impossibl.

We can, houeever, explain *aller* az a derivativ ov *aduolare*. Interjeccions, and other werds so uzed, often undergo chanjes that ar unknown in ordinery speech. Exampels to be found in spoken English ar *kyu* or *kyo* for *thánk you*, *kout* for *look óut*, *mere* for *come hère*. The ferst ov thees iz especialy remarkabl, since it has lost the strest porcion, producing hwot iz otherwise hardly possibl in English: a stressless isolated silabl. We can thærfore assume that *aduolate* and *aduolemus* miht hav become *\*adulate*, *\*adulemus*, or *\*adolate*, *\*adolemus*, by assimilacion ov the sounds *w* and *o*, at a time hwen the inical sound ov *uolo* woz like our *w*. Thees forms,

<sup>1</sup> Nyrop, *Gram. hist. de la langue française*, II, 262, Copenhagen 1903.

corresponding to early French *\*adlez*, *\*adlons*, wood has developed an infinitive *\*adler*, whence later *aller* in accordance with *espalle* < *espadle*. The loss of *w*, in the derivative of *aduolate*, has some fairly close parallels in classic Latin, such as *deorsus* < *\*deuorsos*, *malo* = *mauolo*, *nosse* = *nouisse*, *somnus* < *\*suepnos*, *soror* < *\*suesor*; compare also Spanish *coso* < *consuo*. Or for the loss of *o*, after a semivowel, compare *minus* < *\*minuos*, *secundus* < *\*sequondos*,<sup>2</sup> and Italian *Firenze* < *Fiorenze* < *Florentiae*.

The stem derived from that of *aduolate* and *aduolemus*, with a simple vowel instead of *uo*, would contract to *\*adl-* in later Romanic speech. By assimilation *\*adlemos* could easily become *\*adnemos*: compare Rumanian *cunună* < *corona*, *funingine* < *fuligine*, *seamăn* < *similo*; Sicilian *addiminari* < *addiuinare*, *minnitta* < *uindicta*; Italian *centinare* < *cincturare*, *gnene* = *gliene* < *illi inde*, *mungere* < *mulgere*, *vermena* < *uerbena*; French *concombre* < *cucumere*; Spanish *encina* = Port. *enzinha* < *\*ilicina*, *muermo* = Port. *mormo* < *morbu*, *mimbre* < *vimbre* < *uimen*. The form *\*adnemos* could develop in two ways: to *\*annemos* in accord with Latin *flamma* < *\*flagma*, *scamnum* < *\*scabnom*, *somnus* < *\*suepnos*, Span. *cañado* < *\*cadnado* < *catenatu*, Ital. *spalla* < *spatula*; and to *andemos*, parallel with Span. *candado* < *\*cadnado*, *riendas* < *\*retinas*, *serondo* < *serotinu*, *espalda* < *spatula*, Port. *rendas* (= *rédeas*) < *\*retinas*, *espalda* < *spatula*, French *espalde*<sup>3</sup> < *espadle* < *spatula*, Italian *spalto* < *\*spatulu*. Thus we reach the stems represented by Prov. *annar*, Ital. *andare*, Span. *andar*, Port. *andar*. The older form of Catalan *anar* may have been either *\*adnar* or *\*andar*; compare *preñia* < *prehendebe*, *estona* = German *stunde*. The stem of dialectal Rumanian *imnă* might be explained by *\*amn* . . . < *\*avn* . . . < *\*avlemos* < *\*avolemos*, with normal *v* < *dw*. Rumanian *iz fond* of the sound-group *mn*: *domn* < *dominu*, *lemn* < *lignu*, *pumn* < *pugnu*, *somn* < *somnu*.

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<sup>2</sup> Stolz-Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, 54, München 1910.

<sup>3</sup> *Romania*, XXXV, 104.

## THE RECORD OF A VISIT TO J. C. SCALIGER

THE glamor and the incense which hang about literary reputations were perhaps never brighter nor more fragrant than in the sixteenth century. Let a man attract the eyes of literary Europe, let him speak with authority on things of the mind and, whether or not his life were eased by the gifts of the great, it was certain to be sweetened by the adulation of admiring young literati. An interesting example of this attitude is given in the brief account left by a young humanist, Hubert Sussanneau, of a journey which he made to Agen for the sake of looking upon J. C. Scaliger.

At the time, Scaliger had not yet mounted that Dictator's Chair which he occupied during the latter years of his life; his output in fact had been, so far, inconsiderable,—two or three volumes of Latin verses<sup>1</sup> and one polemical pamphlet. But that vindictive pamphlet was the *Oratio pro Cicerone contra Erasmus*<sup>2</sup> which, despite Erasmus's contemptuous silence, had drawn attention from every side to the middle-aged physician of the Bishop of Agen and had made him enemies and friends by the score. The prestige of the pamphlet had been lessened, it may be, by the publication of Dolet's *Dialogus*,<sup>3</sup> of the same purport, in 1535. Scaliger, in fact, felt angrily that it had; and he had prepared a second reply, even more vigorous than its predecessor, fondly intended for the dispatch of Dolet's pretensions no less than of those of Erasmus. This work he had now sent to Paris for publication, despoiled however of the shafts aimed at Dolet,<sup>4</sup> and its existence had been so well bruited abroad that Erasmus supposed it already in print when it

<sup>1</sup> *Novor. Epigrammatum liber unicus. Ejusdem hymni duo. Ejusd. diva Ludovica Sabaudia*. Paris, Vascosan, 1538.

*Lacrimae (in obitum ducis a Longavilla)*, Paris, Vascosan, 1534.

*Nemesis una cum duobus hymnis*. Paris, Vascosan, 1535.

? *Manes Catulliani*, s. l. n. d.?

<sup>2</sup> Paris, P. Vidoue, 1531.

<sup>3</sup> *Dialogus de Imitatione Ciceroniana adversus Desiderium Erasmus Roteradamum pro Christophoro Longolio*. Lyons, Gryphe, 1535.

<sup>4</sup> For these details, cf. R. C. Christie, *Etienne Dolet* (2nd edition 1899), pp. 201-203.

had in fact not yet found a publisher.<sup>5</sup> This oration, Sussanneau, himself a warm friend and admirer of Dolet, had got sight of in manuscript through Charles Sevin, a common friend of his own and of Scaliger's,<sup>6</sup> in the beginning of the year in which he made his journey. But he shall give his own account of his admiration for it, and of his visit to its author, as he described them in a letter to his friend, Hubert de Pradine, "Huberto Pradinaeo meo," dated from Bordeaux on the fifth of June:<sup>7</sup>

"On the 13th of January, when I was at Paris, I read, by the advice of Charles Sevin, Julius Scaliger's second oration against Erasmus. As I read, it delighted me by both its elegance and its truth: by its elegance, for it preserved not only the sap and vigour but even the style and turn of Cicero;<sup>8</sup> by its truth, because I had gathered from the affair itself and heard from various men of weight who told it, the same thing. And so I began to urge the man<sup>9</sup> to print it soon, that it might more completely appear what eloquence there was in that illustrious man.<sup>10</sup>

Shortly afterwards I left Paris and arrived at Avignon, at which place having tarried barely fifteen days I already began to turn my thoughts towards Aquitaine. As skirmishes were threatening, I bestirred myself to get to Narbonne. When I there ran into a state of things no whit more settled I quickly betook myself to Toulouse. Though I was unwilling to stick in that City, de Pins the Bishop, de Minut the [first] President [of the *Parlement*], Boysonné the professor of law and Vulteius the poet<sup>11</sup> paid me distinguished attention. Burning with eagerness to see Bordeaux, the native place of the famous Ausonius, and most desirous of beholding Scaliger whose works I had seen in Paris, I arrived at Agen after a prosperous journey. O happy arrival! O lovely journey! How much noble talk on eloquence did I not hear from Scaliger? With what becoming counsels did he not plan for me the selection of a suitable kind of life!<sup>12</sup> With what a charm of his own he detained me!

<sup>5</sup> Cf. a letter dated March 11th, 1536, *cit.* Bayle Art: *Erasme*, note L & (96).

<sup>6</sup> One of the correspondents of J. C. Scaliger.

<sup>7</sup> *Cit. partim. latine*, Bayle, art. *Erasme*, note L.

<sup>8</sup> Non omnem modo succam ac sanguinem, sed etiam colorem & speciem. It is interesting to note how closely the XVI Century Ciceronian stuck to his model: Cf. Cic., *Att.* 4, 16, 10, "amisimus omnem non modo sucum et sanguinem, sed etiam colorem et speciem pristinam civitatis."

<sup>9</sup> Sevin?

<sup>10</sup> Quantum in illo heroë esset eloquentiae. Cf., again, Cic., *Att.* 4, 35, "quantum in illo heroe esset aimi."

<sup>11</sup> J. Faciot, thus generally referred to.

<sup>12</sup> "Quibus ille me consiliis ad eligendum genus vite idoneis instruxit."

While this kindest of men was showing me his wonderful library of books, I browsed in it to an extraordinary extent. When he briefly opened to me how accurately he worked out medical science, I immensely enjoyed his gracious charm. May I die if I ever before took sincerer pleasure [in anything]!

In the course of conversation he questioned me about his second oration against Erasmus. I had read it, I said, but in manuscript. He thereupon, somewhat angered, said: O our friends! If friends [in fact] exist anywhere! It ought to have been published a long time ago; the little work was sent several months ago to Paris for this purpose, and news is rarely brought me here because of the long and unsafe journey. Therefore, Sussanneau, I beg you by the Muses and beseech you even with many prayers; if there is anyone at Paris who will attend to commissions of yours, forward by your recommendation the expedition of its publication."

Thereupon Sussanneau undertook to do this through de Pradine, relying upon a promise, given at their parting, that the latter would be to him in all things and on all occasions a second self. And this is the occasion of his letter to him, as he tells him:

"And so, my Hubert,—he continues,—Hubert writes to you so that you may see that your part is to secure that the brilliant body [of the book] be stained by no shameful blemish, and to bring all diligence to bear that it may be published as faultlessly as possible. Further, to arrange the business no one seems more suitable than P. Vidoue. This I wish you would consider among the most important and necessary matters. Farewell. Bordeaux, June the fifth."

And de Pradine did his share, for Scaliger's oration was duly published by Vidoue with Sussanneau's letter to de Pradine as a preface:

*Iulii Caesaris Scali/geri adversus Des. Erasmi/ Roteroda. Dialogum Ciceronianum/ Oratio secunda./ . . . apud P. Vidouaeum. MDXXXVII.*<sup>13</sup>

It will be remarked that no date has thus far been assigned to the pilgrimage of Sussanneau to Agen, and indeed it is difficult

<sup>13</sup> Bib. Nat. inv. X 17729.

Bayle notes that the rarity of the second oration may be due to destruction of the edition by friends of Erasmus, perhaps by his request before he died, since it could naturally not have been destroyed by Erasmus' own agents, as Joseph Scaliger asserts. (*Scaligerana, Erasme* (ed. Amst. MDCCXL, p. 311)) Bayle art. *Erasme*, note L.

to assign one for the following reasons: Like de la Monnoie,<sup>14</sup> the *Biographie Universelle* and other authorities, R. C. Christie asserts that the book was actually published in December, 1536, though dated 1537 "in accordance with the vicious practice early introduced amongst publishers and not yet obsolete."<sup>15</sup> He gives no grounds for this, but his unsurpassed accuracy makes it probable that he had other reasons besides the obvious one which gives this position a formidable air of strength. For Erasmus died in July 1536 and not only would the publication of the oration have been idle, as well as more ungenerous than even Scaliger would like to appear, if published so long as eleven months, or a year, after that event, but it appears at first blush improbable that Sussanneau would have spoken in the terms he did of the "truth" of the Oration and of his delight in it, if the object of its attack had been dead six months at the time he read it. And yet there are considerations drawn from the life of Sussanneau which make it probable that such was indeed the case.

In 1536 Sussanneau published his *Dictionarium Ciceronianum*, which, the first of its kind,<sup>16</sup> has somewhat the air of deliberately braving the ridicule which Erasmus had attached to the idea of such a work by his fancy of the Ciceronian lexicon of Nosoponus. In the dedication of this work to the celebrated Bishop of Coutances, Philippe de Cossé, dated from Paris the first of March, Sussanneau speaks of a journey to Italy begun in October,<sup>17</sup> which had involved a year's interruption of lectures now resumed. On the way to Italy, he had stopped in Lyons and had done some editorial or correcting work for Sebastian Gryphe.<sup>18</sup> There he encountered Dolet, at that time connected with Gryphe and occupied with the composition of his *Commentaria Linguae Latinae*,<sup>19</sup> and was so

<sup>14</sup> Cit. Bayle, art. *Erasme*, note L.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 203, n.

<sup>16</sup> The nearest thing to it was:

*Apparatus latinae locutionis ex M. T. Cicerone, Caesare, Sallustio, Terentio, Plauto, ad Herennium, Asconio, Celso, ac de re Rustica, Per Bartholomeaeum Riccium Lugensem in summ ordinem descriptus. Pars Prima.* . . . Venice, M.D. XXXIII. B. N. inv. X 226.

<sup>17</sup> Sub festum divi Remigii. *Dic Cic.* fol. 2 r°.

<sup>18</sup> I. e. Superintendence of the correction of some works of Cic. Hor. & Cyprian, *ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, and cf. R. C. Christie, *op. cit.*, p. 236.



immensely struck by Dolet's ability and learning as to ask his counsel relative to his own composition. Now Dolet, who had first gone to Lyons in August 1534, had left it at the end of that year for a visit to Paris and returned early in 1535, the date at which his meeting with Sussanneau<sup>20</sup> is placed by R. C. Christie, his biographer.

If this conjecture is correct and Sussanneau returned to Paris in the autumn of 1535, it is very singular that, in giving a detailed account of his Italian journey in the dedication of the *Dictionarium Ciceronianum* of March 1536, he should not mention that he had again, as he tells de Pradine in his edition of Scaliger, left Paris shortly after the 13th of January, and been to Avignon, Narbonne, Toulouse, and Agen; and it is equally singular that, three months later than his Paris letter to Cossé, he should be writing an account of this journey to de Pradine dated not from Paris but from Bordeaux; for from this we should have to suppose that he had returned from Italy in the autumn of 1535 and resumed his lectures, left it for a journey in January, been in Paris again in March and written of the resumption of his work as if it had not since been interrupted, and been in Bordeaux in June writing about a journey in that neighborhood which had been begun shortly after January. This looks unlikely enough, but, besides this, the Municipal Archives of Grenoble show that on the 28th of April 1536 Sussanneau was appointed to a mastership in the municipal school there, presented by the principal *de facto* Guiges Didier, by whom he had apparently been fetched straight from Paris, "quem a civitate Parisiense huc conduxit."<sup>21</sup> He was certainly in Grenoble on May 4th, when the

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* It is certainly highly improbable that it took place at the only other admissible time, *i. e.*, after Dolet's arrival at Lyons in August 1534, for in 1534 after visiting Lyons Sussanneau made a journey to Italy, including a considerable sojourn at Turin, where he lectured and had time to make numerous friends. He stopped on his way home for a while at Dijon and seems to have been back again in Paris after not more than the year's absence. And again, even if we were to accept this hypothesis and suppose Sussanneau to have begun his journey in October 1533 and concluded it in October 1534, writing his dedication in March 1535, we should have to suppose that the *Dictionarium Ciceronianum*, no less than the *Oratio* of Scaliger, was published a year earlier than its date, in 1535 *i. e.* though dated 1536. In view of these difficulties everything points to the correctness of R. C. Christie's conjecture as to the date of the meeting of Dolet and Sussanneau.

<sup>21</sup> *Archives municipales*, Grenoble, April 28th, 1536. Reg. BB 77, fol. 62 v°.

consuls were debating the refusal of the Dean's vicar to install him,<sup>22</sup> and on the following day, when an agreement was made between him, Didier, and another incumbent.<sup>23</sup> His post, we are told, was vacated by August 4th because he had been guilty of disorderly conduct, and had fled from Grenoble shortly before that date;<sup>24</sup> but we must suppose him in the interval performing the duties of his office, and these would certainly be inconsistent with a journey to Bordeaux within a month of his appointment.

All this indicates that the journey to Agen must have taken place, the letter to de Pradine have been written, and Scaliger's second oration have been published, in 1537,<sup>25</sup> the date which the latter bears on its title page. And it may be noted moreover that, in his letter to de Pradine dated June 5th, Sussanneau speaks of impending troubles—"impendentibus bellis"—at Avignon and even at Narbonne, whereas not only did the Emperor's troops not enter Provence until towards the end of July 1536, but, though there were earlier rumours of the Emperor's intentions, Francis I only held his deliberative council on plans of defense in the middle of May and despatched his captains southward at the end of that month,<sup>26</sup> and it is natural to conclude that Sussanneau was arrived in Avignon by the middle of May if not earlier. In 1537, on the other hand, the war was being conducted in Piedmont by de Humières, who was given his commission on the 8th of March, and by May reinforcements were marching thither from Artois by way of Lyons,<sup>27</sup> quite near enough to cause rumours of war in Avignon. But to assign the date of 1537 to Sussanneau's letter and to the publication of the *Oratio* still leaves us to reckon with the more than ungenerous

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 63 r°.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* fol. 64 v°.

<sup>24</sup> Quia dominus Ymbertus Suzaneus hiis novissimis diebus ad certas violencias in hujus modi civitate processit propter quas ab eadem confugit. . . . *Ibid.* fol. 90.

<sup>25</sup> The date of 1535 would, of course, be more definitely out of the question than 1536, since the letter of Erasmus to Marvolius and Laurentius, which occasioned Scaliger's second oration, was not written until March, nor reached Scaliger until April 1535. R. C. Christie, *op. cit.*, p. 202-203. La Monnoie says it reached Scaliger on September 12th *cit.* Bayle art. *Erasmus*, note L.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. DuBellay, *Mémoires*, Soc. de l'Hist. de France, III, pp. 31 & 40.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 396 & 404.

treatment by Scaliger of a dead adversary<sup>28</sup> to whose memory we know he wished at least to appear to make amends,<sup>29</sup> and with scarcely less ungenerous behaviour on the part of the author of the *Dictionarium Ciceronianum*.

On the other hand in a letter to Omphalius, dated May 4th 1536,<sup>30</sup> Scaliger expresses, at length and with emphasis, his willingness and indeed his lively desire to be reconciled with Erasmus. While he may have done this to please Omphalius, immensely flattered as he was by a visit from him, yet he need not have expressed himself so warmly on the subject had he not meant what he said. After some extreme compliments to Omphalius, Scaliger proceeds:

"Therefore my Omphalius, since such is the extent of your kindness to me, you shall easily gain from me a favour which, on account of your innumerable excellences, you should spontaneously have received from me. Accept the freedom of my affection which you shall pass on to Erasmus. I intrust it (my affection) to your care, so that out of it you may promise to whom you will that all is quieted, pacified, tranquil, affable, in fine, and even affectionate (*pia*). I yield this to your kindness, to my own mildness, to the splendor of his name, to his esteemed learning, to his benefits towards the Republic of letters, to which he devoted his leisure and did not hesitate in the least to exchange his ease for the ease of the Republic. By this good nature let him indeed perceive that I stood aloof from him just to the extent that he seemed about to fail his defence of eloquence. I have, Omphalius, the same feeling for my candor that I had for my defence of Cicero, with as much justifica-

<sup>28</sup> Cf. the verses to Erasmus deceased, in the *Heroes*, *Des. Erasmo Roterdamo* beginning

"Tu ne etiam moreris? an quid me linquis Erasme  
Ante, meus quam sit conciliatus amor?"

*Poemata omnia*, in Bibliopolio Commeliniiano, MDCXXI, p. 301 And cf. *Scaligerana*, art. *Erasme* (Amst. MDCCXL, p. 311 & 312). "Poenituit patrem adversus illum scripsisse . . . cum postea pater vidit reliqua Erasmi opera, vidit se errasse quod contra illum scripsisset."

<sup>29</sup> Jacob Omphalius of Andernach, professor at Cologne, author of several latin works, among them a commentary in *ciceronis orat.* 3. He died in 1570 (Jocher).

<sup>30</sup> *Jacobo Omphalio. Jul. Caes. Scaligeri Epistolae & orationes*. Hanover, MDCXII, p. 275. (MCVII) ("Elle est la XVII<sup>e</sup> dans l'ed. de Toulouse." Bayle, *loc. cit.*, note 83 (edpst. aliquot . . . acc. . . . opuscula et Fragmenta praef. in Aristot. hist. de animalibus. Toulouse, 1620?)).

tion and even more. And so I promise that all my counsels, all my strength, advantages, constancy, dignity, spirit and my very self shall be in your loyal charge and in your power.

But I beg you, Omphalius, who show me that so much good and peace awaits me in the Republic [of letters], look to it that, what I do by reason of your kindness and my own, I may not seem to have done through a kind of fear. For your evidence is very telling and weighty.

I shall consider it enough to have laid aside, on the heart of the most eloquent of men, a quarrel with an eloquent man undertaken in behalf of eloquence; especially since Erasmus himself has now at last taken off that mask fatal to eloquence and has repudiated his former view; wherefore you will see that the popular supporters of his way of thinking are fallen in spirit.

.....

Indeed I always admired him as a man endowed with literary merits numerous and great; I revered his labours, vigils, works. For this very reason I took it extremely ill that the principles of eloquence should be perverted by one whom I had really set up as a guide for myself when I was young, and in my old age had proposed to set up as such for my children. . . . I, indeed, am supported by a clear and open conscience, in that I did what in a manner ought to have been done by Erasmus for himself, a thing which, in fact, partly undertaken by me, he at length accomplished so as to be reconciled with Cicero. For he bears witness to this in a recent letter affixed to the *Tusculanae quaestiones*. Therefore I consider that I have a sufficient share of praise and glory, not in that I routed so great a general but in that he followed my opinion.

And so, when with sudden good sense he either did away with or changed that proscription of the flowers of eloquence<sup>31</sup> so disastrous to the Republic [of letters], he brought consolation to my good name, which was being impudently attacked by the outcries of light and shameless sciolists. . . . One thing remains, my Omphalius, that, our dissensions set aside<sup>32</sup> and laid in the very lap of courteous good sense, we should, as a result of your persuasion and exhortation to our reconciliation, put an end to our quarrel,—a quarrel which, undertaken from the very zeal of literature, may indeed easily defile its purity and reserve. Nor has that anger any bounds to which we are very easily moved when caught in our mistakes, and it grows by the daily incitement of party cries. . . . as for him, what his disposition towards me may be I neither know

<sup>31</sup> Eloquentium proscriptionem.

<sup>32</sup> *I. e.*, his own & Erasmus'.

nor am able to guess; except that I certainly think him to be hostile in the extreme. If this matter fans previous disagreements I easily yield. For nothing could befall me more glorious than to have kept back his attack from the Republic [of letters], nor anything more advantageous than, when he had become my enemy on account of it, to have surpassed him in good-will. Farewell. May 4th, Agen, 1536."

In spite of its irritating touches of pompous magnanimity, this letter certainly indicates, on the whole, a serious desire to make peace with Erasmus. Scaliger's interview with Sussanneau must, if it took place in 1536, have occurred either shortly before or immediately after he penned this letter. In the latter case Scaliger would be doing an almost incredible thing in urging Sussanneau to publish the second oration, and even in the former case it remains extremely unlikely that, after thus expressing himself, he should allow Sussanneau, who must have been still within easy reach, to proceed to carry out his injunctions.

Is it not in fact easier to believe that, a year after Erasmus's death, Scaliger, regretting the sacrifice of a cherished book, pushed its publication, hoping that if it were published it might appear, at worst, to have been allowed to see the light as a mere exercise in Ciceronianism whose merits the author was unwilling to consign to obscurity, though its occasion was past; or, at best, to have got beyond its author's control before he was aware of Erasmus's death<sup>32a</sup> and to have been issued without his sanction? The latter plan, it is true, would be rendered abortive by Sussanneau's frank letter, unless (which is hardly credible) they both felt they could still pretend to be ignorant of Erasmus's death as late as the summer of 1537.

Sussanneau's visit to Scaliger may shed some light upon yet another small point. Christie points out<sup>33</sup> that Dolet lost the friendship of Sussanneau about 1537 or 1538. In 1536 Sussanneau, as we have seen, had spoken of Dolet with enthusiastic admiration, whereas in the *Ludi* of 1538 there are three epigrams *In Medimum* which, as Christie shows, were clearly directed against his former

<sup>32a</sup> Scaliger's own dedicatory letter to Pierre de Rubri is dated the 25th of October, 1535.

<sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 317.

friend.<sup>34</sup> It is not even necessary to suppose, as does his biographer, that Dolet had sacrificed the friendship of Sussanneau by the defects of his own disposition. It is enough to assume that the latter's esteem for Dolet was not strong enough, after the lapse of a year, to withstand the attacks of Scaliger's vindictive fury, once Sussanneau had lost his heart to the physician of Agen. And, though of no weight as evidence, the fact that Sussanneau's change of front towards Dolet showed itself first in 1538 may strengthen the circumstantial evidence which goes to indicate that Sussanneau's visit to Agen, and hence, the publication of the *Adversus Des. Erasmi . . . Dialogum Ciceronianum Oratio Secunda*, took place in 1537.

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

## REVIEWS

*The Fairy-Faith in Celtic Countries* by W. Y. EVANS WENTZ. Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1911. 8vo. Pp. xxviii, 524.

This is a most curious book. An earlier form of it appeared in 1909, as a dissertation offered for the degree of Docteur ès Lettres of the University of Rennes, which has been rewritten, enlarged in scope, and supplemented with new materials. The thesis maintained is nothing less than the actual existence of fairies, which the author thinks he has scientifically shown, by what he calls his psychological theory, to rest "upon a logical and solid foundation" (515). To follow his arguments, step by step, through a maze of details taken from the diverse fields of folk-lore, archaeology, anthropology, medieval Celtic and French literatures, comparative religion, psychopathic psychology, and telepathy, is a more difficult task than to refute them.

Dr. Wentz in writing a large book on Celtic traditions has followed in the path of a certain school of English and American writers, who talk much about Celtic influences, without being acquainted with any of the Celtic languages. For this reason the evidence that he presents, taken from "living Celts who either believe in fairies, or else say that they have seen fairies," is less authoritative than what he would have found in the books he disdains to use, such as Curtin's *Tales of the Fairies*, and J. G. Campbell's *Superstitions of the Scottish Highlands*, and *Witchcraft and Second Sight in the Scottish Highlands*. However, it is the first part of the book (1-282), in which the author has put the results of his inquiries, gained chiefly through interpreters, that has some original value in the confirmatory evidence it presents for some phases of popular belief.

Dr. Wentz has very little to say about witchcraft (261-4) and seems not to be at all acquainted with the literature of the subject. This is unfortunate, because if he had read the works of such learned witchmongers as Rémy, Bodin and de Lancre, they would have supplied him with information, which matches and supplements his own, on the part played by daemons, familiar spirits, and magical operations from classical times. The evidence, oral and printed, that both he and they present to prove their respective theses, is often identical, and is just as good in one case as in the other, however different may have been the aim of their arguments. Dr. Wentz is as credulous in taking seriously the statements of uncultured people, who rose to the occasion in answering his suggestive questions, as his bloodthirsty predecessors in the animistic world were in believing their rack-tortured victims, who were ready to confess anything suggested to them. In the course of the book there are astonishing instances of a lack of critical literary judgment, and surprising lapses of information. The author cites Malory's *Morte Darthur* as equally authoritative for Celtic beliefs as the Welsh triads (310ff.); Foerster's edition of the *Conte de la Charrete* is unknown to him (311) and he cites as a popular tale the well known story, adopted from Nennius by Geoffrey of Monmouth, of the prophecies of the fatherless boy, Merlin (436-7). Still the book deserves a place in any folk-

lore collection, both for the first-hand information it contains, and because it is itself a curious product of folk-literature.

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- (A) *La Española de Florencia* (ó *Burlas Veras, y Amor Invencionero*). Comedia Famosa de Don Pedro Calderón de la Barca. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes by S. L. MILLARD ROSENBERG. Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Series in Romanic Languages and Literatures, No. 5. Philadelphia, 1911.
- (B) *Las Burlas Veras*. Comedia Famosa de Lope de Vega Carpio. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by S. L. Millard Rosenberg, Ph.D. Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Department of Romanic Languages and Literatures. Extra Series, No. 2. Philadelphia, 1912.

Dr. Rosenberg merits the thanks of every *aficionado* of the Spanish drama not only for having furnished an authoritative text of these entertaining *comedias*, but for having definitely settled a long existent controversy about their authorship.

(A) His text of *La Española de Florencia* is based upon that appearing in the twelfth part of *Comedias Nuevas Escogidas* (Madrid, 1658), and only when unavoidable have emendations been suggested or variants introduced from the undated Leefdael and Padrino *sueltas*.

After having given a detailed account of these editions, as well as the second and third impressions of *Comedias Nuevas Escogidas* (all of great rarity), Dr. Rosenberg takes up the long mooted question of authorship. He states that in all extant prints of *La Española de Florencia* Calderón appears as author; and rightly, since the play is written in his typical manner. Unfortunately, Calderón himself included it among forty of his supposititious *comedias*, and omitted it from a list of genuine works he drew up in 1680. This led his biographer, Vera Tassis, to consider it as spurious. Dr. Rosenberg shows, however, that Calderón omitted several of his genuine plays from the 1680 list; that he took little interest in his secular pieces; and that the above mentioned table of spurious *comedias* is not entirely trustworthy. When pirated editions of his plays appeared, it seems that Calderón disowned some of these mutilated pieces, and the editor believes this to be the case with *La Española de Florencia*. Even the text in the *Comedias Escogidas* shows that many unauthorized changes have doubtless crept into the original. But, for all, the Calderonian stamp still remains, as Dr. Rosenberg amply demonstrates. Moreover, from strong internal evidence he concludes that the *comedia* figures among the author's early works, and was written while he was still under Tirso's influence—probably about 1630.

*La Española de Florencia* has often been attributed to Lope de Vega, continues the editor, and Barrera went so far as to suggest that it might be identical with his *Las Burlas de Amor*, mentioned in the list of his *comedias* in the *Prólogo* to the *Peregrino*. This view was shared by Stiefel, who, besides supposing the two plays to be identical with another of Lope's, *Las Burlas Veras*, believed that internal evidence in *La Española de Florencia* proved Lope's authorship. Evidently, neither he nor Barrera had *Las Burlas Veras* at their disposal for comparison. And little wonder, since so rare is it that Dr. Rosenberg was able



to locate only one copy, a *suelta*, in the British Museum. A comparison of this with *La Española de Florencia* shows them to be widely dissimilar, both in subject and in style.

The confusion that has existed between the three above mentioned *comedias* has been increased by two other plays of similar title. One, *Las Burlas Veras*, is by Julian de Armendarez, found in manuscript in the R. Biblioteca Palatina at Parma; the other, an anonymous piece entitled *Burlas Veras, y Enredos de Benito*. Restori states that the manuscript at Parma was either a copy of one of Lope's plays, or the only original *comedia* of Armendarez that has survived. It is evident that he had not seen Lope's *Las Burlas Veras*, for Armendarez's sole surviving piece has nothing in common either with it or with any of the other *Burlas Veras* versions. The anonymous *Burlas Veras, y Enredos de Benito* is likewise very dissimilar from Lope's *Las Burlas Veras* and *La Española de Florencia*. By whom it was written is much disputed. But there can be no reason for questioning the authenticity of the *suelta*, *Las Burlas Veras*, printed under Lope's name. That he is also the author, however, of *La Española de Florencia* cannot be admitted, whether on stylistic or other grounds. Dr. Rosenberg further states that to Stiefel is due the discovery of the chief source of *La Española de Florencia*, in an Italian comedy of the sixteenth century, *GI'Ingannati*, whose plot was used many times in Italian, Spanish and Latin plays. Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* came from a Latin adaptation of *GI'Ingannati*, and not from *La Española de Florencia*, as has at times been supposed.

Having thus so definitely settled the long existent dispute about *La Española de Florencia*, the editor takes up the relations of *Las Burlas Veras* with *Burlas de Amor*. No copy of the latter has survived, and (so far as known) only a single *suelta* of *Burlas Veras*. Unfortunately it is without date, so we cannot tell whether or not it preceded the appearance of Lope's *Peregrino* (1604), in the *Prólogo* of which *Burlas de Amor* is cited. We have, then, two alternatives: either *Burlas Veras* was written after 1604, and *Burlas de Amor*, a different play, has been lost (like many another of Lope's); or Lope, in the *Prólogo*, deliberately changed the title *Burlas Veras* to *Burlas de Amor*. The latter supposition Dr. Rosenberg thinks more likely, since Lope may have wished to distinguish his *comedia* from contemporary pieces of like title, and especially from the *Burlas Veras* of Armendarez, his hated rival. A passage in a letter of Lope, dated 1604, tends to support such a theory; and numerous quotations by the editor from *Burlas Veras* show the title *Burlas de Amor* to be equally appropriate. A detailed plot of the *comedia*, a metrical scheme, and abundant notes add to the usefulness and interest of the edition.

(B) So interdependent are *Las Burlas Veras*, *La Española de Florencia* and the other *comedias* of similar title, that in the Introduction to his critical edition of *Las Burlas Veras* Dr. Rosenberg must necessarily discuss questions already treated in his *Española de Florencia*. These same questions he has considered from a different viewpoint, however—that of *Las Burlas Veras*.

After stating that both the interest and the rarity of the *comedia* seem to make a critical edition desirable, he recounts in detail the confusion that had so long existed between *Burlas Veras* and the three plays of similar title, mentioned in (A). The authenticity of *Burlas Veras* is then discussed, and abundant and conclusive reasons advanced to prove it to be of Lope.

Dr. Rosenberg has been unable to discover "any convincing source or

historic basis" for the action of the piece in any of the *crónicas* accessible to him. He deems the plot to be the pure invention of the author, and observes that three other plays of Lope offer the same situation as the main theme (a princely suitor disguised as secretary to a princess of whom he is enamored, and whom he finally weds). The entire list of *dramatis personae* is representative of Lope, but the *gracioso* is especially characteristic. A number of excerpts go to prove this.

It is impossible to determine exactly when *Burlas Veras* was written. The apparently single copy that has survived is undated, and names no publisher or place of publication. Further, the *comedia* itself contains no reference that would throw light on the question. Dr. Rosenberg makes plain, however, that the maturity of the style, as well as the appearance of the *gracioso*, preclude the piece from being one of Lope's youthful efforts. His two earliest plays in which a *gracioso* is found, were written, one about, the other in, the year 1599; therefore it is unlikely that *Burlas Veras* saw the light before that year. The editor suggests a date about 1602 or 1603.

After discussing the relations between *Burlas Veras* and *Burlas de Amor*, and suggesting that they are identical and that Lope deliberately changed the latter title to the former on account of his rival Armendarez, the editor tells all that is known of the enmity of the two authors. It is probable their rivalry dates from about 1603, but the cause thereof is obscure.

The excellently printed volume is embellished with three photographic facsimiles of the title pages of *La Española de Florencia*, the anonymous *Burlas Veras*, y *Enredos de Benito* and Armendarez's *Burlas Veras*. A metrical scheme is also added. So scholarly are both the editions reviewed, that it is to be hoped the promised appearance of Armendarez's *comedia* and the anonymous *Burlas* will not be long delayed.

GEORGE W. BACON.

WYNCOTE, PENNA.

*Défense de la Poésie Française à l'Usage des Lecteurs Anglais.* Par EMILE LEGOUIS, Professeur de Langue et Littérature Anglaises à la Sorbonne. Paris, Hachette; London, Constable & Co., 1912. Pp. vi, 151.

The volume of Professor Legouis, who visited this country last year, is composed of four lectures delivered at the University of London and repeated by request at Oxford. These pages are of charming tact and delicacy, and their modesty is only surpassed by their urbanity. The occasion—a defense of French poetry against the usual censure of English criticism—required in the lecturer a constant balance of rare qualities.

M. Legouis finds that English opinion hostile to French poetry dates from Dryden's severe, yet seemingly flattering statement: "Impartially speaking, the French are as much better critics than the English, as they are worse poets." He passes to the specious condemnation by Coleridge, as seen in his deadly arrangement of national qualities in pairs: "reason and understanding,—imagination and fancy,—humor and wit": the golden terms of these pairs Coleridge gave to the English or the Germans, the silver terms (understanding, fancy, wit), to their Gallic neighbors. He follows this with an illuminating discussion of the systematic, violent criticism of such men as Carlyle, De Quincey and Landor.

M. Legouis then considers Matthew Arnold's condemnation of Hugo and other French poets, his laudation of lyrics by Shakespeare and Heine (p. 16 ss.). No part of the book is more brilliant than this in which the author smilingly refutes the sofism of Arnold. M. Legouis offers intentionally only a choice from among English detractors of French poetry, and his choice is fairly and intelligently made. He cud have cited scores of other critics, but refrains because of the lack of space. In a longer treatise, he wud probably have cited two well-known lines in which Pope appears to admit that, thanks to the genius of Corneille and Racine, France has something to admire, and perhaps John Wesley's strident vituperations against the French language, which close: "It is as impossible to write a fine poem in French as to make fine music from a jewsharp." If he had descended as far as Mr. George Saintsbury, he wud have found a man skilful in ringing all the changes on the criticism of Dryden, as when he says (*Miscellaneous Essays*, p. 322): "Thus the French have never produced any man with that combination of sense of the vague, of imagination, and of humor which goes to make the highest poetry; and I am not sure that we have ever produced any one with that mixture of sobriety, inventiveness, precision, wit, and critical spirit which goes to make the highest and most perfect prose." In passing, one may be pardond for noting how admirably Mr. Saintsbury's statement is manufacturd strictly for the local market! The same critic says somewhere else that the average Briton is convinst in his heart of hearts that French poetry is something very like a contradiction of terms, and that the history of poetry in France is as the history of the Icelandic Owl. M. Legouis intentionally neglected another source of testimony as to English contempt for French poetry: English poets and prose riters have occasionally utterd more or less rapsodical lists of "sweet poets" whom they adore. Mrs. Browning, for example, in her *Vision of Poets* mentions about thirty-four such poets, only two of whom are French,—Corneille and Racine (fourteen English poets, I believe, appear in this list!). Again, one will scan in vain Sydney Lanear's *The Crystal* in search of a French poet, and Chopin, a semi-Frenchman only (whence perhaps this glory) is the only Gallic name in the number of poets, musicians and painters mentiond by Lanear in *Clover*.

In defining those English critics who have followd the false but "taking" formula of Coleridge, M. Legouis might have said with La Bruyère: "Où ils voient l'agréable, ils en excluent le solide; où ils croient découvrir les grâces du corps, l'agilité, la souplesse, la dextérité, ils ne veulent plus y admettre les dons de l'âme, la profondeur, la réflexion, la sagesse."<sup>1</sup>

The second chapter, *Scops et Trouvères*, offers a remarkable comparison between Old French and Anglo-Saxon poetry. The author very properly commences with a comparison of the material qualities of the two languages, and the skild fonetician even will find in these pages a number of happy and successful characterizations. In reading the first twenty pages of this chapter, one

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<sup>1</sup> Didactic solidity is a well-nown trait of English non-dramatic verse. John Bunyan's lines in his *Author's Apology to Pilgrim's Progress* may be cited as typical:

Solidity indeed becomes the pen  
Of him who writeth things divine to men.

shud compare the more voluminous discussion of Professor Walter Morris Hart, *Ballad and Epic* in the *Harvard Studies in Philology and Literature*. The author finds that the common-places—the "clichés"—of Anglo-Saxon poetry are scenes of fright and violence, of gloom and terror: "D'où une atmosphère grise, ténébreuse même, créée par la collaboration du langage avec le sentiment"; and, finally: "poésie puissante, monocorde et nocturne" (pp. 43, 44). Old French poetry appears to him bathed in sunlight: *clarté, lumière blanche*: "Le propre de la langue d'oïl était en somme moins le coloris que la simple lueur, la lumière blanche, ou encore cette transparence de l'eau de roche ou d'une fontaine pure sur un lit de sable fin" (p. 46). He cites:

En un vergier lez une fontenelle  
Dont clere est l'onde et blanche la gravele  
Siet fille a roi, sa main a sa maxele:  
En sospirant son doux ami rapele . . .

The author quotes and discusses a number of characteristic passages from the Old French epic. He draws attention to the prevalent joy, hope, latent vigor, resilience, and says of the national heroes: "On n'a jamais avec eux, comme avec les héros anglo-saxons, l'impression que le grand ressort de la vie, qui est l'amour de la vie, est brisé." He adds (p. 55): "Le jour et la joie entraient dans la littérature anglaise avec le chant que Taillefer faisait retentir à Hastings." M. Legouis, after several pages of brilliant analysis, closes this section of his book with the most perfect criticism which has ever been written of the exquisit *Gaïeté et Oriour*.

In his third lecture, *Au Grand Siècle*, M. Legouis considers English criticism of the XVIIth century French poetry. The facts limit the discussion largely to dramatic poetry. The reader will find here a dispassionate yet firm and earnest defence of the French Alexandrin and of French dramatic verse. The argument against the alleged monotony of the Alexandrin is the most skilful and convincing to be found. Such comparisons as this are frequent: "L'alexandrin classique avec sa coupe médiane me fait plutôt penser, lui, à quelque grand oiseau planant, le corps faisant césure entre les deux ailes. Le vers anglais saisit la pensée dans ses replis, souvent avec une force de prise incomparable. Le vers français s'ouvre, s'étale, s'épanouit au-dessus d'elle" (p. 91). While the description of the English heroic line seems to me to err in not laying sufficient emphasis on its jerkiness and erratic violence—qualities certainly not artistic—that of the French line appears to me thoroughly adequate.<sup>1</sup> Students of English will read with closest interest M. Legouis' statement of the defects and limitations—due doubtless to prevailing taste—of the style of Shakespeare (pp. 95-114).

The fourth and last lecture, *De Nos Jours*, treats of a period entirely outside the scope of this *Review*. Lovers of literature, however, may be pleased to no that they will find here an enthusiastic yet merited laudation of the lamented Auguste Angellier, especially of his sonnets *A l'Amie Perdue* (Hachette). Of the three sonnets cited, two might with advantage for English readers have been

<sup>1</sup> English taste in meter is illuminatingly reflected in the language of a recent reviewer of Churchill: "His lines have something of the robustness and tempestuous disregard of regularity which lend strength to Dryden."

replaced by others. I say this with some hesitation, realizing the difficulty of making an absolute choice among the one hundred and eighty four exquisite sonnets of this, the rarest and most perfect garland of love sonnets ever woven! Let one sit down alone and read aloud the first sonnets in this collection. In a few moments, one will catch what appear to be accents from a profound, sincere and tragically sad voice,—which seems almost that of the dead poet as he must at times have read these verses in his bitter solitude.

M. Legouis has—perhaps thru discretion—neglected the moral consideration which is probably back of much English censure of things French. The English appear to have taxed always several of their neighbors with immorality, and to have, little by little, fortified their conscience by creating a new standard of morality. One could form a long series of English opinions like that of King Henry after Azincourt. He is reported to have said to Charles d'Orléans: "Car on dit que oncques plus grand désordre de voluptés, de péchés et de mauvais vices ne fut vu, comme ceux qui règnent en France aujourd'hui. C'est pitié de l'ouïr recorder et horreur aux écoutants. Et si Dieu en est courroucé, ce n'est pas merveille et nul ne s'en doit ébahir" (cited by Pierre Champion, *Vie de Charles d'Orléans*, p. 153, Paris, 1911). The French being, in the English mind, grossly immoral, it followed that their art and literature—especially their poetry, which is the crowning glory of literature—must be lacking in the highest qualities. While one cannot apply rigorously such a general principle of interpretation as is here indicated, I am convinced that it will serve to explain in large measure English distaste for French poetry. Various other explanations of this phenomenon have of course appeared; see, for example: Brander Mathews, *International Quarterly*, VII (1903), pp. 25, 30; and Henry Van Dyke, *Scribner's*, XLIX (1911), p. 707.

R. W.

## NOTES AND NEWS

The friends and former pupils of Emile Picot presented him with a memorial volume, entitled *Mélanges offerts à M. Emile Picot*, on the fifth of June.

On the 9th of June, a dinner was offered Professor G. L. Kittredge, to celebrate the completion of the twenty-fifth year of his service as a teacher at Harvard University. Professor C. H. Grandgent presided. More than one hundred friends and former pupils of Professor Kittredge sat down to dinner. The gift to the library of a fund of more than \$4,000 in honor of Professor Kittredge was announced, and he was presented with a memorial volume containing articles by forty five contributors. The volume is published by Ginn & Co.

Mr. C. H. Conrad Wright, of Harvard University, has been promoted to the chair of French language and literature.

Dr. Oliver M. Johnston, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University, has been promoted to the professorship of Romance languages.

Dr. J. P. Rice of Acadia University has accepted an assistant professorship in Romance languages at Williams College.

Professor Adolphe Terracher, of Johns Hopkins University, has accepted a call to the University of Liverpool.

Professor Stanley L. Galpin of Amherst College has been elected to the chiefship in Romance languages at Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

Francisco Mez de Medinilla, Bárbara de Braganza, 12, 4°, offers to provide at reasonable price photographs done in *blanc sur noir*, of manuscripts, documents and rare prints existing at Madrid.

The fourth volume of Professor Nyrop's monumental *Grammaire historique de la Langue Française* has appeared with the imprint of A. Picard et Fils, 82, rue Bonaparte, Paris.

Students of Arthurian literature will welcome the new volume of the Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur: *Gunbaut, altfranzösischer Artusroman des 13 Jahrhunderts*. The text was copied by Wendelin Foerster from the unique MS. of Chantilly, and critically edited by the late Jakob Stürzinger, whose work was revised and added to by Dr. H. Breuer.

Adjunct Professor Frederick Curry Ostrander of the University of Texas died at New York on March 24, after a painful illness, endured with fortitude. Professor Ostrander was born at Kingston, N. Y., in 1871, and graduated from Wesleyan University in 1893. He went to Europe in 1895, and studied at Leipzig, Berlin and Geneva, remaining two years. From 1902 to 1903 he was Fellow in Romance languages at Columbia University, and for the following year served as Columbia's International Fellow at Paris. From 1904 to 1905, he was lecturer in Romance languages at Columbia, and then taught for two years at Western Reserve University. He was connected with the University of Texas from 1907 until his fatal illness. He took his Ph.D. at Columbia in June, 1911. It is expected that his dissertation, an edition of the Old French poem, *Roman dou Lis*, will soon be published.

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## RICHEUT, OLD FRENCH POEM OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND GLOSSARY.

THE Old French poem Richeut is preserved in the well-known manuscript no. 354 of the library of Berne, fol. 125 verso, col. 1 to fol. 135 verso, col. 1. This manuscript,<sup>1</sup> which is perhaps of the thirteenth rather than of the fourteenth century as given in Hagen's catalogue, is in the Champagne dialect and shows considerable evidence of carelessness on the part of the copyist. The proportionally large number of obscure passages in our poem may be due to his negligence, or that of a preceding copyist, as well as to our necessarily limited knowledge of the language of the *lechëor* of the 12th century. The poem was not included in the collection of fabliaux by Montaiglon and Raynaud and we have, therefore, only the edition of Méon in his *Nouveau Recueil de Fabliaux et Contes*, vol. 1, 38-59. In this edition, made on the basis of the Sainte-Palaye copy of the manuscript, a considerable number of misreadings and omissions have been added to those already existing in the manuscript. A part, but not all, of these were corrected by Bédier in his article *Le Fabliau de Richeut*, published in *Études romanes dédiées à Gaston Paris*, 1891, pp. 30, 31. Gaston Paris, in his review of this volume in *Romania* xxii, 137, and A. Tobler, in the *Archiv für neuere Sprachen* 86, 442, have each added many conjectures as to the correct readings. In both cases these conjectures are based on Méon's text and not on the assured reading of the manuscript.

<sup>1</sup> For a description of this ms. see Armstrong, *Le Chevalier à L'Epee*, p. 37, and Hill, *La Mule sanz Fraïn*, p. 2.

A comparison of this text with a photograph of the manuscript some years ago showed me that at least some of the difficulties disappeared with a restoration of the manuscript reading, which in some cases Bédier had overlooked. It seemed well worth while to call attention once more to the difficulties of this important poem and to attempt to reduce them to as small a number as possible. My gleanings in the path of the scholars mentioned must necessarily be few and I must still say, in the words of Professor Tobler, "Ein paar Stellen habe ich immer noch dunkel lassen müssen; sie seien dem Nachdenken anderer empfohlen." I fear even that my list may be longer than his.

Since it is my intention to republish the poem in a more convenient form, in the following text, except where a correction seemed so evident as to be generally accepted, I have left the manuscript reading untouched and have placed in the notes the conjectures of Bédier, G. Paris and Tobler, with any discussion or conjectures of my own. I publish the poem in this form to invite criticism, with the hope that others may solve the difficulties that have escaped me and point out the places where I have gone astray.

The date of Richeut has been generally accepted as 1159 because of verses 991, 992,

Droit a Tolose  
Que li rois Henris tant golose.

Since Henry II was besieging Toulouse in 1159 and this seems to be the only event to which these verses could refer the question would appear to be settled. However, it has been suggested to me that the relation of the poem to the *Roman de Renart* may be an objection to this date. Let us examine this supposed relation.

We have in our poem two female characters, *Richeut* and *Hersent* (*Herselot*). In the *Roman de Renart* the wife of the wolf is named *Hersent* and, at least in one branch, the wife of the fox is spoken of as *Richeut*. What more natural than the conclusion that the author of *Richeut* borrowed these names from the animal epic? On closer examination, however, this borrowing is not so evident. If we leave aside the fact that the author of *Richeut* himself mentions earlier stories of his heroine and gives



incidents that suggest a cycle of poems on her exploits, we find independent evidence of *Richeut's* fame nearly contemporary with our poem. In the well-known passage of Thomas' *Tristan* we find the name *Richeut* used as equivalent to "*entremetteuse*":

Or me dites, reine Ysolt,  
Des quant aves esté Richolt?  
U apreïstes sun mester  
De malveis hume si preiser  
Et d'une caitive traïr? (1321-25)

The allusion here, as Bédier has pointed out, is not necessarily to our poem and that is not the point that interests us, but rather that as early as 1170 (if we take the latest possible date for the *Tristan*) the name *Richeut* is employed as a general term for "*entremetteuse*." Moreover, in the *Livre des Manieres* of Estienne Fougere, of approximately the same date, we find

Richeot li vient qui li conseille. (v. 1076)

That is, ten years at the most after 1159 *Richeut* is used as a synonym for "*entremetteuse*." In verse 10 of our poem, if I rightly interpret the passage, we have the same use. Words do not develop from individual to class signification in a day and, independently of this particular poem, *Richeut* would seem to have established her unenviable reputation before 1159.

Let us now turn for a moment to the name *Richeut* in the *Roman de Renart*. In Branch VII, 559 we find

Onques Richel[t] n'en sot neant  
Ne nul barat envers Hersent.

Here, as Ebeling has shown, in his note to *Auberee* v. 191, *Richelt* is the famous "*entremetteuse*," not the wife of *Renart*. Again in Branch XXIV, 119 we find

Por Richout la fame Renart,  
Por le grant engin et por l'art  
Est la gorpille Richeut dite:  
Se l'une est chate, l'autre et mite.  
Moult a ci bone compaignie,  
Et l'une et l'autre senefie.

Cist quatre sont bien asanblé,  
 Einz ne furent mes tel trové,  
 Se Ysengrin est mestre lerre,  
 Ausi est li rous forz roberre;  
 Si Richeuz est abaiiaresse,  
 La gorpille est fort lecheresse.

Here again, even if there be no playing with etymologies (*Richeut*, *Richart*, *Richaut*, *riche* + *art*), it seems to me that Ebeling is justified in his conclusion, "Da aber die Frau Renarts, wenigstens in dem bei Martin Gedruckten, sonst stets (*H*)*erme*(*line*) heisst, und nicht *Richaut*, da sie sonst durchaus nicht als 'durch List und tückische Anschläge' ausgezeichnet erscheint, vielmehr eine recht untergeordnete Rolle spielt, so ist anzunehmen, das der Vf. dieser Branche (XXIV) den Namen eigenmächtig eingeführt und zwar von der berühmten '*entremetteuse*' entlehnt hat."

*Hersent* (*Herselot*) was not an uncommon name for a maid-servant in Old French and neither the name *Richeut* nor its combination with *Hersent* is sufficient reason to assume that the author knew the *Roman de Renart*. Nor can the mention of the *gorpil* and the *cornille* (vv. 940, 941) be such a reason, since the fable of the fox and the crow was a part of the learned tradition<sup>2</sup> and would have been familiar to any educated *clerc* such as the author of *Richeut* evidently was. In short, I see no valid reason to assume a dependence of this poem on the *Roman de Renart*. If there is influence at all, it would seem to be in the other direction, of the *Richeut* tradition on the *Roman de Renart*. Unless then, a study of the language should compel us to place the poem in a later period, we may take verses 991, 992 at their face value and retain the date 1159, or so near this date that the event mentioned was still fresh in the author's mind.

The strophic form chosen by the author, 2, 3, and rarely 4 octosyllabic verses followed by a short verse of 4 syllables (sometimes 2) which gives the rhyme for the following octosyllabics (8a8a(8a)(8a)4b8b, etc.), is striking in its satirical emphasis, but, because of this very emphasis, does not lend itself easily to narrative, and one has the impression that the author is not so much

<sup>2</sup> Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, Vol. 2, p. 126, etc.

interested in his narrative as in the painting of life. With reference to this metrical form Bédier says,<sup>3</sup> "Richeut est écrit dans un système strophique difficile; le genre n'a pas adopté jusqu'alors ces petits octosyllabes à rimes plates, ce mètre familier à tous nos conteurs légers de Rutebeuf à La Fontaine et à Musset, si cher aux poètes médiocres." Bédier seems to consider the strophic form of the poem due to its position in the development of the fabliau and to see in *Richeut* an early stage of this development. However, in a later note,<sup>4</sup> he has also pointed out how much *Richeut* differs from the normal and traditional type of fabliau. It is on this difference, it seems to me, that more emphasis should be placed. Far from feeling his way toward a still undeveloped type, the author of *Richeut* is rather attempting something finer and more difficult, the delineation of characters with just enough intrigue to make these characters live. For this purpose his strophic form is admirable and may well be due to the deliberate choice of the author, who, had he lived at a later period, might have made use of the same form for the same purpose, without regard to the fabliaux in octosyllabics with which he might have been familiar.

A list of poems in the same strophic form as *Richeut* is given by Naetebus, *Die Nicht-Lyrischen Strophenformen*, p. 185 ff. To this list should be added the second part of *Le Privilège aux Bretons*,<sup>5</sup> though here there is greater variation in the number of the octosyllabics, and parts of *Pyrame et Thisbé*,<sup>6</sup> where the short line is of two syllables. The list could doubtless be still somewhat lengthened. A glance at these poems shows that they are in general rather satiric than purely narrative in character and, with the exception of *Pyrame et Thisbé*, are considerably later in date than *Richeut*. That the author of this poem chose a difficult metre evidently little used in his time, rather than the easier octosyllabic couplet, which must have been ready to hand, may mean that he felt the difference between his purpose and that of a mere *conte à rire*. To see in the form of *Richeut* an argument in establishing the history of the fabliau seems to me to take too little account of

<sup>3</sup> *Les Fabliaux*, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> P. 268, note.

<sup>5</sup> Edition, Faral, *Mimes Français du XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, 1910.

<sup>6</sup> Edition, De Boer, 1911.

the art, perhaps conscious and deliberate, shown in the admirable fitness of this difficult and ingenious form for the author's purpose.

While insisting on the unique character of the poem, which limits its value in tracing the development of the fabliau, we should not disregard the evident fact that *Richeut* was written at a time when the fabliaux were, so to speak, in the making and were soon to appear in examples that can be grouped together as a literary type. That in the keen observation of certain phases of life we find much in *Richeut* that is common with the later fabliaux is not an accident, but due rather to the fact that the same growing interest in the painting of everyday life which, combined with a traditional story and touched with humor, produced the typical fabliau, shows itself in a more unique form in *Richeut*, as it might have shown itself in dramatic form, had such form been ready to hand. Historically, then, *Richeut* is an early manifestation of a new spirit which finds larger expression in fabliaux such as *Auberee*; on the formal side the poem stands alone and is without significance in the development of the fabliau.

#### RHYME. HIATUS

There are some cases of identical rhymes which, however, may not have existed in the original: *fame: raame: fame* (corr. *dame*) 726; *atraire: atraire* 1079, see the note.

The following inexact rhymes are to be noted: *dire: sire: Sezille: Gile* 987; *chose: grosse: fosse* 190; *done: bone: corone: some* 15; *lobe: robe: noble* 367; *carroge: aproche* 1027; and the not uncommon *rs: ss, orse: amorse: borse: rescosse* 219; *fiers: ies: estriers* 591; *corz: lorz: toz* 755.<sup>7</sup>

Enclisis is found in *nel* 69, 140, etc., *no* 143, 177, 519; *jel* 109, 125, etc.; *sel* 134, 206, 264, *so* 79, *ses* 851, 884.

While we have the ordinary cases of elision, there are numerous examples of hiatus: *je* 165, 166, 1160; *se* (si) 511; *se* (sic) 901; *ne* (nec) 193; *ne* (non) 862; *ce* 242, 834, 1298; *que* (pron. and conj.) 352, 633, 641, 780, 426; *li* (art. nom. sing. mas.) 205.

The question of hiatus in other cases, in a short poem based on

<sup>7</sup> For examples of such rhymes see Andresen, *Über den Einfluss von Metrum, Assonanz und Reim*, 1874 (Bonn Diss.), p. 18.

a single manuscript, is a delicate one. In the following verses I have allowed the hiatus to remain where a *t* has fallen, even though a slight correction would permit elision.

Puis li donē a liee chiere 289  
 Qui mout erē en grant sopoīs 311  
 Bien les enplumē et decoit 377  
 Puis l'an envoiē en secroi 432  
 Mout aimē en escole a estre 606  
 Cele robē avoc cui coche 971  
 Si l'an moinē, o voille o non 1267  
 Sansons la cuidē engnien 1180  
 Des qu'il s'ahurtē au dusil 1278.

Against these 9 cases of hiatus of this character we have 13 cases of elision: 156, 280, 337, 381, 413, 415, 484, 971, 1128, 1247, 1253, 1273. Because of the frequency of hiatus I have not corrected 218, where *a la borse* would permit elision and satisfy the measure.

#### LANGUAGE

In discussing the language of the author it is well to remember that the poem is short and the number of significant rhymes necessarily small. Furthermore, we have but a single manuscript, considerably later in date than the original and the work of a somewhat careless copyist who wrote a dialect other than that of the author. Between the existing copy and the original there may have been intermediaries of whose number and dialect we know nothing. It would be a mistake therefore to give undue weight to an isolated rhyme.

#### Vowels

1. Tonic *a* before *l*. *mal* 521; *val*: *corsal*: *menestrel*: *autretel*: *Viel* 539; *Noel*: *el*: *menestrel* 92; *ostel* 433; *Viel* 1030; *jael*: *el*, but *ostal* 1088; *mal*: *aval*. Thus *ostal* and *ostel* as in *Eneas*.

2. *a* + *N* + *Cons.* is separated in rhyme from *e* + *N* + *Cons.* although the orthography of the manuscript shows confusion of the two sounds for the copyist. *Fame*: *dame* 682 is found in texts that separate *an* from *en*. Cf. Haase, *Das verhalten der pikard und wallon. Denkmäler*, p. 44, and Friedwagner, *La vengeance Raguidel*, p. LIII.

3. *e* < Lat. *a* rhymes only with itself.

4. *ē* is distinct from *e*.

5. *i* Beside the regular product of Lat. *i* we have *reni: li* 285; *livre: delivre: ivre* 358; *ivres: delivres* 902; *gorpille: cornille: essille: fille* 939. These rhymes leave open the question as to *e* + *i* > *i*. On *cornille* see Ebeling, *Auberee* p. 132.

*i: ui* (o + yod), *cuide: Ovide* 748.

6. *o* *Mpt* 85, 1066, 1235, as in *Eneas*. *Troie*, with one exception, has *mpt*. The rhymes in *o* are unmixed.

7. *o* Free *o* rhymes with checked *o* 304, 657, 695, 935, 1193. In all these cases except 657 *preuz: toz: degroz: desoz*, *o* is followed by *r*.

There is one case of *-osus* in rhyme, *vos: avrillos* 1112.

*o* + *l* + Cons. rhymes only with itself, except *boche: toche: coche* (= *colche*).

8. *u* *Ostium* > *us* not *uis*: *jus: sus: plus* 1070, 1289.

9. *ai* rhymes regularly with itself, except before nasals. In one case before *st* and one before *str* it is reduced to *e*, *vest: pest* (*paist*): *gest* 371; *preste: mestre: estre* 604, as in *Eneas* and *Troie*. In 1010 *destruiz: plaiz: Biauvez* and 1283 *esmaie: desraie: fresaie* we have *ai: ei*. This rhyme, while particularly Anglo-Norman at this period (Cf. Thomas *Tristan* II, p. 16), is also found in the Center and East. Cf. Suchier, *Voyelles toniques*, 30b, and Ebeling, *Auberee*, p. 147. *Troie* has the isolated rhymes *baleient: traient* 12015, 17097, and *raie: baleie* 11352.

10. *ai* + nasal rhymes with *ei* + nasal, 151, 1004, 1132.

11. *ie*, *travailliee: iriee: empreigniee* 331 and *boidie: die: empraigrie: ençaintie* 382. Since *empraigrie* and *ençaintie* may be considered as participles of *empraignir* and *ençaintir*, *ie* for *iee* is not proved.

12. *eu jeu* (jocum): *aveu: leu* (locum) 342

*neu* (nodum): *feu* (focum): *queu* (cocum) 525

*feu* (feodum): *leu* (locum) 581

*jeu* (jocum): *leu* (locum): *feu* (feodum): *tonleu* 859.

*Feu* (feodum) in this series of rhymes would seem to prove *o* > *eu* in *aveu, neu*. The single rhyme in *-osus* (see 7) is hardly sufficient for a conclusion as to that ending.

13. *oi* rhymes with itself 673, 407. *Estoire: acroire: gloire* 955, correct *acroire* to *aoire*.

14. *oi* rhymes only with itself, except before nasals.

15. *oi* < *ei*. The orthography of the manuscript is *oi*, but, out of 36 separate combinations of this sound in rhyme, the rhymes are unmixed, with the exception of 956 *N'en volon oster ne acroire*, where rhyme and sense are satisfied by the correction *aoire*.

16. *ue, suens: buens: cuens* 541, *tuen: buen* 249, *puet: muet: estuet* 772, 1052.

17. *ui, cuide: Ovide* 749, as often in *Troie* and elsewhere. As mentioned under 8 *ostium* gives *us* not *uis*. The form *us*, while frequent beside *uis* (Cf. Suchier, *Voyelles toniques* 24b; Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire des langues romanes* I, 62), seems to have been more particularly Norman and Eastern rather than Central. Cf. DeBoer, *Pyrame et Tisbé* p. 10, 19.

### Consonants

18. *c, ch, Sace: face: place* 785, *grace: face: lace* 960. The form *sace* proves nothing as to *a + c + j > ache*. Cf. Thomas *Tristan*, II, 19, *Troie*, VI, 124, *Eneas*, p. xix, *Pyrame et Thisbé*, p. 12. *Vanche: la vanche: anche* 114 would rhyme equally well in the form *venque: la venque: enque*. *Carroge: aproche* 1028 is an inexact rhyme.

19. *l*. Vocalization of *l* is proved by *cruex: Dex* 1022, and *Richeut: deut: veut* 438, 875, *veut: suent: Richeut* 997 where we have *ɛ + l + Cons.: ɔ + l + Cons.*

20. *n*. Final *m > n, non: sopeçon: non* (nomen). *Done: bone: corone: some* 18 (inexact rhyme).

21. *s*. *Fist: abit: petit: aīt* 35 shows *s* mute before *t*. *Chose: grosse: fosse* 190 (*s: ss*) stands alone and is a case of inexact rhyme. Final *s* and *z* are carefully separated.

22. *t*. Isolated *t* is not kept, *foi: soi: moi* 101 but *fidus > fiz: diz: fiz* 732. For traces of *t* in the 3 sing. of the first conjugation see under Hiatus.

### Morphology

As far as we can judge of the author's usage the conjugation system is correct and the rules of declension well observed. There

is perhaps a trace of the tendency seen in *Troie* to employ the oblique form for the nominative in the predicate in *Si est aver* (s): *doner: loer* 112, and in 330 where I should read *Car li termes n'est pas lointain* (z): *fain: plain*, rather than to correct *fain[z]*, *plain[z]*. *Sire* (vocative): *ire* 165; *dire: aïre* 318. *Li preste: meleste* 163; *mestre* (nom. sing.): *estre* 605; *pere* (nom. sing.): *mere: here* 663.

Adjectives of the third declension without feminine e, *grant* 13, 471, 500, 532; *quel* 84, 648, but *grande* 872, *grieve* 260. *Dolente* 994 is a well-known exception.

*Moi* (not *mi*) is assured by rhyme. The forms *no*, *vo* are not found. The first person sing. indic. of verbs have not yet analogical s. The subjunctive present of the 1st conjugation has no e, -ons not -omes. *Seoir* not *seïr* 314. Forms such as *averai* are not found. *Vait* 1189: *retrait: plait*. *Va* is not found. *Vait* is the only form in rhyme in *Eneas*, and with two exceptions in *Troie*. The imperfect indicative of the 1st conjugation does not appear in rhyme.

### Conclusion

From the above résumé I would conclude that the author of *Richeut* wrote the literary French of his time as represented by the *Roman de Troie* and *Eneas*. The careful separation of *an* from *en*, of *s* from *z*, of *ei* from *oi*, the form *us* instead of *uis*, and the absence of Picard forms would indicate the home of the author as Normandy or, if Ile de France, at least close to the Norman border. A more exact localization seems to me unjustified. Since there is nothing in the traits mentioned to demand a date later than the second half of the twelfth century, we may conclude that the poem was written in 1159. That the author was an educated *clerc* seems clear, but any further conclusion as to his name or character would be a mere conjecture.<sup>8</sup>

In the following text I have printed *-mant*, *vos*, *con* for the abbreviations of these forms, since, when unabbreviated they are thus written. For the same reason I solve by *n* the bar over a vowel before a labial consonant. *Et* and *mout* and *comme* are

<sup>8</sup> For such a conjecture see Suchier, *Geschichte der Französischen Literatur*, 2nd edition, p. 197.



always abbreviated, but *enmasse* 214 written out. Proper names and numerals are left in their abbreviated form when thus written in the MS., except where I read *Sans* [*onet*] for the metre. Words or letters to be omitted are placed in parentheses; those to be supplied, in brackets. Accents are added where they facilitate reading. Before a verse which evidently needs correction but which is left as in the MS. I have placed a \* for the convenience of the reader, who will find in the notes discussion of such verses. All other changes are indicated in the footnotes.

I am indebted to Mr. Jean Acher for his friendly interest and for valuable suggestions with regard to the text. For any of the faults or blunders he is in no way responsible.

## TEXT

- |  |                                 |
|--|---------------------------------|
| Or faites pais, si escotez   | Bien se sofrent a acoler        |
| Qui de Ri. oïr volez;  | 25 Por lui traïr et afoler:     |
| Sovante foiz oï avez   | C'est lecherie;                 |
| Conter sa vie.   | Mais il lor vient d'ancesserie. |
| 5 Maïstresse fu de lecherie,   | Totes sevent de trecherie       |
| Mainte[s] fames ot en baillie  | Communaumant,                   |
| *Qu'ele atrait tot as guise  | 30 Mais ce fu par l'anseigne-   |
| Par son atrait.  | mant                            |
| Encor nule ne s'an retrait,  | Ri., qui fu mout longuemant     |
| 10 Et cha[s]cune Ri. se fait   | Par tot lo monde;               |
| De sa voisine.   | Bien les aprist a la reonde.    |
| Ne voit en mais jone mes-  | Nostre Sires Ri. confonde       |
| chine  | 35 Qui tant mal fist,           |
| Qui soit a grant bonté en-   | Car de nonain reçut l'abit, -   |
| cline,   | Mais ele lo tint mout petit.    |
| Por po d'avoir s'estant sovine <sup>essim</sup> <sup>couches</sup> <sup>un</sup> <sup>le des</sup> | Escotez, se Dex vos aît,        |
| 15 Qant en li done.  | Qu'ele devint:                  |
| El mont n'en a nes une bone,   | 40 Fors de l'abaïe s'an vint, - |
| Ainz se lient a la corone,   | Nonains i avoit plus de xx,     |
| C'est de puterie la some,  | N'i vost plus estre,            |
| Et lo fardet   | Ainz en mena o soi lo preste.   |
| 20 Metent eles en lor raget.   | El li toli regne celestre,      |
| Chascune de soi s'entremet   | 45 Car il fu pris               |
| [124 v <sup>2</sup> ]  | O li, desmanbrez et ocis. -     |
| Bien atorner.  | Ce fist el faire a ses amis     |
| Qant .i. vallez a que doner,   | Don ele a maint par lo païs.    |

- Ri. a fait riche[s] mandis.  
 50 Por Herselot  
 Dou preste ot el bien son  
 escot, [125 r<sup>1</sup>]  
 Et si refist tenir por sot  
 Lo chevalier.  
 \*Nes dan Guillaume lerde-  
 fitier  
 55 Qu' ere atornez a Deu  
 proier,  
 Refist el boivre lo destrier  
 Et lo hernois.  
 Ri. desjule les cortois,  
 Clers et chevaliers et bor-  
 jois  
 60 Et les vilains.  
 Par tot giete Ri. ses mains,  
 Si deçoit les autres putains.  
 \*Ri. sert mout,  
 Lo corage a fier et estout.  
 65 Or diroie, s'avoie escout,  
 De li un conte  
 Qui trestoz les autres sor-  
 monte,  
 Et si ne lairai pas por honte  
 Que je nel die;  
 70 Qui de Ri. conte la vie  
 Ne puet parler par cortoisie.  
 Ele ot .i. fil  
 Qui mout avoit l'angien  
 sotil;  
 Mainte[s] fames mist a  
 essil.<sup>reue</sup>  
 75 La face ot clere,  
 Mout tenoit bien les mors sa  
 mere.  
 Ri. ne sot onques son pere,  
 Et nequedant <sup>huer</sup> <sup>le</sup>  
 So mist el sus a plus de .c.  
 54, Guill'. 55, qui ere. 76, lo mors.
- 80 Mout en conquist or et ar-  
 gent.  
 Or escotez [125 r<sup>2</sup>]  
 Conmant il fu conqüz et nez,  
 Norriz, apris et dostrinez  
 Et en quel vie destinez,  
 85 Quel non il ot.  
 Entre Ri. et Herselot  
 A cel jor firent .i. escot; <sup>oh</sup>  
 Au feu n'orent plus que .i.  
 pot,  
 Bons vins ferrez  
 90 La nuit burent a grant  
 plantez  
 Et a mangier orent assez  
 Por lo Noël.  
 Mout ont parlé et d'un et  
 d'el.  
 Ce dit Ri. la menestrel  
 95 A sa conpeigne:  
 "Par les sainz c'an quiert  
 en Bretaigne  
 Mout ai del preste grant des-  
 daigne  
 Qui si me triche. <sup>benign</sup> <sup>si</sup>  
 Ainz n'oi del suen fors une  
 afiche,  
 100 Et si n'a nul veisin plus  
 riche  
 De soi.  
 Il m'afia l'autrier sa foi  
 Et lou vestir et lo conroi <sup>can</sup>  
 Ainz q'avenir poist a moi;  
 105 Or ne l'an chaut s'ai fain o  
 soi,  
 Mantie l'a:  
 Hui a .viii. jors qu'il ne vint  
 ça.

- Par Saint Denis mar m'i  
tricha  
Se jel puis faire.  
110 Mout par est ore de mal'-  
aire;  
Si est avers, [125 v<sup>1</sup>]  
✓ Croistre vialt et noiant  
doner.  
Herselot sez me que loer  
Conmant m'an vanche?  
115 "Charmez li, chiere, par la  
vanche, *ichauvanche*  
Ecrivez brief de sanc et  
d'anche,  
Faites [c]heraudes  
Don les ymages soient chau-  
des  
Et refroidies."  
120 Dit Ri., "ii. poires porries  
Ne pris je pas ces sorceries.  
Ce m'est avis  
Ja par charaies n'iert con-  
quis.  
A moi meisme(s) ai con-  
seil pris  
125 Con jel deçoive:  
Miauz est que atorne[e]  
herbe boive, *herbe boive*  
Puis foutrai tant con je con-  
çoive,  
Si metrai sore  
Au preste, et meisme l'ore,  
130 Don li lou je qu'il me secore,  
Et s'il lo nie,  
Ja Ri. n'ait bien en sa vie  
Se a l'evesque ne l'anvie;  
Sel tien a cort  
135 Il i perdra ainz qu'i[l] s'an  
tort.  
S'ansi lo faz,
- Lo preste avrai dedanz mes  
laz.  
Or en entrera en porchaz  
Hastivemant.  
140 Don nel me loes tu, Her-  
sant?" [125 v<sup>2</sup>]  
Dit Herselot, "Je n'i antant  
Se tot bien non."  
Ri. no mist en sopeçon,  
Ainz quist une herbe qui ot  
noïr  
145 \*Mandagloire.  
\*Ri. en but o ele esclaire  
\*Puis n'i guieres demore  
Ainz croist a toz.  
Tant a alé desus desoz  
150 Et a retraiz sofert et boz  
Qu'ele est ençainte.  
Or a la face megre et tainte,  
Dès or vialt faire sa con-  
plainte.  
Au preste en vint,  
155 A sa maisele sa main tint,  
Plore et sopire, soflant vint,  
Puis dist itant:  
"Mout malemant m'es[t]  
covenant  
Et s'an atant pis en avant  
160 Assez,  
Sire preste, bien lo savez."  
"Ri., ne sai que vos avez,  
Ce dit li preste(s),  
Mout me mostrez chiere  
meleste."  
165 "Que je ai, sire?  
Je ai assez coroz et ire,  
Mais par Saint Pol  
Mout savrai poi se nel vos  
sol,

115, vache.

123, n't.

150, retrait.

167, pol.

- Si vos ferai tenir a fol."  
[126 r<sup>1</sup>]
- 170 Li danz li met les braz au  
col,  
Soef l'anbrace.  
Ri. s'estort, si se delace,  
Plore formant, mout lo  
menace:  
"O jel vos die, o jel vos  
tace,  
175 De vos sui prainz."  
"Ri., je cuit que tu te  
fainz."  
"No faz, danz prestes, par  
toz sainz  
N'est pas <sup>mescroi</sup>controve;  
Veez con li vandre se prove."  
180 Li prestes mout celer lo rove  
Icel secroi.  
"Ri., fait il, je te mescroi.  
Cuides tu donc ce soit de  
moi?  
Nenil voir."  
185 Ri. respont, "Jel sai de voir;  
Ja ne puisse je bien avoir,  
Ainz soie ocisse,  
Se je n'an portoie .i. joisse  
Que de vos fu dedanz moi  
mise  
190 Iceste chose  
Don me veez ençainte et  
grosse.  
Ne cuidiez pas jel giet en  
fosse  
Ne en mostier  
Se vos ne me volez aidier."  
195 "Ri., ne di,  
Je ne voil pas que soit ensi.  
La moie foi, Ri., t'afi,
- Se viax del mien [126 r<sup>2</sup>]  
Ja ne voldras icele rien  
200 N'en puisses prandre.  
Por quoi me feroies raien-  
bre,  
N'a l'evesque messe desfan-  
dre?  
Mais or celez  
Ceste groisse tant con poez,  
205 Et qant li anfes sera nez  
Sel metez sore  
.I. autre; se Dex me secore,  
Ne vos faudrai puis nes .i.  
ore."  
Ri. se plaint mout et s'i plore  
210 Et puis li dit:  
"Certes ne vos ain pas petit;  
Mout durement, se Dex  
m'aît,  
Lo tot puissant;  
Se je ne vos enmasse tant  
215 Nel celasse ne tant ne qant."  
Oz de pute orse,  
Qui lo prevoire si amorse!  
La main li fait mestrē a  
borse,  
.V. sous li tant or a rescosse:  
220 "Ce prenez ore,  
Vos avroiz plus del mien  
encore."  
Et li prestes mout bien  
l'estore.  
Ri. se charge,  
De son preu faire ne se  
targe.  
225 Bien a trové lo prestre large  
Por l'acolee.  
Mout s'an veit bien sozais-  
selee [127 v<sup>1</sup>]
- 174, jes . . . jes.      179, lo vandre.      181, cetroi.  
187, coie.      221, des miens.

- De pain et d'el.  
 Ploiant s'an veit a son ostel  
 230 O el trova seignor Viel,  
 Un chevalier  
 Qui faisoit tenir son destrier,  
 O lui Hersant por donoier.  
 "A! Herselot!"
- 235 Cele saut sus con sa dame  
 ot;  
 Li chevaliers vers li s'esjot;  
 Si la salue.  
 Et Ri. se tint .i. po mue,  
 Pas ne li rant,
- 240 Sanblant fait de grant malta-  
 lant.  
 De Herselot s'aproche atant:  
 "Met ce en sauf."  
 "De mautalant su et eschauf  
 Qant je te voi;
- 245 Tu m'as manti la toe foi,  
 Mout par est fole  
 La damoisele qui t'acole;  
 N'a si aver jusq'a Nicole.  
 C'oi je do tuen
- 250 Desque[je] fis l'autrier ton  
 buen  
 (Lasse moi!) cline?  
 — Mar m'i cochai soz toi  
 sovine;  
 Maldite soit vostre racine  
 Qui si poi giete.
- 255 J'estoie encor bien jovenete,  
 Or n'en iert mais qui s'an-  
 tremete [126 v<sup>2</sup>]  
 De moi amer.  
 Vos m'avez fait lo flanc  
 lever,  
 Ne me valt mais rien a celer,
- 260 De vos sui grieve.
- 230, ele. 241, a saproche.  
 277, Si tost avroie. 281, ne sai de ces.
- Veez lo vandre qui se lieve;  
 De l'anfant li termes abrieve,  
 Or m'an aidiez.  
 Si m'ait Dex, sel ren[i]iez  
 265 Vos en seroiz toz essilliez,  
 Jel di por voir.  
 Vos nen avez si fort menoir  
 Que je ne vos feisse ardoir  
 Et metre en candre,  
 270 Se sor vos nel voliez prendre.  
 Miauz me lairoie ardoir o  
 pandre,  
 Pas ne vos mant,  
 Que n'en aüssiez longue-  
 mant.  
 Je sui nee de bone gent,  
 275 .VII. chevalier sont mi  
 parant,  
 Si rai amis  
 Qui tost avroie[nt] ome  
 ocis."  
 Li chevaliers en fait un ris,  
 Si li respont:  
 280 "Ri., li vins te monte el  
 front.  
 Ne sai que ces menaces sont.  
 Di moi por quoi  
 Es tu encainte? Est ce de  
 moi?"  
 "Oïl amis." "Et je l'otroi,  
 285 Pas nel reni." [127 r<sup>1</sup>]  
 Dit Herseloz, "Sire, aidiez  
 li."  
 "Volantiers, chiere."  
 .X. sous atrait de s'aumon-  
 iere(s),  
 Puis li donē a liee chiere,  
 290 Après la baise.  
 Qui putain loe, si l'apaise.
- 245, mantie. 262, et de.  
 282, De.

- Ainz qu'il s'an tort firent lor  
aise  
Soz l'obier frois.  
"Envoyez, dist il, enevois  
295 Por de la char et por des  
pois  
Et por de bon vin orlenois."  
Ce dit Ri., "Cist est cortois."  
Alez s'an est.  
Ri. ne panse  
300 Fors d'atorner [r]iche des-  
spanse.  
Li jors decline,  
Entre Ri. et sa meschine  
Aprentent mout tost la cuis-  
ine.  
Plusor  
305 I laisserent la nuit del lor.  
Ri. se dort; qant vint au jor  
Ri. s'apreste;  
Despandu a, or vait en  
queste.  
Chies un borjois  
310 En vait Ri. preu et cortois,  
Qui mout erë en grant so-  
pois ?  
Qu'il n'avoit oir;  
Onques ne pot enfant avoir.  
Ri. garde, vit lo seoir  
[127 r<sup>2</sup>]  
315 Sor sa fenestre.  
Or li voudra conter son  
estre;  
Prist lo par l'espaule senes-  
tre,  
Dist li, "Biau sire,  
Je vos voldroie .i. secré  
dire."  
305, il.  
343, de ce te veu.
- 320 Cil fu cortois, pas ne s'aire,  
Bel li respont.  
En une chambre endui en  
vont,  
Desor .i. lit asis se sont.  
Asisse là  
325 Ri. panse, puis si parla:  
"Sire, je sui venue ça  
Car mes granz besoinz m'i  
chaça.  
Pas ne me fain,  
De vos meisme a vos me  
plain,  
330 Car li termes n'est pas loin-  
tainz  
Qu'ier(t) travailliee.  
Sire, por vos sui molt iriee,  
Car je sui de vos enpreig-  
niee."  
"De moi? C'est gas." 364  
335 "Non est, sire, par Saint  
Tomas."  
"Certes, Ri., manti i as."  
El plore et gient,  
A sa maisele sa main tient:  
"Sire, fait el, ne vos sovient  
340 D'un jor entier  
Que me feistes el solier?  
Lo commun jeu?" [127 v<sup>1</sup>]  
"Oïl, Ri., de ce t'aveu."  
"Certes, biau sire, en icel leu  
345 Pris je cest fais."  
"Taisiez, Ri., nel dites mais."  
"Dex me confonde se m'an  
tais."  
"Richaut, ne sai,  
Bien puet estre je l'anjan-  
drai;  
314, cheoir.  
345, Prist.

350 Icist soit miens,  
S'il est vallez, n'i faudra  
riens  
Que il ne soit oirs de mes  
biens."

"Sire, espoir  
Que vos avroiz de moi  
ma[s]le oir.

355 Mais il m'estuet de[l] vostre  
avoir;

J'en ai besoin."  
Cil met en sa borse lo poin,  
.xx. sous li livre;  
Ja ne(n) s'an verra mais  
delivre.

360 Or lo moine Ri. con ivre.  
De la putain!  
"Envoyez ça, dist il, demain,  
Si avroiz char et vin et  
pain."

El l'an mercie.

365 Ri. s'an vait tote esjoie,  
Plus conquiert el par sa  
boidie  
Et par sa lobe  
Que cil qui prant et tost et  
robe.

Ri. se tient et cointe et noble,

370 Et bien se vest  
Et se conroie bien et pest.  
\*Plus est sivanz que lisse en  
gest. [127 v<sup>3</sup>]

Bien les atrait,  
Tant qu'el les a mis en son  
plait.

375 N'i a si cointe que n'en ait  
Plus que lo droit.  
Bien les enplumē et deçoit.

365, tost estosie.

387, trestot.

366, ele.

389, raaint.

Ri. a tout qanqu'ele voit,  
La grosse borse!

380 Agnel se fait, puis devient  
orse.

Lo pas moine home et puis  
l'acorse

Par sa boidie.

N'i a celui cui el ne die

Que de lui est ele enpraing-  
nie.

385 "Vos m'avez, fait ele, en-  
çaintie;

Del tuen me done."

Ri. trestoz en araisone,

Les garçons prant et en-  
prisone,

Puis les raant.

390 De totes parz les mains lor  
tant.

Mout se conroie richemant.

N'i a mestier,

N'i a vilain ne pautonier 6164 *or*

Ne bachelier ne essartier

395 Que nel raamme.

Oistes mais si male fame,

Qui totjors quialt et rien ne  
seme?

Mar fust el nee

Qui si nos fu mal destinee,

400 Mar preist el ceste vantree!  
Par icel germe

Si a ploree mainte lerne.

[128 r<sup>1</sup>]

Or est Ri. venue au terme,

Or couche, or lieve,

405 Or ploree, or crie, l'ore  
abrieve;

374, qu'il.

390, pars.

380, Enguil.

400, il.

Mal soit de l'ore qu'el ne  
 crieve,  
 Ce fust grant joie.  
 Herselot a la crine bloie,  
 \*Qui reconforte, sa dame  
 oïe.  
 410 Qu'atant je tant?  
 Or se delivre d'un enfant  
 Masle.  
 Il crie et brait plus fort d'un  
 rasle,  
 Hersanz lo leve,  
 415 Baigne et conroie et asoeve,  
 En dras lo couche,  
 Tot lo couvre ne mes la  
 boche.  
 Richauz acline  
 Acouchiee est en la jecine; <sup>jeune</sup>  
 420 Herselot la sert, qui ne fine.  
 Plus que lo saut  
 En vient au preste qui ne  
 faut.  
 "Sire, dist ele, Dex vos  
 saut."  
 "Et vos, ma bele."  
 425 "Dire vos sai boene novele."  
 "Et que est ce, ma dam-  
 oisele?"  
 "Un fil avez."  
 "Taisiez, Hersan[t], soef  
 parlez,  
 Je sai mout bien que vos  
 querez.  
 430 Venez a moi."  
 Chargié li a tot lo conroi,  
 Puis l'an envoïe en secroi.  
 [128 r<sup>2</sup>]  
 Vient a l'ostel,  
 Descharge soi, vait al Viel  
 435 Et au borjois.  
 426, qui.

\*Cil li charge (jusq'a un  
 mois)  
 Et pain et vin jusq'a un  
 mois.  
 Or gist Ri.;  
 De la jecine mout se deut,  
 440 Mais ele a tot qanqu'ele veut.  
 Bien li estait,  
 Et Herselot tres bien s'an  
 paist;  
 Malede est qui malade trait.  
 Enpres mangier  
 445 Porte Herseloz a un mostier  
 Lo fil Ri. por prinseignier,  
 A Saint Germain.  
 Les marraines et li parrain  
 Lievent l'anfant a la putain.  
 450 Or a lo non de son parrain,  
 Seignor Sanson.  
 Hersanz en revint en maison  
 Atot l'aubé.  
 Or a Ri. sa volanté  
 455 Et Herseloz la sert a gré  
 De char, de vin et de claré  
 Et de pevrees,  
 De fruit, de nieles et d'oblees  
 Et de parmainz.  
 460 Bien se costeist en ses bainz,  
 De tote[s] parz vient li  
 gaainz.  
 Ri. se jut, [128 v<sup>1</sup>]  
 A grant joie manja et but  
 Jusq' au terme que ele dut  
 465 A messe aler.  
 El ot lo vis vermoil et cler,  
 Mout entant a soi acesmer 74 32  
 Fresche color.  
 Ri. s'acesme au merëor,  
 470 A messe en vait.  
 445, Ri. 470, a masse en vont.



Mantel a ver, grant coe trait.  
 N'i a lechëor ne agait,  
 Tuit ont mervoille;  
 L'uns a l'autre dit et con-  
 soille  
 475 O el prant ce don s'aparoille:  
 "Lo vis a bel,  
 O prist ele si bon mantel,  
 Et cel chainse ridé novel  
 Qui si traîne?"  
 480 Ele a ëu bone gecine.  
 Ri. devenue est meschine  
 Par son tripot.  
 S'ofrande fait et la messe ot,  
 Puis s'en repaire a Herselot  
 485 Lo pas arriere;  
 Grant coe trait par la po-  
 driere.  
 Ri. se tint et baude et fiere.  
 "N'i valdroit rien, fait el,  
 proiere  
 Que nus me croisse."  
 490 Sanblant fait qu'an ne la  
 conoisse.  
 Ri. les met en grant engoisse,  
 [128 v<sup>2</sup>]  
 Mout les travaille.  
 El soloit foutre<sup>?</sup> por maaille<sup>?</sup>  
 Ainz que venist del tot<sup>?</sup> a  
 faille.  
 495 Enorgoillir  
 Se vialt Ri. a engorllir:  
 .I. denier part qui vialt ferir  
 Desus l'anclume,<sup>?</sup>  
 Or a Ri. mué costume.  
 500 Li lechëor en font grant  
 frume;<sup>?</sup>  
 Ele les esprant et alume  
 Par ses blandiz,  
 488, fait il.  
 513, qu'ele.

Toz les reçoit granz et petiz,  
 Ja nus n'en ira escondiz.  
 505 Mais el ne puet sofrir les  
 criz  
 Que li fait Sansonez, ses fiz;  
 Quiert li norrice  
 Por demener son jaëlice.  
 El vient au preste, si l'antice,  
 510 Ne li laira croiz ne calice  
 Se il la croit.  
 Lx. sous ot par destroit,  
 Tant dist ele que il devoit  
 A son enfant.  
 515 Au chevalier en vint corant,  
 De lui en resache autretant,  
 Puis au borjois,  
 .C. sous ensache d'orlenois.  
 Ja Ri. no laira ençois  
 520 Qu'il [i]ert ou val.  
 Ri. avra ovré maint mal.  
 [129 r<sup>1</sup>]  
 Oïstes mais putain corsal<sup>?</sup>  
 Qui si deçoive?  
 Po sont des homes cui n'en-  
 boive  
 525 Et do[nt] que que soit [ne]  
 reçoive.  
 Or a gros neu,  
 A l'ostel vient, s'i fait grant  
 feu  
 [Dont] dame Herselot est  
 queu; <sup>?</sup>  
 A grant foison  
 530 Et volaille [ont] et venison  
 Et claré plus dolz que poison.  
 Ri. s'antremet de Sanson  
 Par mout grant cure.  
 Ri. ot bone noiriture.  
 509, En vient.  
 524, qui.

- 535 Ri. au preste sovant jure  
 Qu'il lo resanble.  
 Toz li cuers de joie li tranble,  
 Et chascun jor lo soen li  
 enble  
 La menestrel.  
 540 Au borjois redit autretel,  
 Et dit au chevalier Viel  
 Qu'il iere suens:  
 Mout par est preuz et biax  
 et buens;  
 Se engenré l'aüst .i. cuens  
 545 Ne fust plus biax.  
 Or a Ri. toz ses aviax  
 Por Sansonet.  
 De lui bien vestir s'antremet  
 Et a toz cez sore lo met  
 550 Qui li ont fait.  
 N'i a si cointe do[nt] el n'ait,  
 [129 r<sup>a</sup>]  
 Car trop set d'arz.  
 Ri. lace de totes parz.  
 Tant crut Sansons qu'il fu  
 granz garz.  
 555 Par la parole  
 Fu Sansonez mis a escole.  
 Mout ot cler sans,  
 N'ot si sotil en toz les rans:  
 Son sautier sot en po de  
 tans,  
 560 Chanta .ii. anz,  
 Voiz ot sor les autres enfanz,  
 Mout sot et conduiz et so-  
 chanz.  
 Vait a gramaire,  
 En .i. en sot bon ditié faire.  
 565 Con plus aprant et plus  
 eslaire  
 Tant a fait vers
- Qu'il en set faire de divers.  
 N'ot en l'escole si porvers,  
 Mout bien aprant,  
 570 Et li maistres bien i entant  
 Por lo grant loier qu'il en  
 prant  
 Del preste fol.  
 Tant l'a Ri. feru el mol  
 Qu'il a grisset mantel au col;  
 575 Or est au lange.  
 Au borjois vialt tolir lo  
 chanje,  
 Et par menacë et par blanje  
 Que par proier  
 A tant mené lo chevalier  
 580 Que tot li a fait engagier  
 [129 v<sup>a</sup>]  
 Et terre et feu.  
 Qant Ri. est en icel leu  
 Mout li aconté  
 Que Sansons sanble fil de  
 conte,  
 585 Car preuz est, isnelemant  
 monte  
 Sor son cheval.  
 Ne dote mont, conbe ne val,  
 Einz s'essaie con bon vasal,  
 Nelui ne crient.  
 590 "Sire, fait ele, il t'appartient  
 Car mout est fiers;  
 Il est autex comme tu ies,  
 Mout s'afiche sor les estriers,  
 Bien s'ademet.  
 595 En cest país n'a nul vallet  
 Qui plus sache de Sansonet."  
 Viex acroit, del suen i met.  
 Au borjois dit  
 Que Sansonet son fil aït  
 .....

535, dure.

558, tot.

552, art.

591, c. m. e. f. et sajes.

- 600 Del conter fait a grant es-  
ploit,  
El li dit voir, se il la croit  
Ne n'iert pas grief  
Et sa rante metra en brief.  
Ce dit au preste,  
605 Que Sansons est des autres  
mestre,  
Mout aimē en escole a estre  
Por plus savoir.  
Li danz set bien qu'ele dit  
voir,  
Si li charje tot son avoir.  
610 Ri. lo prant, [129 v<sup>2</sup>]  
Si s'en conroie richemant  
Car li garcons pas nel des-  
pant.  
.....  
Qui croit Ri. et qui la fot  
Mout est chaitis.  
615 Or a Ri. ses .iiii. amis  
Par son engin sor fussiax  
mis;  
Et Sansonez a tant apris  
Par son cler sans  
Qu'i[1] est dialecticiens.  
620 Lo jeu des dez aprist par  
tans  
Et lo lechois.  
Volantiers vait o les cortois.  
Sonez set faire et servantois  
Et rotruanges.  
625 Fames deçoit par ses los-  
anges.  
Ses costez lace a longues  
franges  
Et sa çainture;  
Coetee a sa vestëure.  
En lecherie met sa cure;  
630 Chascuns retrait a sa nature.  
\*Sanson revate, ?  
N'i a si roide qu'il n'abate  
Ne si cointe que il ne mate.  
Mout set caraudes,  
635 Les fames fait plus que feu  
chaudes;  
Les plus cointes fait estre  
baudes  
Et envoisiees.  
Soz soi les fait estre enra-  
giees. [130 r<sup>1</sup>]  
Au bordel en a envoiees  
640 Plus d'un millier  
Que il a mises au mestier.  
Mout par les set bien engig-  
nier  
Et bareter. *etc.*  
De si a Bar n'en a son per  
645 De lecherie,  
Car il li vient d'ancesserie.  
Ri. sa mere lo chastie:  
"Sansons, biax fiz, di moi  
quel vie  
Tu meneras.  
650 Voiz lo preste de Saint  
Thomas,  
Mout sera liez s'a lui t'an  
vas;  
Ou au borjois  
T'an va, s'i changeras a pois,  
Ou a dan Viel, lo cortois,  
655 Biax fiz, t'an va."  
"Par Deu, mere, ne ça ne la  
N'est l'aler[s] preuz,  
Car apovriz les avez toz.  
Ne puis sofrir malvais de-  
groz."  
660 Ri. s'an rit par de desoz,  
Sanson fait here:  
612, nes. 616, P. s. e. fin f. m. 638, sor soi.

- "Mais or me dites, bele  
 mere,  
 Li qex de ces .iii. est mes  
 pere?"  
 "Biax fiz, ne sai,  
 665 Car a chascun de .iii. coplai,  
 Et a mil autres. Pas n'en ai  
 Envers toi honte.  
 Fame sor cui tex pueples  
 monte [130 r<sup>2</sup>]  
 Conmant savroit tenir lo  
 conte  
 670 De ses enfanz?  
 Ne sai[t] de cui conçoit ne  
 qant.  
 De ces. .iii. va au plus  
 menant;  
 Met t'an a chois."  
 "Mere, ne ça ne la ne vois;  
 675 En cest país plus nen estois,  
 Aler m'an voil,  
 Ja n'ert prodom dedanz son  
 soil.  
 As riches cors panré escoil  
 De cortoisie.  
 680 Une masse sai de clergie,  
 Connoistre voil chevalerie;  
 S'avré les fames  
 Et les cortoisies riches dames.  
 Mout les metrai encor en  
 brames  
 685 Et en error,  
 Se puis encor [avoir] del lor  
 Et par boidie et par amor."  
 Ri. s'an rit.  
 "Biax fiz Sanson, que as tu  
 dit?  
 690 Ja sez tu encor si petit  
 De cest tripot?
- Envers les fames n'en sez  
 mot;  
 Les homes font tenir por  
 sot."  
 "Mere, cil qui entant et ot  
 695 Ses bons a[u]tors  
 Set bien de fames les tres-  
 tors,  
 Car il descovre bien lor mors  
 Et lor nature." [130 v<sup>1</sup>]  
 "Fiz, cil qui sevent d'escrite-  
 ture  
 700 Solent amer a demesure;  
 Cil qui plus set  
 Aime plus tost et plus tost  
 [h]et  
 S'il voit chose qui li agret.  
 Cil qui set plus  
 705 Est par fame plus tost mis  
 jus  
 Que cil qui conoissent lor us,  
 Qui que s'en gart.  
 Fame cointe de male part  
 Si se fait bien ver[s] lo mu-  
 sart  
 710 Et cointe et fiere."  
 "Mere, je sa[i] bien la  
 meniere,  
 Mainte en ferai encore cor-  
 siere.  
 N'i a si cointe  
 Que je ne face vers moi  
 jointe.  
 715 Se je tant faz que l'aie  
 pointe,  
 Tot li torrai;  
 Ja nule rien ne li lairai."  
 "Avoi, Sanson, certes bien  
 sai,

671, qanz.

696, tristors.

672, ses.

699, les escriture.

680, messe.

Encor la te reproverai  
 720 Ceste parole.  
 N'i a si cointe clerc d'escole  
 Que n'aie mise en ma jaiole  
 Et toz raans.  
 Biax fiz Sanson, si con je  
 pans,  
 725 Encor avras perdu lo sans  
 Par art de fame.  
 Mout crien qu'ele ne te  
 raame."  
 "Il n'a, dist il, si bele dame  
 [130 v<sup>2</sup>]  
 En cest pais  
 730 Que tant fusse de li espris  
 Que j'en poisse estre a pié  
 mis,  
 S'an sui toz fiz."  
 "S'ansi lo faiz, Sanson, con  
 diz,  
 Don sai je bien que ies mes  
 fiz."  
 735 Ri. ne fine,  
 Sansonet aprant et dostrine  
 Conmant doit joer a mes-  
 chine  
 Et servir dame soz cortine  
 .....  
 Estroit la corbe, bien s'an-  
 pai[g]ne,  
 740 Soef la baist, vers soi l'es-  
 traigne  
 Tant qu'ele l'aint—  
 Qu'est debonaires, totjorz  
 vaint—  
 Tot dis promete,  
 Vers fames soit totjorz en  
 dete,

723, tor (?).  
 749, qui mout.

728, fame.  
 755, cort.

745 De lor servir bien s'antre-  
 mete  
 De bel parler.  
 Mout set Ri. de l'art d'amer  
 Qui Sansonet vialt dostri-  
 ner;  
 Et mout en cuide  
 750 Sansonez savoir par Ovide.  
 Ri. sa mere li aide.  
 La nuit sejourne;  
 A sa mere, qant il ajorne,  
 A pris congié, puis si s'an  
 torne,  
 755 Veit s'an a corz.  
 Sansons ne fu ne fox ne  
 lorz,  
 Ançois se fist amer a toz,  
 Car il set tant [131 r<sup>1</sup>]  
 Que n'en i a petit ne grant  
 760 Qui ne li face bel sanblant.  
 Et si ot grace,  
 Ne lor desplaist chose qu'il  
 face;  
 Par sa parole les enlace.  
 Par amistié  
 765 Et par angin a porchacié  
 Sanson don a ahernechié  
 Son palefroï.  
 Richemant vait, a bel con-  
 roi;  
 Bien set parler devant .i. roi  
 770 Et devant conte  
 Bel et cortoisement sanz  
 honte.  
 Mar fu qant a enor ne  
 monte,  
 Mais il ne puet;  
 De Ri. sa mere li muet

730, de lui.  
 756, lors.

745, de sor servir.

- 775 La nature qu'il li estuet  
Sore et tenir.  
A pris ne puet i[1] pas  
venir  
Car del lechois ne puet  
partir,  
Il nel lairoit  
780 Por trestot l'avoir que il  
voit;  
Non feroit il, qui li donroit  
L'anor de Rome.  
De lecherie set la some.  
En nule cort  
785 Ne trove si lonc ne si cort  
Qui tant en sace.  
N'i a nul qui taisir ne face.  
O qu'i[1] veigne, soe est la  
place, [131 r<sup>2</sup>]  
Tant set de bordes <sup>ok</sup>  
790 De proverbes et de falordes. <sup>1413</sup>  
Mains a beles, plaines non  
gordes;  
Fames afole,  
Voiz a; bien chante et bien  
parole,  
Bien en porroit tenir escole,  
795 Mout i entant.  
Soz ciel nen a cel estrumant  
Don Sansons ne sache  
grantmant.  
Plus set Sansons  
Rotruange, conduiz et sons;  
800 Bien set faire les lais  
bretons.  
Si set des dez  
Plus que nus hom de mere  
nez;  
Onques n'en pot estre en-  
✓janez
- En nule guise.  
805 Trestoz ses conpeignons  
jostise,  
Mainz en fait trambler a l'as-  
sise,  
Il les despoille.  
\*Englootie a mainte coille  
Car il est forz.  
810 Plusors en a gitié as porz  
Et as putains puanz et orz  
Plus que lanternes.  
Onques rien ne perdi en  
quernes,  
N'a enbesa, n'a .ii. en ternes,  
815 Totjors a quines;  
\*En .ii. des .iii. bouez ot  
quines.  
Tuit li plusor [131 v<sup>1</sup>]  
Des lechëors en font seignor.  
Il les esvoille,  
820 Sansons les met en la cor-  
boille:  
Qui mis i est pas ne so-  
moille.  
Sansons les bat,  
Ja n'ert si cointes qu'il no  
mat  
Ainz qu'il s'an tort.  
825 De Londre jusq'a Monz n'a  
cort  
O Sansons ne voist et sejort.  
Sansons est biax,  
A cez citez, a cez chastiax  
As fames bastist gries cen-  
biax,<sup>7</sup>  
830 Tost lor deniers, dras et  
aniaux,  
Neant a force;  
.I. cotel a don les escorce,

777, apres.

803, encienez.

791, m. a. b. ne plaines non g.

825, Des L. jusq' as monz.

793, farin parole.

- C'est la losange.  
Ce est Sansons qui toz nos  
vange  
835 Des pautonieres  
Qui si se font envers nos  
fieres.  
Plus de mil en a fait cor-  
sieres,  
Mout est sauvage  
La meschine qu'il n'as[o]aje  
840 As dames fait muer coraje;  
Se il s'an poine  
N'i a si cointe qu'il n'en  
moine.  
Sansons les point jusqu'a la  
vaine,  
Il les met en la grant alaine,  
845 Les malsenees;  
Plus de .vii. cent en a  
menees,  
Puis les lait, qant les a  
robees. [131 v<sup>2</sup>]  
Sansons a droit,  
S'il les fames tient en des-  
troit.  
850 Ri. sa mere homes deçoit  
Et ses ahane; *RELW 252* ✓  
Sansonez les fames enjane,  
N'en a son per jusc'a Viane  
De bien deçoivre.  
855 Del Noagre de ci c'au  
Toivre  
N'avra qui miauz sache de-  
çoivre  
Char de famele.  
Sansons set tant de la favele  
Que les plus cointes en apele  
860 Del jeu.  
Enui lor fait, s'il en a leu.  
Sansons ne a terre ne feu,  
Mais des fames quialt lo  
ton[l]eu  
Par Alemaigne,  
865 Par Lonbardie et par Bre-  
tagne,  
Et as Françoises regaaigne  
Aucune chose.  
En Engleterre passer ose  
Qui de la mer est tote en-  
close,  
870 Nes en Irlande  
Font les dames qanqu'i[l]  
conmande,  
Et de ci q'an Inde la grande  
A il esté;  
Iluec a il mout conquesté.  
875 Sor putains a la po[ē]sté  
Li fiz Ri.;  
Cele qui l'escondit s'an  
diaut. [132 r<sup>1</sup>]  
Sansons est sages,  
De totes corz set les usages;  
880 Entre amanz porte les mes-  
ages  
Cortoisement.  
Asamblé en a plus de .c.,  
Si ne li chaut si sont parant;  
Ses espose, c'une n'en prant  
885 Mais qu'il gaaint.  
Ce set il bien qu'en pechié  
maint,  
Mais li deliz do mont lo  
vaint  
Qui mout li plaist.  
De ce se vit, de ce se paist  
890 Richemant; ja ne cuit qu'il  
laist  
Iceste vie.

851, alume.

884, ces.

855, a coivre.

889, de ce ce v. de ce ce p.

856, aira.

- En volanté m'est que vos die  
De ses pechiez une partie  
Des criminiaux.
- 895 Moines devint a Clerevax,  
S'ot les blans dras, s'ert  
moines faux  
Et tot sans loi,  
A ses freres manti sa foi,  
Fuit s'an, s'en mena o soi
- 900 .I. cheval sor.  
Si en porta tot lo tresor,  
Croiz, calices d'argent et  
d'or,  
Li fox, li ivres.  
Bien en porta .lx. livres,
- 905 Car grant despanse  
Moine Sanson, qu'il ne  
s'asanse [132 r<sup>2</sup>]  
De Deu servir, tant ne se  
panse,  
Mais dès presant  
Par tot ravist, par tot des-  
pant.
- 910 Maint cuer a fait triste et  
dolant  
L'angin Sanson.  
Jusq'au flun Jordain n'a  
maison  
Ne covant de relegion  
O n'ait pris ordre.
- 915 Qant lui plaist, bien s'an set  
estordre,  
Mais il vialt ainz ses freres  
mordre;  
Trestoz les robe,  
Pechié ne dote ne oprobe,  
Toz les vaint Sansons par  
sa lobe.
- 920 Il devint preste(s)  
896, c'ert.
- Sacrez fu, ce dit, a Vincs-  
tre.  
A ces nonains dist qu'il vialt  
estre  
Lor chapelains:  
Mar lo creïrent les nonains,
- 925 Car les plusor en fist pu-  
tains,  
Puis les roba.  
Tant a alé et ça et la  
Que plus de .c. en afolà.  
Une abeesse
- 930 En amena grosse et espesse,  
Puis devint ele jugleresse.  
Sanson enchante  
Trestotes celes o il ante;  
I[1] fout la niece et puis la  
tante,
- 935 Puis les sorors. [132 v<sup>1</sup>]  
A droit lo fait et a rebors,  
Desor toz autres lechëors  
Iert il lechieres;  
Sor eles a esté trechieres
- 940 Plus que gorpille  
Qui par engin prant la cor-  
nille.  
Sanson art fames et essille,  
La mere fout et puis la fille  
Et les coisines.
- 945 Sanson les fout totes sov-  
ines,  
Les genoz lor met as poit-  
rines,  
Il croist en coste  
Et a copresse et a soposte;  
Sanson croist bien,
- 950 A bachet et a pissechien.  
Plus set Sansons,  
907, de suir or fuir. 918, porbre.



- Car il les croist a estupons.  
 Pardonez nos s'ansi parlons  
 Vos qui entandez nos rai-  
 sons,  
 955 Tex est l'estoire,  
 N'en volon oster ne aoire.  
 De bien croistre ot Sanson  
 gloire  
 Et pris et los.  
 Maintes en monta sor les dos  
 960 A cui il fist croistre les os.  
 Onques Sansons nen ot re-  
 pos  
 De lecherie.  
 D'angignier ot il la maistrie,  
 Toz les vainqui de lecherie.  
 965 Sansons set tot:  
 Une estorse set et un bot,  
 [132 v<sup>2</sup>]  
 N'i a putain, se il la fout,  
 Que ne li face dire "tprot"  
 D'el que de boche.  
 970 Mal ait Sansons qui si les  
 toche.  
 Cele robē avoc cui coche  
 En recelee.  
 Mainte en avra ensi menee,  
 Et qant ce vint a l'anjornee  
 975 Trovoit soi nue. *et 975*  
 Cel jor l'estovoit estre an  
 mue. *et 975*  
 Ne se demonstroit pas en  
 rue.  
 Trop set Sansons qui si  
 -treslue  
 Et qui si enble  
 980 A totes celes ou asamble. *et 1010*  
 Ri. sa mere bien resamble  
 Qu'il fu ses fiz.  
 953, parlant. 956, accroire. 968, trop.
- Ainz Sanson ne fu eschar-  
 niz  
 Fors par Ri. la meretriz.  
 985 Seignor, oēz  
 Conmant Sansons fu en-  
 ganez,  
 Bien lo sai dire.  
 San., qui des fames ert sire,  
 .Vii. anz o plus fu en Sezille,  
 990 Puis s'an avança ver[s]  
 Saint Gile  
 Droit a Tolose  
 Que li rois Henris tant  
 golose.  
 Mainte meschine et mainte  
 espose  
 I fist dolante.  
 995 Qant l'estre plus ne li tal-  
 ante,  
 Vint an Berri, [133 r<sup>1</sup>]  
 La o sa mere l'ot norri:  
 Veoir la veut,  
 Cuida fust la o hetier sueut.  
 1000 N'i estoit pas dame Ri.;  
 Sanson s'an torne,  
 Les chastiax vait cerchant a  
 orne,  
 A Paris vient, iluec sejourne  
 Une qui[n]zaine,  
 1005 Grant joie et grant deduit i  
 moine,  
 Mainte putain i mist en  
 poine.  
 Vient a Biauvez,  
 Iloques tient Ri. ses plaiz.  
 Qant Sansons vint, mout fu  
 destroiz  
 Des citeains;  
 Tuit li demandent s'il est  
 sains.

- Sa guere quialt vers les pu-  
tains,  
Ri. lo voit,  
A lui est venue tot droit;  
1015 El lo salue,  
Il li rant mais ne se remue.  
Sansons ne l'a pas conëue  
Car .xii. anz a ne l'ot vëue.  
Ri. se rit  
1020 Des deduiz que faire li vit.  
A soi meïsmes panse et dit.  
"Si m'aït Dex,  
De nos .ii. est li plus cruex  
O je vers ome[s]  
1025 O il vers fames? car mout  
somes  
Saje de l'art. [133 r<sup>2</sup>]  
Sansons fet escot et esgart  
En cel carroge."  
Ri. n'atant plus, ainz  
s'ap[r]oche  
1030 Vient a l'ostel,  
Herselot trova la jael.  
Tote jor n'antandoit a el  
Fors au panser  
Conmant porroit Sanson  
gaber  
1035 Et engignier.  
Ri. fait Herselot baignier,  
Au col li mist bon mantel  
chier,  
D'orfrois li lace  
Les .ii. costez et en rebrace.  
1040 De blanchet li poroi[n]t la  
face  
Et lo menton.  
El vis asist lo vermeillon  
Desor lo blanc
- Por ce que del natural sanc  
1045 Po i avoit.  
Hersanz pert bele, mais n'es-  
toit,  
Ainz ert boschiee.  
Ri. se hate ainz que s'an  
chiee  
Cele color.  
1050 Bien sanble fille de contor.  
Par li [i]ert Sansons en  
error  
Se Ri. puet.  
Cointemant ovrer lor estuet;  
Ri. o Herselot s'esmuet,  
1055 Vont s'an lo pas  
De l'autre part chies dan  
Thomas [133 v<sup>1</sup>]  
Un riche marchant de dras.  
Une beasse  
Avoit en la maison mout  
grasse  
1060 Qui de tripot sot une masse.  
Ri. l'apele:  
"Parlez a moi, ma damoi-  
sele.  
Dire vos sai bone novele.  
Or de l'aidier  
1065 Se tu viax avoir bon loier,  
Monte laissus en cel solier  
O Herselot,  
Que vostre gent n'en sachent  
mot."  
Tout li a conté lo tripot.  
1070 Or monte sus;  
Ri. s'an ist, n'i tarda plus.  
Ensi con ele issoit de l'uis  
De la maison,  
Garde, si voit venir Sanson.

1023, oruex.

1031, lael.

1025, semes.

1046, pt.

1027, Sansonet escot.

- 1075 Encontré l'a, mist l'a raison,  
Tint soi mout simple,  
Qu'il ne s'averte, mist sa  
guimple  
Sor son viaire.  
Primes parole por atraire,  
1080 Apres soef por miauz  
atraire:  
"San. n'ies pas, par Saint  
Alaire,  
Frans ne cortois ne debo-  
naire,  
Por noiant te vantes  
Qu'antremetre te sez de  
tantes.  
1085 N'a moi ne viens, n'a moi ne  
antes.  
Mout par fais mal. [133 v<sup>2</sup>]  
Ja tant n'iras n'amont n'aval  
Que tu vieignes a mon ostal;  
Sanson, vien i,  
1090 Il n'est pas loin, voiz lo de  
ci.  
La moie foi, Sanson, t'afi,  
Se vialx do mien  
Ja ne voldras icele rien  
Que tu n'aies, car je t'ain  
bien.  
1095 Amis Sanson, avoc moi  
vien."  
Sansons l'antant,  
Bien aperçoit qu'ele li mant  
Et sel trait a decevment;  
Ne la resoigne.  
1100 Hai, quel nonain et quel  
moine!  
Mout set chascuns [d'els] de  
faloine  
Et de boidie.  
San. li dist a voiz serie:  
1090, te ci.  
1114, Amont a la fenestre.
- "Conmant avez vos non,  
amie?"  
1105 "Amis, an m'apele Florie."  
"Florie bele,  
Benoi(e)te soit tex dam-  
oisele  
Qui son ami ensin apele.  
Merciz et grez  
1110 Del bel apel que fait m'avez.  
Ja dites vos que vos m'amez  
Et je ain vos."  
San. garda, li avrillox,  
Amont sor destre,  
1115 Vit Herselot a la fenestre.  
"Florie, di por Saint Sel-  
vestre [134 r']  
Qui est ce la?  
Voiz quel cors et quel vis  
ele a."  
"Ou?" dist Ri. Il li monstra.  
1120 "En cel solier."  
"A! dist Ri., ce n'a mestier.  
C'est la fille a un chevalier  
Preu et cortois,  
Qui l'a mise chies un borjois  
1125 Qui l'aprant a ovrer orfrois  
Avec sa fille."  
San[sonez] d'angoisse fre-  
tille.  
Or ne se prise une co(r)-  
quille  
\*S'il ne se leue.  
1130 "Florie bele, car te leue."  
"Vers cui?" "Vers moi,  
qu'ele me seue  
Et qu'ele m'aint."  
"Ostez, dist ele, a rien  
n'ataint."  
De lui aidier Ri. se faint.  
1099, raisone.  
1134, fait.

- 1135 "S'amors, dist il, lo cuer  
m'estraint  
Desoz l'aissele.  
De si qu'a Rome n'a si bele,  
Non de si q'as porz de Bor-  
dele.  
Florie, va de lieu, l'apele.  
1140 Se tant fais que mete ma sele  
Je sui tes hom.  
Si pran del mien tot a ban-  
don."  
Ri. en vait en la maison  
Faire proiere.  
1145 Trestot dit a la chanberiere  
Con lo feront, en quel men-  
iere. [134 r<sup>2</sup>]  
A Sanson s'an revait arriere  
A po de pose.  
"Avez rien fait?" Oïl.  
"Quel chose?"  
1150 "Vaincue l'ai, la flor de rose,  
Mais mout par sui herdie et  
ose  
Que ç'ai enpris.  
Par la foi que doi Saint  
Denis,  
Trestot l'avoir de cest païs  
1155 Ne me garroit,  
Se li chevaliers lo savoit,  
Que n'aüsse de mort des-  
troit.  
Mout sui desvee,  
Moie corpe, malaüree!  
1160 Je ai la meschine enjannee.  
Mais or t'an va;  
Sanpres a vespres revien ça,  
Car, se je puis, ele i vanra  
Hastivemant.
- 1165 Mais el est mout de haute  
jant,  
Si covient bel atornemant  
La ou si riche rien descent.  
Avroies tu nes pas d'ar-  
gent?"  
Sansonez l'ot,  
1170 Bien aperçoit qu'ele l'anclo  
Puisque do suen vialt faire  
escot,  
Mais lui sovient  
Qui ne done ce que chier  
tient  
A ce qu'il aime a poine vient.  
1175 Sansons foloie,  
.V. sous li done de monoie.  
[134 v<sup>1</sup>]  
Et si li dit que plus acroie  
S'an a mestier,  
Il sora tot au repairier.  
1180 San. la cuide engignier  
Et el Sanson.  
Ri. a recëu son don;  
Par convenant  
Herseloz trait son vis avant,  
1185 Si li a fait .i. bel sanblant.  
Ri. la cine de son gant,  
El se retrait.  
"Amis Sanson, tu as ton  
plait,  
Va, si revien." Sanson s'an  
veit,  
1190 Ri. remaint.  
Del conroi faire ne se faint,  
Del autrui en a el fait maint  
Des biax ators.  
Et Ri. quiert .vii. lechëors

1139, apes.

1173, qu'il ne done.

1183, ton tenant.

1142, del main.

1177, Et cele.

1148, Po de chose.

1181, ele.

- 1195 Qui li venissent a secors  
D'un home prandre.  
Tot lo tripot lor fait entan-  
dre,  
Tot lor aprant:  
Qant il vanra celeemant  
1200 A la meschine,  
Tot lo despoillent par ravine,  
Nel tochent d'espee acerine  
Ne de baston,  
Qar bien savoit que c'ert  
Sanson,  
1205 Ses fiz,  
Qui ainz ne pot estre escher-  
niz. [134 v<sup>2</sup>]  
Gaber lo vialt la meretriz.  
Ci[l] li otroient,  
Car si detor trestuit estoient.  
1210 A l'ostel liee l'an envoie[nt].  
Ri. repaire,  
Vient a l'ostel, lo feu esclaire  
\*Jons et flors espandre par  
l'aire  
Et li jors faut.  
1215 Ez vos Sanson, en l'ostel  
saut  
Qui mout estoit et liez et  
baut.  
"Florie, fait il, Dex vos  
saut,  
Li fiz Marie."  
"Sanson[et], Dex te be-  
neie."  
1220 "Don n'est [enc]or venue  
m'amie?"  
"Nenil, amis.  
Que diz, Sanson? Trop ies  
hastis,  
Encor ne puet, n'est mie  
asis."
- Ez vos Hersant,  
1225 Sansonez par la main la  
prant,  
La pute tranble dant a dant.  
"Avoi! Florie,  
Avez me vos donques  
traïe?"  
San. li dist. "Nenil, amie,  
1230 Nenil, ma bele.  
Mais vostre amor mout me  
favele;  
Li cuers m'estraint desoz  
l'aissele  
Por vostre amor.  
Se je pert vos, n'en ai retor;  
1235 Ja n'avra[i] mais joie nul  
jor."  
Et Herselot [135 r<sup>1</sup>]  
Li respont au miauz qu'ele  
sot;  
Plore et sanglote mot a mot  
Tot par faintié:  
1240 "Florie, mal as exploitié  
Qui a Sanson m'as acointié,  
Mais or li otroi m'amistié  
Par vostre lox.  
Herdie sui qant faire l'ox,  
1245 Mout par sui fole."  
Dit Ri., "Ja n'en iert par-  
ole."  
Et Sansons la baise et acole,  
Et ele plore.  
El haster Sanson se demore,  
1250 Mais del foutre estoit tans  
et ore;  
Ja li feïst  
Se Herseloz li consantist,  
Mais el tressaut, tranble et  
fremist  
Con s'el fust chaste.

1202, nes.

1234, pt.

1238, sangle.

- 1255 Ri., qui tot prant et tot gaste,  
 La table a mise.  
 Lez Sanson s'est Hersanz  
 assise,  
 Des mes mangerent a devise  
 Et burent mout  
 1260 De bon vin ferré et estolt.  
 Herselot avoit cler lo volt  
 A la chandoille;  
 La face avoit clere et ver-  
 moille,  
 Pert que ce soit une mer-  
 voille  
 1265 Del vermeillon.  
 Apres mangier la prist San-  
 son, [135 r<sup>2</sup>]  
 Si l'an moine, o voille o non;  
 El lit l'estant,  
 Les dras li lieve, el se deff-  
 ant  
 1270 Por les lechëors qu'ele atant.  
 Si estoit ele nequedant  
 En grant engoisse  
 Del recevoir plus que n'est  
 moisse.  
 A deslacier Sansons s'es-  
 loisse,  
 1275 Par lo peignil, qui sanble  
 moisse,  
 Li mist l'outil,  
 \*Car la pute tot son penil.  
 Des qu'il s'ahurte au dusil,  
 Au cors abrive;  
 1280 Il n'i trova ne fonz ne rive  
 Plus qu'i[1] feïst en une  
 (h)ive.  
 San. s'esmaie,  
 Arriere saut, si se desraie,  
 "Ahi! dist il, pute fresaie,  
 1285 Escharni m'as.
- Mauvais serai, s'ensi t'an  
 vas;  
 Einçois me laisseras tes dras.  
 Certes ja ne m'an gaberass."  
 Il lieve sus,  
 1290 Et Herselot lo retrait jus.  
 Ez vos les lechëors a l'uis,  
 Traient les branx.  
 Que feïst uns encontre tanz?  
 "Ne vos movez," dit li plus  
 granz.  
 1295 I[1] l'ont saisi. [135 v<sup>1</sup>]  
 Ce dit Ri., "Seignor, merci!  
 Por quoi l'avez si asailli?  
 Ce est folie."  
 Li uns respont, "Dame  
 Florie,  
 1300 Nostre parante avez honie  
 Et vos et il perdroy la vie."  
 Mout lo menacent,  
 Lo mantel del col li delacent,  
 Tot lo despoillent,  
 1305 Ne li font mal don il se  
 doille.  
 San. crient que mort ne re-  
 coille,  
 Demande lor,  
 "Por coi me honissiez, seig-  
 nor?"  
 Ce dit li uns, "Por ma  
 ser[or]  
 1310 Que avez traite a desenor."  
 Ri. lor prie par amor  
 Qu'il ne l'ocient,  
 Et cil ne font mais que s'an  
 rient.  
 "Plegiez lo moi,  
 1315 Ce dit Ri., desor ma foi."  
 Dit li plus maïstres, "Je  
 l'otroi."

Or est plegiez,  
 En la maison se gist toz liez.  
 Ci fenit de Richaut et conmanche des Fevres.

## NOTES

Title: *Ci fenist Catons en romanz et conmanche de richaut*. I have retained the orthography *Richeut* by which the poem is commonly known and which would represent the orthography of the author for the German *Richild*.

Text: in the following notes M. indicates the text of Méon, B., P. and T. respectively the corrections proposed by Bédier, G. Paris and Tobler.

V. 7. M. *Qu'ele atrait tot a sa guise*. Evidently in the *asguise* of the ms. the copyist intended *a sa guise*, but the rhyme indicates a fault. I am inclined to take *que* as a conjunction and correct:

Que les atrait totes et guie  
 Par son atrait.

*A sa guie* also suggests itself (cf. Provençal *guia*, *guida* in the sense of guidance). *Guie* in French seems to be always masculine and to designate the person and not the action. However, it doubtless originally designated the action and we might have here a remnant of an older use of the word as a *nom d'action*. Cf. G. Paris, *Romania*, xxix, 442.

V. 10. *Richeut* seems to be used here in the general sense of *entremetteuse*.

V. 12, 15. *en* = *on*.

V. 17. Si croi, se Diex me beneie,  
 Que fame qui ainsi se lie  
 Et se desguise  
 Et son chartois tant aime et prise,  
 N'est pas de grant bonté esprise  
 Dedenz le cuer.

(*Des Cornetes*, Jubinal, *Jongleurs et Trouveres*, 90, 91.) Cf. also *Li mariages des filles au diable*, Jubinal, *Nouveau Recueil*, I, 287; *Roman de la Rose*, 14238 ff., and *Romania*, xxix, 70.

V. 49, 50. I have adopted the punctuation suggested by G. Paris. It would be possible, however, to read, with Méon, period after 50 and no punctuation after 49.

V. 54. The verse is evidently corrupt. The ms. reads either *lerdefitier* or *lerdefinier*. Perhaps originally a noun and adjective or two adjectives of which the last was *fier*. I am unable to suggest a satisfactory correction. The suggestion of G. Paris, "*Dan Guillaume de Simier (ou quelque nom de pareil)*," was made on the basis of Méon's text which omits *ler*.

V. 55. B. *k'ert*. Cf. v. 742, *Qu'est debonaires tot jors vaint*.

V. 56. Tant i sejorna et tant fui  
 Que mon mantel mengai et bui  
 Et une cote et .i. sercot.

(*Du prestre teint*, Montaiglon et Raynaud, vi, 8.)

V. 63. P. *seit*. Perhaps Ri. *s'ert mout*, "she was indeed a Richeut." The ms. reads clearly *sert*.

V. 68. Bédier's statement, "Le ms. donne exactement: *Et si je ne iairai por honte*," is probably a misprint.

V. 74. Or, *mainte fame(s)*.

V. 79. B. *Lo mist el*. But *so = si lo*.

V. 88. The following verses seem to require *Au feu orent plus que .i. pot*, unless *n'avoir qu'un pot au feu* can mean here "make common cause," "eat together."

V. 101. For examples of *soi* for *lui*, see R. Warnecke, *Die Syntax des betonten Reflexivpronomens in Franz.*, 1908, p. 116.

V. 104. *Avenir* is used in the same sense in *Le Meunier d'Arleux*, Montaiglon et Raynaud, II, 43.

Car sachies il m'anuie forment  
Chou que il avint a ma feme.

V. 111. Perhaps *aver(s)*, accusative for nominative in the predicate.

V. 115. T. *par la u anche* (ebenso 1002 *enchant*, s. in Hollands Ausgabe des Ch. Lyon zu 2503; dagegen 999 *henter*). Tobler intends by *anche* a form from *engier* of which he would see the present participle in *enchant* 1002 (1001 of Méon's text). But 1002 should read *cerchant a orne* and 999 (M. 998) *hetier* (haitier). I therefore retain *par la vanche* and see in *vanche* the *vinca minor*, sometimes called *la violette des sorciers*. Herselot is proposing the ordinary magic with which she is familiar. In G. Paris' copy of Méon is the marginal note on 115, *Charmes li quierés por vengeance*.

V. 116-118. These verses refer to the practice, often mentioned in classical and medieval literature, of making figures of wax or lead which, when subjected to fire or placed in boiling water, cause the person whom they represent to burn with passion, suffer from fever or waste away. On this sort of sympathetic magic see Horace, *Satires*, I, viii, 29, Vergil, *Eclogues*, viii, 80, Theocritus, II, 28, 29; for the Middle Ages Heinrich Ploss-Max Bartels, *Das Weib in der Natur und Völkerkunde*, 9th ed. (1908), I, 646, and Hansen, *Geschichte des Hexwahns*, Bonn, 1901, where (p. 552) is quoted a report of a trial for sorcery at the Chatelet in 1390 which gives a detailed account of this method of vengeance. For a general bibliography on sympathetic magic cf. *Zeitschrift des Vereins für deutsche Volkskunde*, XXIII (1913), Heft I, p. 14.

V. 124. Here and 329 the regular oblique form *meisme* is assured by the metre; in 1021 either form can stand. For the form with *s* assured by rhyme see Foerster, *Yvain*, 3d edition, v. 65, note.

V. 126. B. *Corriger, Miaus est que atorne herbé boire* (il vaut mieux que je prépare une boisson d'herbes magiques). One could read also, *atorné herbé boive*.

V. 145-47. P. Il faut s. d. *Mandagloiré* et au v. suivant *o le claré*. T. *o le claré*. It seems to me doubtful that a copyist would have changed *o le claré* into the unintelligible *o ele esclaire*, and *Mandagloiré* is surprising even to force a rhyme. The *ot* of Méon's text is not in the ms. I should prefer to correct

La mandagloire.  
Ri. en but o elebore (electoire),  
Puis n'i fist el guieres demore.

If the copyist found *elebore* separated *o ele bore* he might have changed the



unintelligible *bore* into *esclaire*. Hellebore was a sort of cure-all for the ancients and during the Middle Ages. Among its many uses was as a stimulant for the organs of reproduction. Cf. U. S. Dispensatory, 15th edition, p. 1662. The mention of *mandaglore* for this purpose is frequent. See *Poème moralisé*, II, 32 ff., Romania, xiv, and *Recettes médicales en Provençal*, Romania, xxxii, 280.

V. 154-56. T. 154, 155 *tient, vient*, 156 *sofle et jient* (vgl. 337). For the expression *tenir sa main a sa maïssele* cf. Hamilton, *Zeitschrift für r. Phil.*, xxxiv, 571. For the same expression in Spanish H. Lang, *Transactions and Proceedings of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, vol. III, p. 16.

V. 174. T. etwa als Parenthese *Oies voisdie, oies fallace!*

V. 188. T. *Se je n'an feroie un juïse*. A correction does not seem to me necessary. *Porter un juïse* is common and the imperfect tense here does not seem impossible.

V. 214. *enmasse*, cf. *Du Fotéor*, 111 *En son cuer à enmer le prist*.

✓ V. 216. *Oz de pute orse*, cf. Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge* I, 17.

V. 233. T. *A un serjant*.

V. 234. P. *C'est R. qui apelle sa meschine*.

V. 241. For the pleonastic possessive adjective cf. *Vermischte Beiträge* II, 79.

V. 242. Richeut evidently addresses this verse to Hersent as she hands her the booty obtained from the priest. The following verses are addressed to Seignor Viel.

V. 250-51. The correction and punctuation is that of G. Paris. T. *Lasse meschine*. The construction is not entirely clear to me. *Cline* = submissive? It would also be possible to read *feïs* and perhaps interrogation after 250, connecting 251 with the following verse.

V. 273. T. *eüsse vengeance*. I take *longuemant* as a noun = *delai*, as *Se consoiller l'an doiz, n'i met pas longement*. J. Bodel, Sax. Lvii. See Godefroy.

V. 277. B. Corriger, malgré le ms.: *si tost auroient ome ocis*. T. *Qui tost avroient*. If we admit the hiatus the ms. reading can be retained with *ocis* as predicate participle, but *si* may well be a mistake for *qui* due to the *si* of the preceding verse.

V. 281. Perhaps *Ne sai de ces menaces c'ont* (qu'ont).

V. 289. T. *Puis si li*.

V. 324. P. *Assise l'a*. I have preferred *assise là* because of *asis se sont* of the preceding verse.

V. 343. P. *de ce l'aveu*. T. *l'aveu*.

V. 359. T. 359 (nach 360) *ne se verra*.

V. 365. Godefroy gives only this passage under *estosie* with the meaning *étonnée*, which is certainly erroneous. I have adopted Tobler's suggestion *esjoie*.

V. 372. Godefroy *suivant*(?), and quotes this passage. *Sivanz* is perhaps a case of present participle with passive meaning (see Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge* I, 36 ff.). For *en gest* the meaning given by Godefroy, *en gestation*, does not give a very satisfactory sense. Perhaps *en chaleur*. I have found no other examples of the word.

V. 377. T. *et les deçoit*. I prefer to retain the hiatus. On *enplumer* = *decevoir*, Foerster's note to *Cliges* 4532 and Ebeling, *Auberee*, p. 88.

V. 379. T. *A grosse borse Agnel se fait, puis devient orse*. *Lo pas moine home et puis l'acorse*. I see in *La grosse borse!* an expression applied to Richeut to emphasize her capacity for taking "tout quanqu'el voit."

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V. 395. The corrections of P. and T. are unnecessary; the ms. reads *raamme* not *mainne*. Cf. 726.

V. 400. M. *perist il*. P. *iceste*.

V. 408-10. The passage is not clear. It is possible, of course, to take *oie* as subjunctive present and translate, "Let H., who comforts, hear her mistress," making 410 an exclamation of the author. This makes, however, a rather strained construction and one would expect *Qu'atant je tant* to be an expression of impatience on the part of Herselot or Richeut. The suggestion of Tobler *A reconforter se cointoie* does not seem to me satisfactory and I have nothing better to offer. Perhaps, *Ce fust grant joie Herselot a la crine bloie, Qui reconfortë et amoie*. (?)

V. 418. *acline* may be either verb or adjective.

V. 426. T. *que*. *Qui* for *que* is found, but chiefly in the 13th century and after and then with transitive verbs; with intransitive verbs it is rare and as far as one can judge of the date of its appearance seems to be later than with transitives. Cf. Fahrenkamp, *Die Syntax der substantivischen Interrogativpromina*, p. 25 ff., and De Jong, *Die Relativ und Interrogativpromina*, p. 68.

V. 436. Perhaps *Cil li chargent et char et pois*, or *tot demanois*.

V. 448. The number of sponsors was not fixed until the Council of Trent.

V. 460. A variant of the common *costeïr et baignier*.

V. 476-79. These verses seem to be a direct quotation of the words of the *lechëor*.

V. 484. M. *repert*.

V. 495-96. *S'enorgoillir a engorllir*, "to take pride in putting money in her gorie (money-belt, purse)," in setting a higher price than formerly on her favors.

V. 508. *jaelice* here masculine. It is usually given as feminine, but in its most frequent use in the expression *en jaelice* there is no way of determining its gender.

V. 509. Or *s'en vient*. It might be possible to punctuate, period after 507, no punctuation after 508 and retain *en*.

V. 520. [*i*]ert ou val, until he shall be reduced to the last extremity, utterly impoverished. Although we should expect the subjunctive with *ençois que*, the indicative is found. That *ert* should be subjunctive of *errer*, 'engager en donnant des arrhes' and *val* = 'valeur,' does not seem to me possible.

V. 524. T. *que n'emboive* (denen sie es nicht anthue).

V. 525. T. *et don queque soit ne reçoive*. P. *et do quel que soit*.

V. 528. P. *Dont d*. T. *Done H. c'a por queu* (?).

V. 536. *Resambler* with the accusative. Cf. *Cliges* 6456, *Erec* 433, 770.

V. 555. T. *Par la parole Fu* (dem Gerede nach) oder *Por la parole* (um des Geredes willen). I would correct *Por la parole* (pour apprendre à bien parler).

V. 564. *en* = *annum*.

V. 568. B. *N'ot en l'escole si*. (sic dans le ms.). The ms. reads clearly *si porvers*, which, as G. Paris remarked in suggesting the word as satisfying the rhyme, does not agree very well with the sense of the passage.

V. 575. The ordinary expression is *se froter au lange*. *Guillaume de Dole* 2849. *Le mariage de Rutebeuf*, 95.

V. 577. T. *Que par m. que par blanje*. I have not corrected the ms. reading because I am not convinced that the author may not have written the sen-

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tence as it stands, the first *et* connecting the two clauses and the second arising through the influence of the first. The whole would then be equivalent to *Et, que par m. que par b. que par p.*

V. 591. P. *Car mout est fiers* (suppr. *et sages*). T. *fiers et mout est*.

V. 592. P. *iers*. Cf. the rhymes *borse: rescosse* 216, *corz: lors: toz* 754.

V. 598. There is evidently a lacuna of several verses after 598.

V. 599. T. *De conter set* (auf das Rechnen versteht sich der Junge). The sense seems to me clear as it stands. It is *Richeut* "qui fait grant exploit del conter" in talking to the *borjois* who is evidently a money-changer. Cf. 576, 653.

V. 606. T. *Et mout*. If we admit hiatus the correction is not necessary.

V. 613. T. *et qui la sant* (zu spuren bekommt). P. Lacune après 612.

✓ V. 616. T. *sor fusiaus* (auf die Spindeln, nämlich die leeren). The only other case of this expression known to me is found in Noack, *Strophenausgang in der Altfr. Lyrik* (Ausg. und Abhand. XCVIII), *uneroffentlichte Refrainlieder* I, 24, p. 99: *Les riches les povres metent aus fusiaus*. Jeanroy, in *Romania* XXX, p. 428, has noted the editor's mistaken explanation of the passage: "Dans l'expression '*mettre aus fusiaus*,' *fusiel* ne signifie certainement pas 'boyau, culier, derrière.' Elle signifie simplement, et l'origine en est claire, 'réduire à la pauvreté.'"

V. 623. For another early mention of *serventois* see Wace, *Geste des Normans*, Vol. 2, v. 153.

V. 631. *revate*. Godefroy, *revater, battre le pavé, d'après Méon*. Méon's definition is taken from Sainte-Palaye. This seems to be the only example of the word and it may be a copyist's mistake.

V. 637. B. ms. *soz soi*. The ms. has *sor soi*.

V. 653. On *a pois*, cf. *Auberee* 294 *Je te vueil rendre tout a pois*, and Ebeling's note to this verse. *Richeut* means that Sanson will take up the business of a money-changer.

V. 676. The necessity of traveling to become *prodhom* is mentioned in *Cliges* 154 ff.

V. 677. Or *n'iert* for ms. *n't*.

V. 680. T. *masse*.

V. 682. Or *savré*.

V. 686. One can supply either *avoir* or *prendre*.

V. 693. Méon prints incorrectly *Les fames font*. The ms. has *homes* and Tobler's correction *Els te feront* is thus unnecessary.

V. 695. T. *autors*.

V. 699. P. *l'escriture* ou mieux *d'escriture*. T. *l'escriture*.

V. 701. Perhaps better correct *que que*, "however much."

V. 739, 40. The subjunctives are due to some expression of advice or command in the omitted portion.

V. 776. *Sore* = *solre*. See Glossary.

V. 798. T. *Mout*. Perhaps *si set*.

= ✓ V. 808-13. P. *Englotie a mainte cooille*. The verses are not clear to me and I do not understand Gaston Paris' correction. What is *cooille*?

V. 814. T. *N'a ambesas n'a deus n'a ternes*, eines der *quines* wird mit *sines* zu vertauschen sein, doch bleibt 808-821 manches mir dunkel.

✓ V. 815. *bouez?* No word remotely resembling this appears in Semrau, *Wurfel und Wurfelspiel im Alten Frankreich*, who, p. 63, note, says of this pas-

sage: "Richaut rühmt vom ihrem Sohne Sanson dass er der beste Spieler der Welt sei: *onques rien ne perdi[t] en quernes, N'a enbesas (=ambesas) n'a deus en ternes, Totjorz a quines* (De Richaut 812, Méon I, 38). Wie der Sansons spielt, bleibt dahingestellt; doch dürfte *deus en ternes* 3 x 2 sein, so überraschend der Gebrauch von *ternes* auch sein mag. Das Gefühl, den Sinn des Distributiven ("je zwei") wiedergeben zu müssen, schlug sich auf 3, da für 2 keine Distributivzahl zur Verfügung stand." Semrau says nothing of the following verse, but, p. 48, note 2, says, "*en deus* = 'auf zweien' (Jus St. Nich. 904, 1116), wenn nämlich im ganzen drei im Spiele sind. Ebenso ib. 1131: *es (en les) autres .II.*, wozu näheres S. 51, unten." The two passages from Li Jus de Saint Nicholai read,

Mais j'en ferai bien .XI. en deus  
Et li autres soit deboutés. (904, 905)  
Giete; Diex te doinst .VII. en deus. (1116).

If we accept this meaning for *en deus* in our passage, *bouez* can mean the dice themselves. On the other hand it may mean "throws," or it may be a past participle. With regard to *en ternes* I am of the opinion of Tobler and would correct *n'a ternes*, the copyist's mistake being due probably to *en quernes* of the line above. I would also correct the second *quines* to *sines* and *bouez* to *sovent*, thus,

Onques rien ne perdi en quernes,  
N'a enbesas, n'a deus, n'a ternes,  
Totjors a quines;  
En .II. des .III. sovent ot sines.

I would translate, "He never lost by throwing fours, nor aces nor threes; he always threw fives and on two of the three he often had sixes."

✓ V. 820. The only examples of the expression *metre en la corbeille* with which I am familiar is in the story of Vergil in the basket. Cf. Comparetti, *Virgil im Mittelalter*, and DuMeril, *Mélanges archéologiques*, p. 429, note 4. From this story the expression may have taken a general use in the sense of "keep in fear or anxiety."

V. 851. P. *adame* (?) *œw 155'*

V. 855. P. *de ci c'au Toivre*.

V. 856. Or *N'an a*.

V. 896. I correct *s'ert* since there are several cases of *c* for *s* in the ms., a not infrequent trait in an Eastern copyist. The first *s* = *si*, the second, *sic*.

V. 907. P. *De Deu servir* (?).

V. 908. *del presant* (?).

V. 945 "Non omnes una figura decet. . . .

Mille modis veneris." Ovid., *De Arte amat.* 772 ff.

V. 947. *a soposte*. "Figurae quibus supinus rem habet cum prona." Cf. Ovid, *De Arte amat.* 777.

V. 950. *A brachet* (?).

V. 953-56. Cf. Chaucer's mock apology for his Miller's tale at the end of the prologue of that tale.

✓ V. 968. P. *Que ne li face dire tropt*. T. *Que ne li face dire prot*. For discussion of this exclamation and its varying orthography see the continuation of Tobler's note and further *Archiv für n. s.*, vol. 87, 277, and Hans Espe, *Die Interjection in Altfranz.*, p. 77.

V. 1023. T. *De nos qui est plus cruex O je vers omes O li vers fames?*  
*Car mout somes Saje de l'art. Sansons fet escout et esgart En cel carroge.*

V. 1029. *ainz* here preposition? That is, "before approaching Sanson."

V. 1032. On *tote jor* see Friedwagner, *La Vengeance Raguidel*, v. 90, note, and the literature there given.

V. 1040. T. *poroint* (wie vermutlich auch Bédier annimmt).

V. 1047. T. *beschiee* (narbig). This is the only example of *boschiee* given in Godefroy or found elsewhere to my knowledge. Tobler's correction is perhaps to be adopted.

V. 1077. T. *s'äunte* (*ahonte*). In the ms. the line above a vowel to indicate a nasal and the hook to indicate *er* are often so similar as to be indistinguishable.

V. 1079. T. *Primes parole par contraire, Apres soef por miex atraire*. The original may have had *atraire* in both places with a slight difference of meaning, 1079 *attirer*, 1080 *seduire, tromper*.

V. 1081. T. *Ilaire* oder *Acaire*?

V. 1001. P. *chascuns d'els*. T. *falsemoine* (ein mir sonst nicht begegnetes Wort).

V. 1114. P. *Amont sor destre*. T. *Amont a l'estre*.

V. 1119-21. *Il li monstra, En cel solier. A! dist Ri*. is omitted by Méon and the omission not noted by Bédier. The lacune noted by G. Paris is therefore in Méon, not in the ms.

V. 1127. P. and T. *toz fretille*. I have preferred to read *Sansonnez* for the ms. *San*.

V. 1129-31. P. *leue, leue, seue* (le second *leue* est loca, mais je ne comprends pas le premier; p.-ê corr. *S'il ne s'i jeeu?*). T. *s'aliue: te liue: me siue*.

V. 1148. P. *A po de pose*. T. *Et il la chose* (er dringt in sie).

V. 1177. T. *Et si li dit*.

V. 1180. T. *Sansonnez la c. e*. I prefer the hiatus.

V. 1183. P. *par contenant*. T. *par covenant*.

V. 1204. T. *sachent*. The correction is unnecessary; the subject of *savoit* is Richeut.

V. 1213. P. Lacune après 1112. T. *espart parmi l'aire*.

V. 1219. P. and T. *et Dex te beneie*.

V. 1234. M. *par vos*. The ms. has *pt*. Either *par* or *pert* gives a satisfactory sense. Cf. 1264 where the ms. has *p* for *pert* (paroir).

✓ V. 1273 ff. This passage, mentioned by Tobler as obscure to him, has several difficulties. *Plus que ne moisse* is not clear. In *Chansons et dits artesiens du xiii siècle*, A. Jeanroy et H. Guy (fascic. II de la Bibliothèque des Universités du Midi), no. xx, 56-58, we find

Au rover euc mout grant angoisse,  
 Ja n'est il nule poignans moisse  
 Avers rover ne tel mal face.

The glossary gives "*Moisse* xx, 56? Voyez d'autres exemples de ce mot dans Godefroy (s. v. Penil), et dans une *fratrasie* anonyme (Jubinal, *Nouveau Recueil* II, p. 220). Remacle (Dict. Wallon) traduit *moisse* par pierres dans les chaines des murs plus larges que celles de dessus et de dessous, pierres d'attente. Ce sens ne peut guère convenir ici." The passage in Godefroy under *Penil* is the passage from *Richeut*. The example from Jubinal reads

Quatre rat a moisse  
Faisoient monnoie  
D'un viez corbillon,  
Uns moines de croie  
Faisoit moult joie, etc.

Evidently the correct reading is *rat a moie*. However, in *Mots obscurs et rares*, Romania xxxiii, p. 578, is given "*Moisse*, mouche xiv s. Et ki est plus chetis cors que li cors des gens ki sovent est mis a mort par moisse et par autre petite bestelette. J. LeBel "*Li Ars d'Amour*, pp. Petit II, 315." The meaning *mouche* is satisfactory in the chanson quoted above and I am inclined to accept it as the probable meaning for *moisse* of v. 1273. That *mouche* should be used in such a comparison is not surprising and a passage from the *Roman de Renard* lends some support to this view. Hermeline and Hersent are accusing each other of lack of chastity and Hersent says (Ib, 3133-34),

Qar plus estes pute que moche  
Qui en esté la gent entoche.

V. 1274. This is the only case known to me of the verb *esloissier* (exluxiare) used reflexively in the sense of *se hâter*, *se précipiter* (?).

✓V. 1275. *moisse* (mucceus, a), moite.

V. 1277. I would correct *Car la pute a* (or *ot*) *tot son penil*, understanding the verse as parenthetical and explaining it as referring to a custom mentioned in the *Roman de Renard* xxii, 684-92:

La hure avec toute la pel  
Li a de teste sevre  
Et autour le con si plantee  
Q'ainz puis ne la pot nus oster  
Por engin c'on peüst trover;  
Ne gluz ne chaux ne poileçon  
N'i valent mie troi boston.  
Meslëure n'autre pelains,  
Que metre i vuelent ces putains,  
Ne lor vaut riens: que touz jorz croit  
Plus dru apres qu'avant n'estoit.

V. 1278. Cf. Rabelais, *Gargantua*, chap. iii, Si le diavol ne vult qu'elles engroissent, il faudra tortre le douzil, et bouche close.

V. 1284. Fame est la nuit chauve- souris,  
Fame est huans, fame est fresaie,  
La nuit se muce, le jor s'egaie.

(*Le blasme des fames*, Jubinal, Jongleurs et Trouvères, p. 80.)

✓V. 1281. P. *hive* (est-ce l'angl. *hive* "ruche," ou faut-il lire *Plus qu'il ne feïst en une ive*?) T. *Plus qu'il ne feïst en une ive* (Stute).

V. 1296. P.: après *Richaut* et à la fin.

V. 1299. M. *Li uns respont, Florie*. The ms. has *dame Florie*.

V. 1312. P. *Le dit Richaut, desor ma foi*.

LIST OF PROPER NAMES

Alaire (saint) 1081 <i>Corr.</i>	Acaire <i>or</i>	Londres 825.
Ilair.		Marie, la Sainte Vierge 1218.
Alemaigne 864.		Monz 825.
Bar 644.		Nicole 248.
Berri 996		Noagre 855?
Biauvez 1007.		Orlenois, vin orlenois 296.
Bordele, les porz de B. 1138.		Ovide 750.
Bretaigne 865.		Paris 1003.
Breton, les lais Bretons 800.		Pol (saint) 167.
Clerevax 895.		Richaut 2, 10, 31, etc.
Coivre (corr. Toivre) 855.		Rome 782.
Denis (saint) 108, 1153.		Sanson 451, 532, etc.
Engleterre 867.		Sansonnet 547, 596, etc.
Germain (saint), <i>église</i> , 447.		Selvestre (saint) 1116.
Gile (saint) 990.		Sezille 989.
Guillaume 54.		Thomas 1056.
Henri, le roi, 992.		Thomas (saint) Tomas 335, <i>église</i> 650.
Hersant, 140, 233, etc.		Toivre (ms. Coivre) 855.
Herselot 50, 86, 113, etc.		Tolose 991.
Inde, la grande 872.		Viane 853.
Irlande 870.		Viël (seignor) 230, 434, 541, 597, 654.
Jordain, le fluz 912.		Vincestre 921.
Lonbardie 865.		

GLOSSARY

Abriver 1279, *s'élancer*. au cors abrive, *se lance au galop*.  
acesmer (s'), 469 *se parer*, 466 *préparer*.  
acline 418, *soumise*.  
acorser 361, *faire courir*.  
ademetre (s') 594, *se lancer tête baissée (à cheval)*.  
afichier (s') 593, *se fixer, s'affermir [sur les étriers]*.  
agaitier 472, *guetter*.  
ahaner 851 (ms. alume), *tourmenter, agacer*.  
aire 1213, *lieu, place*; par l'aire, *par terre*.  
alaine 844, *haleine*. mettre en la grant a. *faire haleter*.  
ampaindre (s') 739, *s'appliquer*.  
anche 116, *encre*.  
anjornee 974, *point du jour*.  
anter 933, 1085, *fréquenter*.  
anticier 509, *exciter, provoquer*.  
anvier 133, *appeler devant un tribunal*.  
aoire 956 (ms. acroire), *augmenter*.  
asambler 980, *avoir des rapports*. Cf.

Et que tant vint a icel jor  
Qu'ele asenbla a son seignor.

(De la sorisete des estopes, v. 11, 12.)

— 882, *joindre*.

asanser (s') 906, *se décider*.

assise 806, *séance de jeu*.

En un retrait ou ilz trouverent

Grant feu et belle table mise.

La fu tantost faicte l'assise

De trois dez quarrez de Paris.

Eustache Deschamps, *Le dit du gieu des dez*, v. 12-15.

ators 1193, *atours*.

atot 453, *avec*.

aubé 458, *enfant nouveau-né*.

avel, aviaux, 546 *désir*.

avrillos 1113, d'un tempérament printanier, changeant, érotique; "avrilleux."

Bachet (?) à b. 950, *figura Veneris*.

bareter 643, *tromper*.

✓ beasse 1058, *jeune fille, servante*.

blanchet 1040, *sorte de fard*.

blanje 577, *flatterie*.

borde 789, *bourde, plaisanterie*.

bordel 639, *lieu de débauche*; envoyer au bordel, *prostituer*.

boschiee 1047, *fardée, déguisée*.

bot 150, 966, *coup (poussée)*.

✓ bouez (?) 816, *voir la note*.

brame 684, *mettre en brames, mettre en pleurs, ou faire crier*.

Caraudes 634, cheraudes 117, *sortilèges*.

carroge 1028, *carrefour, place publique*.

cenbel, pl. cenbiax 829, *combat, ébats amoureux*.

chainse 478, *tunique de toile fine qui se portait sur la chemise*.

change 576, *table ou boutique de changeur de monnaie*.

charaies 123, *sortilèges*.

cine 1186 *de segnier, faire signe à*.

cline 251 *soumise*.

coe 471, 486, *queue*.

coetee 628, *vestëure coetee, garnie de basques*. Cf. *Auberee*, v. 85, note.

coille (?) 808.

conbe 586, *petite vallée, pli de terrain*.

conduit 562, 800, *sorte de composition musicale*. Voir Godefroy.

controve 178, *invention, mensonge*.

copresse 948, *action de serrer, de comprimer*.

corber 739, *jouir d'une femme*.

corboille 820, *corbeille, panier*.

corpe, moie corpe 1159, lat. *mea culpa*, *formule de pénitence*.

corsal 522, *libertin*.

corsiere 712, 837, *de mauvaise vie, coureuse*.

Degroz 659, *plaintes*.

desjugler 58, *tromper*.

deslacier 1274, *délacer*.

desreer (se) 1283, *s'emporter*.

destroit 1009, *tourmenté*.

desvee 1158, *égarée, folle*.



- detor 1209, *débiteur*.  
 ✓ dusil 1277, *dousil ou doisil (au propre) fausset de tonneau*.  
 ✓ Enbesa (ambesas) 814, *coup de dés qui amène deux as*. Cf. Semrau, *Wurfel und Wurfelspiel im alten Frankreich*.  
 enboire 524, *enivrer, ensorceler*.  
 engorllir 496, *mettre de l'argent dans la "gorle."*  
 enplumer 377, *tromper, décevoir*. Voir la note.  
 enpres 444, *après*.  
 escoil 677, *prendre escoil, prendre son élan, son essor*.  
 escot 51, 1170, *butin, 87 partie de plaisir*.  
 escout 65, 1027, *attention*.  
 esgart 1027, *faire esgart, guetter*.  
 esloissier (s') 1274, *se hâter, se précipiter*.  
 essartier 394, *laboureur*.  
 estorse 966, *torsion*.  
 estosie (?) Lire *esjoie?*  
 estupons, a est. 952, *le corps plié en deux, penché en avant*. Voir Roques, *Romania*, Octobre 1912, 608.  
 Falorde 789, *bourde, tromperie*.  
 fardet 19, *fard*.  
 favele 858, *mensonge, fourberie*.  
 faveler 1231, *cajoler*.  
 ferré, vin ferré 89, 1260, *vin en cercle, en tonneau*.  
 feu 581, 862, *terre, fief*.  
 ✓ fusel, fussiaux 616, *fuseau*. Voir la note.  
 Gest, en gest 372, *en chaleur (?)*.  
 goloser 992, *désirer*.  
 grisset 573, *grisset mantel, manteau de gris (drap gris de qualité commune)*.  
 guimpe 1077, *sorte de coiffure qui couvrait la face*.  
 Haster 1249, *presser*.  
 herbe 126, *herbe préparée comme boisson*.  
 ✓ here 661, *figure, mine; faire here, faire la moue*.  
 hetier 999, *s'amuser (Peut-être à corr. henter)*.  
 Jael 1031, *femme publique*.  
 jaelice 508, *vie de femme publique*. Voir *Romania* II, 239.  
 jaiole 722, *geôle, en ma jaiole, en mon pouvoir*.  
 jostisier 805, *dominer, se rendre maître de*.  
 lange 575, *étoffe de laine. être au lange, être dans une grande détresse*.  
 lechois 621, *sensualité, débauche*.  
 leve 414, *de laver*.  
 lisse 372, *chienne*.  
 lobe 367, 918, *mensonge, tromperie*.  
 loer 140, *approuver*.  
 loer (se) 1130, *se mettre aux gages de quelqu'un*.  
 Malauree 1159, *malheureuse*.  
 mandi 49, *mendiant, indigent*.  
 mescroire 182, *ne pas croire*.  
 moisse 1273, *mouche (?)*. Voir la note.  
 ✓ moisse 1275, *moite (?)*.

- mol 573, *partie sensible* (ou peut-être *le dedans des doigts*). Ferir el mol, *tirer de l'argent*, "taper," *faire chanter*.
- mouvoir (de) 774, *venir de, avoir son origine*.
- mue 238, *muette*.
- mue 976, *lieu de retraite, endroit retiré*. Estre en m., *en cachette*.
- Neu 526, *bourse*.
- nieles 449, *sorte de pâtisserie*.
- Obier 293, *espèce de viorne, boule-de-neige*.
- oblee 458, *oublie, espèce de pâtisserie*.
- orne, a orne 1002, *l'un après l'autre, à la ronde*.
- parmain 459, *espèce de poire ou de pomme*.
- partir 497, *partir un denier, donner, payer*. Pour partir dans des sens rapprochés voir Zeitschrift für Rom. Phil. xxxvi, p. 86, et Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge* V, 310-11.
- pert, 1046, 1264, *de paroïr*.
- pert 1234, *de perdre*.
- pevree 457, *mélange poivré*.
- pissecien, a p. 950, *figura Veneris*.
- plain 791, *à chair ferme, non potelée*.
- poroindre 1040, *oindre*.
- pois 653, *poids, changer a pois, changer de l'argent au poids*.
- porz 810, *pl. de porc*.
- porchacier 765, *se procurer*.
- porchaz 138, *entrer en porchaz, entrer en poursuite*.
- porvers 568, *porté au mal*.
- prainz 175, *enceinte*.
- prinseignier 446, *baptiser*.
- prover(se) 179, *se montrer*.
- Quernes 813, *terme de jeu, avec trois dés = 3 x 4*. Voir Semrau, *ouvr. cité*.
- queu 528, *cuisinier*.
- quialt 397, 863, 1194 *de coillir*. 1012 c. sa guere, *repandre sa guerre*.
- quines 815, 816 (*corr. sines?*), *coup de cinq aux dés*. Voir Semrau, *ouvr. cité*.
- Raget 20, *passion dérégulée*.
- raienbre 201, raant 389, raans 723, raame 395, 727, *condamner à une amende, dépouiller*.
- ranc 538, *rang*.
- rasle 413, *rôle, genre d'oiseaux*.
- recelee 971 en r., *en secret, en cachette*.
- recoillir 1305, *recevoir*.
- revate 631? Voir la note.
- rotruange 624, 799, *poème, sorte de chanson*.
- Sanpres 1162, *tout de suite, tout à l'heure*.
- saut 235, 1183, *de saillir*.
- saut 423, *de sauver*.
- sele 1140, *selle, metre ma sele, faire l'amour*.
- seue 1131, *de suivre*.
- so 79, *si lo*.
- sochant (souschant) 562, *accompagnement d'un morceau de musique*.
- soil 677, *siège, dedanz son soil, chez lui*.

sore (soldre) 776, fut. sora 1179, *se soumettre aux lois de*. Cf. Deschamps, *Le miroir de mariage*, v. 130—

Et li oiselet ne sont lent  
 Chascun an de leurs niz niser  
 Et par nature eulx aviser  
 De pondre, couver et esclorre  
 Leur poucins, pour nature sorre  
 Qui cest entendement leur baille  
 Afin que leur forme ne faille.

sonet 622, *chanson*.

sopeçon 143, *doute*.

sopois 311, *inquiétude*.

soposte 948, a soposte, *figura veneris*.

sovine 14, 252, 945, *couchée sur le dos*.

sozaissellee 227, *garnie sous l'aisselle*.

Tonleu 863, *impôt, taxe*.

tresluer 978, *tromper*.

trestor 696, *ruse*.

us 706, *usage*.

Val 586, *Voir la note*.

vanche 115, *pervenche*.

viaire 1078, *visage*.

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## A BRIEF CATALONIAN MEDICAL TEXT

COD. Matritensis A 113 (ahora 105) contains 124 ff. of parchment, ruled with the hard point, and measuring mm. 263 by 190; has quires eight ff. with one or perhaps two exceptions, all indicated by catch-words except at f. 98, where the "réclame" has been cut off by the binder's knife; and has at the end four ff. modern paper. It has the usual rubrics and alternation of red and blue initials. It is described by Hartel-Loewe, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Hispaniensis*, I. p. 349. The last of the Latin extracts ends at the middle of fol. 122 R°, after which by the same hand occurs a series of medical recipes in Catalanian and dating like the remainder of the book from the fourteenth century. The whole Codex was certainly of that same origin, in spite of a note at the foot of f. 117 V°, in Castilian. There are some cursive sixteenth century notes of no moment. Fol. 122 R° will be reproduced in one of the future numbers of *Palaeographia Iberica*.

As for the writing of the recipes, the rubrics are by a different hand from the rest, and the poetical addition 123 V°, by a third, while the musical rendition *ibid.* and first line of 124 R° are by a fourth scribe. These scribes do not differ much in their modes of procedure. They use samples of the Rounded Gothic of the period which overlapping, fracture, etc.; they employ the regular abbreviations which are indicated in the transcription by the use of italics. The medical text accents not merely *i* or *j* in the presence of similar letters, but also the conjunction *o* and double vowels. *Y* occurs with and without the dot; the dotted character replaces *ny* (e. g., in *seyor liyatge*), and sometimes has the value of *j*. Note the variation in spelling *ayga*, *aygua*, and *ayges*. Our text, which is given in a strictly palaeographical copy, indicates an evident tendency to combine, by way of *scriptura continua*, a series of words into a group, when resting under just one accent.

The occurrence of musical formulae within the medical text seems to be a piece of archaism worthy of the attention of students of the history of medicine.

As additions to the text itself, the reader must observe that at the beginning of l. 27 122 V° *ra* has been prefixed thus completing the verb *cura*; l. 40, same leaf, is prefixed *decoto* to be read after *drap*; a circle, foot of 123 R° and repeated l. 2 124 R°, warns the reader that the interrupted recipes now resume; finally, l. 6 123 V°, the word *dona* has been cancelled by the aid of dots and a catch-sign repeated in the left hand margin replaces it with *uirge*.

Aquestes son les uirtuts de laygua ardent. primeirament | de conseruament de cabeyls que no tornen blancs çoes | canuts. Sils cabeyls muyllaras souen ablayga ardent en | larayl. conseruals de canes emultiplicals eles canes fansi cri | (30) nes. çoes ro(s) sos. Depoyls quis façen elcap ó altres uermes. | Aucien poyls etot liyatge de uermes. De fleuma grossa 7 uis- | cosa. Consumex fleuma grossa euis-cosa. Fleuma esdita fer | uor ó calor destómach. De casina enlocap. Si locap sera ca- | mos çoes roys ó plen desarna: elacotna sera souen unta | (35) da daquela ayga. nedeyal edestrouex lescasina. çoes sarna. De- | tiya delcap. Si alcu sera tiyos e souen semuyllara son cap daque- | la ayga. cural perfeytament dela tiya. Dereuma cadarn ofleu- | ma. Sil cap es rauinasat ó encadarnat. equesia be vntat els | locs que dolran ahom abaquela ayga. e quen tingue enlaboca molt | (40) maraueylosament dissolue 7 consumex lafleuma. Degota rosacca. | Silacara sera lauada abaquela aygua destrouex gota rosasca. çoes | (122 Vo) uermeylura quisfa enlacara o elnas. *contrae segona* (?). Delebrose o mesels. | Untament daquela ayga pallia e cobre mesels o lebroso. De sordea. | Sin met hom enles oreyles remou sordea. Delagaya. | Sihom | sen vnta les palpebres. çoes les pastayes dels huyls remou la | gaya eproige enlacrimas. De ualida o deffeyta. tacha. ocarnaç | (5) qui sia en huyl. Si ualida. çoes deffeyta. o tacha. ocarnaç sera | auistada en huyl. ladonchs sia posa. i. uegada deldia enlouespre. i. | goteleta poca daquela ayga ellagrimar daquela pacient. Empero enaque- | la ayga sia primerament des-soluta. çoes destemprada. Quamphora | qui es specia. E siluyl es fort doloros ofort rog. adonchs iaquesca hom | (10) aquela hobra epos hom enluyl perassuauyar ladolor. Encara rosea | dissoluta primerament enlet defembra eben colada abbel drap blanc. | ecant luyl opora soferir tornse hom a la obra delayga desusdita. | Adent dolor. Si drap deli ó coto ó estopa de li sera muyllada 7 po- | sada souen sobre ladent en que ladolor lidara eque tenga delayga en (15) labocha. i. gran estona ladolor sen partex detot entot. De cranch | de gryuies. Si hon tendra deladita ayga en laboca souen. cura | lo-cranch deles giyniues edelpeledar. etot escaldament debocha ede | lenga. Deparalitios. Ladita aygua cura paralitios. çoes | dessolui-

ment demembres ó condiment destomach. sidaquela ayga sera so |  
 (20) uen untat efregat alfoc. dela espina delesquena delcap dentro  
 aaual | enlafin. els muscles els colçes. etotes lesuintures delapart delfet  
 | ge. edues uegades delasemana prena pilloles cubertes opal | liades  
 abtera. oabfuylador odargent. e queles prene lo malaute | segons que-  
 la força delaobra puga sostenir 7 regir enladieta co- | (25) uinent-  
 ment esegons ordinament desauí metge. Item depalitios. Cu- |  
 (ra) la dita ayga tots paralitios sies réebuda perlaboca com tots  
 los | locs quilidolguen ne sien untats souen. De contreyts ó debils.  
 Ladita aygua cura espasmats. ço son contreyts edebils de | neruis.  
 layga recebuda perlaboca abtriaga. que triaga remoue | (30) destro-  
 uex tot uecí *deserpent* 7 daltra mala cuca. Item demuts. Sila |  
 dita ayga sera recebuda perlaboca fa parlar los muts si perdos | ans  
 ne recebra lomut *eques* regesca enladieta deguda segons | ordinament  
 desauí metge. equereceba cascur uespre. Diacene. pli | ris abmu(s)c  
 Diantos. Diasicínibo. dianison. aitant dela un com de | (35) laltre  
 el mut que duga correya detujr delop enlacontinua tota | uía perlodit  
 temps. De malaltia qui fa hom caer. Cura entota | edat: çoes en  
 iuuentut óenueylea. Epilentia .çoes malaltia qui fa | hom caer.  
 Demors *deserp*. Amors *deserp* siprens drap deli óestro | pa (*decoto*)  
 aço muylat enladita ayga. eque sia posat sobre lomors cu- (40) ral.  
 etota altra malautia uerínosa ecura lanafra econserua | la depudri-  
 ment. Perpostema qui sia el polmon. Qui recebra la | dita ayga  
 perlaboca solta e destrouex *periflemonia* que es postema del- | (123  
 Ro.) polmon. çoes delleu. Depostema flautiática. Encara destro-  
 | uex tota postema flautiática sobre posat. i. barcalet daram | feyt euolt  
 amana demig cercle ódescut detartuga plen | dayga demalues tota  
 ora sobre loloc que dolra. elmalault | que sia regit segons lamanera  
 delamalautia abconseyl de | (5) sauímetge. Afeuma destomach  
 edeuermes. Destrouex | fleuma destomach layga recebuda perla-  
 boca. etot liyatgede | uermes uermes axi com lombrichs ealtres uermes.  
 Abelea decara eacon | seruauament. Siabladita ayga sera mesclada  
 laterça part | dayga rosada. equesen lau hom souen lacara. nedeyala.  
 econ- (10) seruela eniouent. Amalaltia defredor. Atota malatiade  
 | fredor ual layga beguda equenunt hom loloch ondolra. | Apo  
 plexia qui es opilament deseruel. Sil peledar óles | narils seran be  
 lauades abladita ayga dedíns. cura apople- | xia qui es opilament  
 deceruel. óescampament desanch soptosament (15) qui ofega hom  
 oaucíu soptosament. Delitargia. qui es mor- | tificament de mem-  
 bres. Encara cura litargia. çoes morti- | ficament demembres com  
 cau hom que sadorm que apenes lopot- | hom despertar. e es dit  
 litargit homsomnolent. E cura co- | risa çoes escampament dumors.  
 decap qui uenen enlaboca efaem- (20) bargament eofegament enles  
 nars abesternut. De cadarn: | Cadarn etot liyatge dereumas. menia

capazion :çoes ma- | laltia *perque* esdeue homorat ófol.çoes *per* diment  
desen.loqual | esdeue *per* colres negres.ócrues.omolt uerdes.emalen-  
colia la | qual esdeue hom *per* colra negra. Adolor eatrencament  
eá- | (25) colp: Do per conseyl *que* entota dolor.etrencament.ecolp. |  
omacament.onafra.oespasma. Siay posada deladita ayga. | Decarn  
deploma acoure. Si carn degalina odaltre auçel | sera posa crua *per*  
i.nuyt enladita ayga.qui *per*.iij.uegades sie | distillada *per* lalambich  
axi com laprimera uegada.sera cuíta | (30) *per* feytament senes  
corompiment que lacarn nonauría nuyt | temps. Dom qui fos vntat  
delayga ardent. Sinuyla *persona* | morta ert posada enladita ayga.  
*per*.i. dia natural qui son | .xxiiij.ores.çoes *per*.i.dia e*per*.i.nuyt  
estaria tots temps *que* nos | corrupria.axi com siera blasmat.  
Despecies óaltra cosa qui | (35) sia mesa enladita ayga *per* salut.  
Si alcuna especia odo- | rant.oarbre.oerba.sera mesa dins enlayga.  
ladita ayga re- | te lasabor 7 lauertut daquelacosa qui sera mesa  
enlayga elaodor. | Epuys tota *persona* pora usar daquela ayga segons  
lacialitat | decascuna *persona*.odelamalautia *que* aura pus *que* les  
dauant dites | (40) coses sien enlayga abeurades.çoes *que* les coses  
sien meses | enlayga segons lonecessarií dela.*persona*.epuys pot usar  
delay | ga. De uí qui fos torbat. Viu *que* si daquela ayga era  
posada | en.i.uexel ó tona en *que* agues uí *eque* fos torbat.tornavlie |  
(123 Vo.)

Quant ay lo mon consirat tot lals es njient masdeu 7 com bem son  
apensatlo | comyat es forment greu. E carnos em de greus peccats  
carregats síu | enquerem podians *esser per* donat car seyor tal auem  
cuj plad merce pus que | platz eaxines acostumat. | Aytal seyor de-  
uem tembre 2 honrar quj *per* nos tots se uolc tant humiliar can tra-  
mes lan | (5) gol seu dona (corr. to uirge) saluar.el plac en ela  
entrar. Quan zo for fayt *per* nos altres asa- | luar sus en la crotz  
lo seu sangre uolc escampar.2 *apres* laseu mort alterz yorn ressus-  
citar | *quens* pogues tots deliurar. Al quarente dia uolc elcel puyar  
el.cinquante sent espirít | enujar *per* zo *quei* s emflames.7 poguessem  
*predicar* la fe *per* nos asaluar. *Après* la fi del | mon uenra *per*  
iutyar los bons els mals segons lur merjt cobrar galardó 7 trobar.  
car axi | (10) coue afar *per* dreতা asaluar. | hon preyarem tots ensems  
lo creador *quens* do samor ens gart de mal 7 deiror: | Quant ay  
lomonconsirat totlals es nient mas deu e com ben son a- | pensat lo  
comyat es forment greu. E carnos em de greus peccats car- | regats  
síu enquerem podians ser perdonats.carseyor tal auem cuy | (15)  
plad merce plus que platz eaxines acostumet. Hon preyarem | (124  
Ro.) tots ensems lo creador *quens* do damor ens gart de mal deiror. |  
ensauirtut eretendría sabor decosa *que* hom hi meses.primerament |  
axi com saluía.óalcuna especia bona *que* hom hi meses. De uir- | tuti-  
bus: Moltes altres virtuts ha ladita ayga les quals cas | cun saui se

pora aesmar segons lasua saúiea en medicina. De- | (5) quartanes.  
 Dien alguns queladita ayga cure quartana eto | ta febra emayorment  
 quan ue defredor. Sila ayga réép hom | enans dela accessio.çoes  
 enans dela ora quelafebra deu uenir.eual | aquartana sies donada  
 abuí cuit abgermandira.çoes espe- | tia etroban hom als speciers.  
 Per humors sobreflues. Atotes | (10) humors qui sien sobre flues  
 corrompudes destrouexeconsumex en | cors dom.o en persona.mayor-  
 ment quant son de fredors. Mas calor | natural esfoçe e crex e des  
 trouex son contrari. Dels alambichs. | Lalembich enque homfa-  
 aquesta ayga fa hom mig debon ui fort se | nes ayga.e destillan  
 hom la sisena part debona ayga per beure | (15) sil uí es bo esenes  
 ayga eben uermeyl. edaquel uí matex qui roma | enlalembich fa  
 hom altra aya meyns fort quella primera. Efan | hom meyns lamey-  
 tat quedelaprimera sihom se uolra segons | que hom lauuyte ferfort.o  
 simpla.eaquela segona es bona als | huyls ealacara. Epuyt feytes les  
 dues ayges gita hom | (20) lo ui delalembich emetni hom daltre sin  
 uol pus fer delayga | Mas sihom uolra destillar altra uegada layga  
 bona que primera | sera feyta tornla enlalembich sens altre uí.  
 edestilla altra | uegada si pus fort lauolra epus afinada.edeu miruarla  
 | terça part qui romanga enlalembich que non destille pus. E  
 silauolra | (25) destillar la tercera uegada deu miruar la dehena  
 part.çoes que la- | dehena part deu romanir en lalembich. Eaxi çoes  
 destillada | .iij.uegades es molt fort emolt afinada.eaquela fa coure  
 carn | degalina ó daltre auçel.axi com ia desus es dit. Delayga  
 ardent afer. Lamanera delayga ardent afer. Nolaporia hom  
 per- | (30) feytament mostrar si no ho ueya abhuyl. Lalembich  
 es feit | enaquestaforma deios aseyalada eay ops.i.portadora plena-  
 day- | ga freda perlaqual passe.i.cano uoltat en.iij.ujes e esde | lauto  
 elalembich decoure estayat dedins :labonea delayga co- | nex hom  
 ab.i.poch dedrap deli quehom muyle enlayga dita qui | (35) entre  
 delalembich enlampoleta esíldit drap creme acostat al- | foc layga es  
 bona eaxi aseyale hom auégades.equant ueu | hom quel drap muylat  
 en ela nouol cremar.leuan hom lam | pola etraune hom aquela ayga.  
 epuyt tornelay lampola altra | (125 Vo.) uegada. o altra ampola  
 erecy layga eaquela es lasegona ayga qui | nouol cremar si hom  
 neuol fer. Eaquela es bona als huyls ealaca | ra perço com es pus  
 simpla. Laboca delalembich edelcano edelam | pola clou hom lemui-  
 rona ab pasta pura defroment perço que- | layga nos pusca esbarrar  
 ne la força pirdre que sia pus for- (5) | ts epus uirtuosa. Per fredor.  
 Aquesta ayga es bona mer | ueylosament adones quisien defredor  
 eque sen lauen lur huyls | elacara per lauista áauer pus bela ela cara. |

Laus tibi sit xpiste quoniam liber explicit iste.:

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## THE SOURCES OF BARTOLOME PALAU'S *FARSA SALAMANTINA*

THE various studies<sup>1</sup> that have touched upon the *Farsa Salamantina* have left open the question of sources. The present study aims to supply in part the lacking information. Palau states on the title-page that he is an *estudiante*, and that the play *es obra que passa entre los estudiantes en Salamanca*. In the prologue he testifies to its originality by calling it *vn muy nueuo argumento de vnos amores fingido[s]*.

When Palau wrote his play the schools of Encina and of Torres Naharro<sup>2</sup> had been in vogue for many years, and a new one was being formed under the leadership of Lope de Rueda. In the main the *Farsa Salamantina* belongs to the school of Torres Naharro, and as such it has long been classed. It has not been pointed out, however, that its nearest ancestor appears to be the *Comedia intitulada Tesorina*<sup>3</sup> of Jayme de Guete. To bring out the differences as well as the points in common, somewhat extensive synopses of the two plays are given on the following pages.

In both plays the *introito*, put into the mouth of a rustic, contains the usual address to the audience, followed by obscene jests and stories of amorous adventures with the village maids. Generally this portion of the prologue is intended to be amusing and nothing more. The *Salamantina*, however, contains something of the

<sup>1</sup> This play is preserved in a single copy of the year 1552, now in the Royal Library at Munich. An excellent edition of this text with introduction and notes was published by M. Morel-Fatio in the *Bulletin Hispanique*, Tome II (1900), pp. 237-304. All studies of importance bearing on his text are discussed by the editor with his usual conciseness. An important review of this edition was made by M. Léo Rouanet in the *Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature*, Nouv. Série, Tome LI (1901), pp. 177-179. Another study of Palau's works appeared recently under the title *Bartolomé Palau y sus Obras* as an introduction to Rouanet's reprint of the *Farsa llamada Custodia del Hombre* in the *Archivo de Investigaciones Históricas*, Tomo I (1911), pp. 267-274.

<sup>2</sup> See especially Menéndez y Pelayo: *Tres Comedias de Alonso de Vega*, Prólogo, p. XII (Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur, 1905).

<sup>3</sup> Republished by Urban Cronan: *Teatro Español del Siglo XVI*, Tomo I (Bibliófilos Madrileños, X, 1913), pp. 81-170.

satiric vein that is so highly developed in both of the plays of Guete. The following short passages show a similarity of treatment that would scarcely be evidence if considered alone, but that becomes significant when taken in connection with the other evidence. Palau chooses the dandy as the butt of his satire, Guete the courtesan.

(*Tesorina*, lines 50-59)

O pobretas!

van vnas esmoladetas,  
tic y tic, menudeando,  
que parescen anadetas,  
segun que van culeando.

Lo primero:

no yran sin escudillero  
que las llebe, de cabestro,  
y anda el otro majadero  
presumiendo de muy diestro;

(*Salamantina*, lines 60-69)

Esmolates

vereys a vnos galantes  
mas que vn grillo yr hufanos,  
y luego " beso las manos "  
y por tierra los bonetes  
con primores.

Otros ay que, avnque señores,  
son tan nescios y abouados  
que se hazen seruidores  
y no estan avn vedriados.

The closing lines of the prologue offer further points of similarity.

(*Tesorina*, 125-49)

Quantis, que

vna que anoche tope  
desfraqada, a vn callejon,  
dile ansinas con el pie,  
pensando que era melon;

. . . . .

solo resta de presente,  
porque quedemos en paz,  
hazelles algun presente  
con que reciban solaz.

Y vernan

vn moço con vn galan;  
y del resto habreys auis,  
todos quantos aqui estan,  
lo vereys sino hos moris.

Juuentud

hos de Dios, y senectud,  
con descansos a manojos,  
y hos atieste de salud  
hasta saltar por los ojos.

(*Salamantina*, 135-74)

Quantis que

vna que yo me tope,  
saludela, juro al cielo,  
arremeti en buena fe  
y echela luego en el suelo,

. . . . .

Solamente hora sabreys  
que es vna farsa muy fina  
llamada Salamantina:  
lo de mas bien lo vereys.

Su intento

es vn muy nueuo argumento  
de vnos amores fingido,  
en cinco autos repartidos,  
con muy largo cumplimiento.

Yr me quiero,

porque mi habrar grossero  
pienso nos deue agradar.  
Dios hos de paz y dinero  
hasta querer rebentar!

As source evidence the passages cited are less convincing than might seem at first sight because they deal with commonplaces of the period. The noteworthy point is an omission for which a parallel is not to be found in any other play of this school that has been made accessible up to this time. Although Palau entitles his prologue *Introyto y Argumento*, like the *Tesorina*, it contains no synopsis of the play that is to follow. The eight comedias of Torres Naharro, the *Tidea* of Francisco de las Natas, the *Radiana* of Agustín Ortiz, and even the *Vidriana* of Jayme de Guete are all preceded by an *argumento* in which an adequate outline of the plot is given.

(Salamantina, Jornada I, 175-654) The student tells of the straits to which he has been reduced by his parents, who have been sending him promises instead of money. He meets Soriano who has spent his years in vain in the service of ungrateful masters. After a long discussion they decide to join forces. Their scheme is to obtain second-hand clothing, and assume the role of *cavallero* and *criado*. Then they will make love to some rich lady with the hope of getting her dowry. (655-784) At this point Juancho, a Basque, appears. He is in despair because he cannot write to his parents. In an almost unintelligible jargon, he tells that he has exchanged his cross-bow for a guitar from which he gets pleasant sounds by scratching its belly and twisting its ear. The student writes the letter and receives a small piece of money. Then Juancho disappears from the play. (785-989) The *bobo* Anton enters singing "*Sangre para las morcillas y tripas para el quajar*." His mother Mencia, the *tripera*, has sent him to the slaughter-house for supplies, and he is singing the names of the articles wanted in order not to forget them. Anton praises his mother's sausages, and directs the two companions to her house. They go there at once, and haggle over the price of a sausage, which they finally order cooked. Then a quarrel arises over the mysterious disappearance of a piece of Mencia's bacon. Anton reenters singing out his purchases, and takes sides with his mother in the quarrel that closes the first act.

*(Tesorina, Jornada, I)*

Tesorino chides Pinedo, his servant, for not having delivered to Lucina a letter he had written. Pinedo claims that he has done his best. He suggests that a little money would be useful in winning the favor of Citeria, Lucina's maid. He receives a ducat with the promise of more as needed.

Citeria complains of the hard lot of a servant. Lucina enters and scolds her for her laziness. A piece of cheese that the maid had hidden is the subject of further rebuke.

(495-618) Gilyracho, a shepherd, brings milk to the home of Lucina and asks for something to eat. Citeria enters the house, saying that she will return at once. While she is absent, Gilyracho declares as follows his intention of attempting certain familiarities:

Dios, que la quiero tentar,  
pellizcarla delas çancas,  
procuralla de besar  
por ver si consiente de ancas;

In attempting to carry out his plan he receives a slap, and a quarrel, from which the following lines are quoted, closes the first act:

Cit. Anda, ve para asnejon.

Gil. Guarda, doña carbonera,  
no hos ahyque el requesson.

Ve en mal ora,  
doña golosa, traydora,  
tiñosa, suzia, bellaca,  
sobacuda, cardadora,

*(Salamantina, Jornada, II)*

(990-1079) Beltran comes to the house and finds the door locked. He arouses Teresa, the servant, and a quarrel ensues. Salamantina intervenes, and Teresa tells her mistress,

"Señora, queria me besar  
y avn hazer mas adelante."

Salamantina reproves Beltran, then all enter the house to get the provisions for which Beltran had come.

1083-1253) The student and Soriano appear on the scene ready to carry out their schemes. The student succeeds in starting a conversation with Salamantina, who has evidently appeared at the window. He claims that he has long loved her in secret. Salamantina listens, but assures him that he can gain her favor only in case he is honorable and wishes to marry her. This is to the liking of the two plotters. When they go away, Salamantina tells Teresa to make the acquaintance of Soriano, and find out who his master is.

*(Jornada III)*

(1254-1368) Beltran continues his quarrel with Teresa. (The whole of this coarse dialogue, from which only a few lines need be quoted, is strikingly similar to the corresponding scene in the *Tesorina*.)

Bel. Ha, Teresa!

A do estas, avn te veas tessa?  
Porque no me das el çurron?

pedorra, tetas de vaca;  
nariguda,  
tripera, carabaçuda,  
ojegazos de cabron,  
patiancha, dentarruda,  
quartachos de sopicon!

## (Jornada II)

The tongue-tied Fray Vegezio, confessor of Lucina, comes along alternately reciting Latin scriptures and scolding his gluttonous servant, Juan, who has depleted the priest's larder. He arrives too early at the house of Lucina, and goes away to say mass with the promise of returning later.

Tesorino laments his lot as an unsuccessful lover, citing many classic examples. Lucina sees him from within, and is prevailed upon by Citeria to appear at the window. Tesorino begs that Lucina reward his courtship, which has continued more than a year. Lucina promises to grant his wishes if he will use discretion. Their conversation is broken off by the return of the friar.

Tesorino is overjoyed at the results of his talk with Lucina. He at once concocts a scheme to get the friar's cloak and enter the house of Lucina in this disguise. This plan seems easy of accomplishment because of the absence of her father. When the friar comes out of the house, Tesorino pretends to be in flight. He claims that he has just wounded a man in a quarrel for which he was not

Acaba, sobacos de artesa,  
quartachos de sopeton.

. . . . .

Queda en mala hora, potrosa,  
despinfarrada vellaca,  
descula pesebres, tiñosa,  
pedorra, tetas de vaca.

O morruda,  
patiancha, dentarruda,  
monton de suzios handrajos!

(1369-1583) Teresa meets Soriano and asks information about his master. Soriano says that he comes from an illustrious family, and that he is in search of a wife. They have a typical servants' flirtation.

(1584-1789) A certain *bachiller* visits the house of Mencia. In the course of a long conversation, Mencia tells of her former high rank as a prostitute. The *bachiller* encourages her to believe that her charms are not entirely gone. Then he obtains the services of Anton as acolyte to aid him *conjurar la langosta*. A comic scene follows, in which Anton puts conjuring book to soak in a kettle.

## (Jornada IIII)

(1790-1839) Leandro, the father of Salamantina, advises his daughter to lead a good life while he is absent on a trip he has to make.

(1840-1894) The alguazil meets Anton, who is selling *morzillas*. The officer insists on inspecting his wares for the welfare of the public, and incidentally satisfies his own appetite.

to blame. He is closely pursued and proposes an exchange of clothes in order to throw his enemies off the track. This trade is made quickly. When the friar has disappeared, Tesorino gains admittance to the house of Lucina on the pretext that he has left his psalter behind.

In the meantime the friar falls in with Pinedo. The latter at once recognizes his master's clothing. He threatens to kill the friar and has him prepare for death. He compromises, however, by taking away his master's clothing and giving the confessor a beating.

(Jornada III)

Gilyracho has a long talk with his donkey as he prepares for a nap on its back. He meets Peregrillo and tells him that he has lost one of his donkeys. The latter, however, shows him that he is riding on it.

Tesorino, still in the friar's garb, leaves the house of Lucina. He promises that he will go to her confessor at once and arrange for their marriage. He meets Gilyracho and Peregrillo, who show him the way to the friar's hermitage.

(Jornada IIII)

Pinedo goes to a dark alley by the house of Lucina. He meets Citeria and tells her that Tesorino is to come that night with the friar. He is told that Lucina is

(1895-2054) The student and Soriano approach the house of Salamantina when they have an encounter with Anton. The *bobó* is quieted with a drink. Then the student talks through the window with Salamantina. She is won over and promises to leave the house with him under promise of marriage. The student and his aid then enter the house.

(2055-2296) Beltran appears in a scene that occurs at night, and talks at length to his donkey. Salamantina and Teresa come out of the house with their companions. The dowry has been given into the care of the student. Beltran recognizes his mistress and her maid. He asks where they are going. Teresa answers:

"A casa de vna vezina;

calla ya, hermano Beltran."

But Beltran considers the presence of male escorts suspicious, and continues to raise a disturbance. The student tells Soriano to beat him into submission, but the result is that his cries bring the alguazil. The latter tries to arrest the party, but the women get back into the house without difficulty, while the student and his companion escape. Beltran and the officer knock at the door of the house. When they finally get a response, Teresa tells them that all the household has been in bed for hours. The alguazil con-

waiting and that her aunt is asleep. Tesorino arrives with the friar, who is in dread of the results of performing such a marriage. The party is admitted, and the friar performs the marriage ceremony, to which he adds a sermon in his stammering speech. It is then decided that Lucina go with Tesorino to his inn to await the return of her father. As they start away, Gilyracho comes up singing. He raises a disturbance. To quiet him, Citeria makes herself known. The shepherd wants to know who the other people are, what they are doing in that dark street, and where they are going. Citeria answers:

"que soy de casa salida  
por passar a esta vezina."

Gilyracho insists that Lucina return home. He argues and threatens until Tesorino orders Pinedo to quiet him by force. The struggle between the servants and the escape of the principals close the act.

(Jornada V)

Timbreo returns home and finds his house in an uproar over the disappearance of his daughter. The father laments and wishes to put an end to his life. Gilyracho is suspected of knowing more than he is willing to tell. The servants are trying to get a confession out of him when Fray Vegetio arrives and takes Timbreo aside for an explanation. Soon the father returns with the an-

cludes that Beltran must have mistaken a couple of street characters for Salamantina and her maid.

(Jornada V)

(2297-2325) The student and Soriano divide the spoils, return their hired finery, and disappear from the play.

(2326-2611) Teresa advises Salamantina to deny everything. The loss of the money would not embarrass them, as it was a gift of her dying mother of which her father knew nothing. Beltran, who has been listening to them, enters and threatens to tell what he knows. Leandro returns at this point. Beltran tells his story, while Salamantina and Teresa deny all. The alguazil is called in, but he is convinced of the innocence of Salamantina. Beltran then concludes that he may have dreamed it all as he was sleeping on the back of his donkey.

(2612-2790) Anton's lunch is interrupted by Mencia, who wishes him to deliver some sausages. His mother has to promise a sausage to him in order to get him to do the errand. The *bobo* then departs, eating on the sly the one he is to deliver. The alguazil enters and demands a gratuity, because he has discovered that Mencia has been selling filthy wares. She denies the charge. Anton returns to take part in the

nouncement that he is willing to accept the results of what has been done in his absence.

A comic turn is given at the end by a quarrel between Gilyracho and a colored servant named Margarita.

quarrel. The alguazil helps himself to what he wants and departs. Mencia and Anton close the play by running away to hide for fear that officers may be sent to arrest them.

In the absence of a common source, it seems evident that one of these plays is based to a considerable extent on the other. Since the late M. Rouanet has limited more definitely the period of Palau's activity,<sup>4</sup> it is fairly certain that Palau is the borrower. The *Salamantina* dates from about the year 1550. The *Tesorina* is undated, but its mode of preservation is an indication of value for its date. The Madrid print once formed part of a collection of fifty-nine separately printed pieces,<sup>5</sup> mostly undated, but containing five dates ranging from 1534 to 1537. As I have argued elsewhere,<sup>6</sup> this collection must have been made soon after these works had issued from the press. If further proof of the priority of the *Tesorina* be needed, it is to be noted that the *Tesorina* is a type of drama that was popular in its time, while the *Salamantina* stands alone. It is extremely improbable that one whose plays conform closely to a fixed type should seek an outline for his plot outside of his own circle, but for the writer of a farce like the *Salamantina*, a play of the prevailing school would be the natural model.

It seems rather conclusive then that Palau used the *Tesorina* as the model for the framework of his plot. This imitation is shown in the *Introyto y Argumento*, the scene in which Beltran arrives at the house of Salamantina and quarrels with Teresa, the colloquy of Beltran with his donkey, the attempted elopement of Salamantina and the discovery of the plot by Beltran, and in the appearance in the last act of the father whose absence had left his daughter unprotected. The pretended suit of Salamantina by the student is probably to be added to the foregoing, yet the objection arises that a model might be found in almost any love play of the Torres Naharro group. The parallel passages show further that Palau was not a servile imitator. The verbal similarities are few in number,

<sup>4</sup> *Archivo de Investigaciones Históricas*, Tomo I, p. 272.

<sup>5</sup> *Bibliotheca Heberiana*, Vol. VI, No. 2818.

<sup>6</sup> *Modern Philology*, Vol. VII, 509-510.



and are apparently recollections of scenes that had caught his fancy. There is small probability that he could have pieced the lines together with the book of his predecessor open before him.

The *Salamantina* is much richer in comic materials than the *Tesorina*. In addition to the main theme of the play and the scenes which find a parallel in the *Tesorina*, there are five episodes that merit attention apart. These are, the Juancho episode, Anton's encounter with the student and its immediate consequences, the *bachiller's* visit to Mencia and his excursion with her son, and the two occasions on which the alguazil pilfers Mencia's sausages. Persistent search has failed to uncover a possible prototype for these scenes in the schools of Encina or Torres Naharro. On the other hand, they bear a striking resemblance to the type of humor found in the *pasos* of Lope de Rueda.<sup>7</sup>

The comic repertory of the earlier writers of secular plays was rather limited. The domestics who were necessary to the development of the plot assumed frequently comic roles in which they parodied the love affairs of their masters, quarreled among themselves, and displayed such traits as gluttonousness, laziness and effrontery. The chief fun-makers, however, were the shepherds, who filled in the gaps in the action with their rustic buffoonery, and remained in the play to the end. With few exceptions, the mirth-provoking qualities of these characters were stupidity, rusticity, and vulgarity.

As far as we now know, it was Lope de Rueda who brought to the Spanish stage an entirely new set of dramatic traditions. He introduced a large number of new comic types drawn largely from the city classes. *Paje, simple, médico, ladrón, estudiante, alguazil, hidalgo, fregona, mundana*, these are some of the characters that jostle each other in his *pasos*. In structure the *paso* is a short episode that has little or no connection with the main plot of the play in which it is presented, and that often brings in new characters only to let them disappear from the play when the *paso* comes to an end. Its prevailing tone was one of picaresque realism. It portrayed before the people who frequented the public square the types that flourished in their midst. The *pasos* that survive are

<sup>7</sup> Morel-Fatio discovered a passage in one of Rueda's *pasos* that seems to be a personal description of Palau. This would make it probable that Palau knew something of Rueda and his plays. See the introduction to the *Salamantina*.

somewhat varied in theme, but they show a marked tendency to represent shrewd tricks played by quick-witted rogues on their simple-minded fellows.

The traits here noted in Rueda's *pasos* are likewise to be found in the last mentioned comic scenes of the *Salamantina*. It must be admitted, however, that the sources of the various episodes cannot be traced. We might compare the following:

(Entra Anton, cantando.)

"Sangre para las morzillas  
y tripas para el quajar!"

Salamantina, 785-786.

"Tripas traygo y sangre, a fe,  
y para que, yo me lo se."

do., 958-959.

(Entra Joan de Buenalma, simple, cantando.)

"De casta de cornocales  
traygo yo los huevos, madre,  
pienso que buenos serane."

Rueda, *Obras* (ed. Acad.), II, p. 252.

A certain smutty pun found in the *Salamantina*, line 19, occurs in Rueda, *Obras*, II, pp. 228 ff. Other parallels of this sort might be found, but they could scarcely be considered source evidence, since it would be impossible to distinguish borrower from lender. Palau may or may not have borrowed entire scenes from Rueda. We do not know how much of Rueda's work is lost. It seems probable that most of the material in the *pasos* that were presented before 1552 had disappeared or been reworked beyond recognition before they were put in the printed form in which we know them. Moreover Palau did not imitate closely in the case of the *Tesorina*, which he must have seen in print, while his acquaintance with the works of Rueda would naturally come from seeing them represented. It is not by verbal coincidence but by similarity of methods and material that the relationship between the two men is apparent.

While the *pasos* that were published separately offer interesting analogies, a comedy in its entirety is a better subject of comparison, because it shows the way in which these little skits were presented. Of the four surviving comedies of Rueda, the *Medora* offers the closest parallel to the *Salamantina*. Here it is necessary merely to

call attention to a few points brought out in Professor Stiefel's well-known article.<sup>8</sup> Professor Stiefel is inclined to consider this the earliest<sup>9</sup> of Rueda's comedies. It should then represent better than any other the period of Rueda's activity that might have influenced Palau. Its main source is known: it is, therefore possible to distinguish Rueda's own additions. Two of these will suffice for the present comparison.<sup>10</sup> In the midst of a plot which follows the Italian model closely, Rueda adds an episode in which Gargullo boasts of the beating that he is going to administer to Peñalba. However, when Peñalba and his friend Logroño appear, Gargullo turns arrant coward and suffers all their insults, only to lie shamelessly about his encounter with them as soon as their backs are turned. Then the main theme of the play is taken up again, while Logroño and Peñalba disappear from the play. The other scene is one that passes between Ortega and Perico. Both of these characters are inventions of Rueda. Ortega is the indispensable *simple*, who appears from time to time throughout the play. The page Perico is brought in just long enough to be cheated out of a generous provision of bread under the pretext that he is to share in a dinner furnished by Ortega. This theme, for which other parallels are to be found in Rueda's works, is practically that of three episodes in the *Salamantina*, in which Mencia is victimized by the student and the alguazil. Since no claim is made in this article that we have the direct sources of any portion of the *Salamantina* in Rueda's surviving works, it seems unnecessary to cite further examples.

All the five episodes in the *Salamantina* to which attention has been called are picaresque<sup>11</sup> and realistic in tone. They are wholly unrelated to the main theme of the play, and the characters that appear in them may not appear elsewhere. The fact that Palau wrote his *pasos* in verse is explained by the setting in which they are found. If it be proven that there is a close resemblance in a certain type of scene found both in the works of Rueda and of

<sup>8</sup> *Lope de Rueda und das italienische Lustspiel*, Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie, XV (1891), pp. 183-216 and 318-343.

<sup>9</sup> l. c., p. 320.

<sup>10</sup> l. c., pp. 323-324.

<sup>11</sup> In his review, Rouanet called attention to the picaresque types in the *Salamantina*, and noted certain interesting analogies in older French literature.

Palau, it is almost certain that the latter is the borrower. No matter who invented the *paso*, Rueda at least made it popular in Spain and worthy of imitation.

The *Salamantina* seems, then, to fall between two schools of drama. The form and general arrangement of the main plot are based on a type created by Torres Naharro, but a notable portion of the comic scenes point to a direct imitation of the *pasos* of Lope de Rueda.

Whatever results may have been obtained in this article, it is still evident that Palau's claim of originality for his main theme has not been contradicted. It is likewise certain that the play is not the production of a novice, as might be inferred from some of the older studies dedicated to it, but of one who was well informed on the literary traditions of his time.

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## AN ITALIAN PROVERB COLLECTION

IT is thought that the following poem, taken from a manuscript long in the possession of the University of Chicago, will not be without interest to students of Italian and of proverb literature.<sup>1</sup> The literary value of the poem is assuredly not great, but it seems to us to take rank with many of the productions to be found in the *Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie*.

Its particular claim to interest lies in its resemblance, in several ways, to those proverb collections that formed part of the didactic literature of the Middle Ages. Many of the proverbs have their parallels—perhaps remote origin—in the *Disticha Catonis*: many are also extant, in some form, in modern Italian: all have their analogues in the proverbs of other nations.<sup>2</sup>

While it may not be categorically stated that any of the *Proverbia Vulgaria* that follow were composed directly upon the model of the *Disticha Catonis*, the indirect influence seems often evident. As didactic literature, the latter had great vogue during the Middle Ages, and passed, in the form of adaptations and more-or-less faithful translations, into almost all the vernaculars of Western Europe. In Italy the *Disticha* were represented by many versions in dialect, and naturally many of the proverbs found their way into popular speech.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I owe my acquaintance with this manuscript to Prof. Karl Pietsch, who drew my attention to its particular importance in another respect.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Düringfeld, *Sprichtwörter in der Germ. u. Rom. Sprachen*. zv. Leipzig, 1872. Consult under separate words the *Dis. della Crusca*. Among the general collections consulted are: G. Capponi, *Raccolta di Proverbi Toscani*. Firenze, 1871; A. Tiraboschi, *Raccolta di Proverbi Bergamaschi*. Bergamo, 1875; G. Rampoldi, *I proverbi e le sentenze proverbiali*. 3 v. Milano, 1852; A. Monosini, *Floris Italicae*. 3 v. 1629.

<sup>3</sup> For the most important old Italian versions, consult Vannucci in the *Scelta di Curiosità*; *Libro di Cato o tre volgarizzamenti del libro di Cato de' costumi*. Milano, 1829; A. Tobler in *Abhandl. d. königl. Akad. zu Berlin* (1884) I, 1-87; *Die altvenezianische Übersetzung der Sprüche des Dionysius Cato*: A. Miola in *Propugnatore* XI, 2, 319, a Neapolitan version of the 14th century: a free rendition of the 13th and 14th centuries in the "dialetto agnanino," in the *Rendiconti della Reale Accad. dei Lincei*, VIII, 245; Paitoni, *Bibliotheca degli autori antichi greci e latini volgarizzati*. Venez. 1766, I, 200).

Exigencies of rime and metre alone would go far to explain the varying interpretations of the Italian and French versions, purporting to be translations of the *Disticha*.<sup>4</sup> The popularization of these proverbs would likewise further lend flexibility to the manner of expression, causing the popular imitations to depart, in the way of vocabulary and metaphors, so far from the common model as to become almost unrecognizable.

Denunciation of vices—intemperance, garrulity, prodigality, avarice, sloth, etc.—and praise of the opposing virtues, form the theme of most of the old proverbs. These themes are common to many minds working independently of each other, and are often couched in identical terms, so limited is language in vocabulary, scope, and variety. The *Disticha*, for example, apparently often gleaned from the *Book of Proverbs*, and in turn gave rise to similar proverb collections. The germinal idea, then, underlying each of the *Proverbia Vulgaria*, apart from the manner of expression, is a common moral concept, and cannot well be laid directly to the influence of the *Disticha*.

The author of our little poem termed his proverbs “vulgaria,” and probably gathered most of them from popular speech, whatever be their ultimate origin. The *Disticha* are of a philosophical and spiritual value: the *Proverbia Vulgaria*, on similar themes, are presented under cover of homely metaphors that make appeal to the ordinary mind.

The *Proverbia Vulgaria* are made somewhat unique by the fact that the compiler has adapted his proverbs to rimed couplets whose *lezioni* are diametrically opposed to each other. The purpose of each couplet is, as the title explains, to point out the golden “mean” (medium) of human conduct suggested by the two verses. The substance of the entire collection might well be expressed by several verses of the Venetian version of the *Disticha*.<sup>5</sup>

Fai quele cause,  
Le qual te torna apro;

<sup>4</sup> A notable example of such dissimilar translations may be seen in three O. Fr. versions edited by E. Stengel in *Ausgaben u. Abhandl. d. Rom. Phil.*, XLVII, Marburg, 1886; *Elies de Wincestre eines Anonymous und Everarts Übertragungen der Disticha Catonis*.

<sup>5</sup> Tobler, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

Seate recordamento  
 Per contrario  
 Asciuar  
 Quele cause,  
 En le qual  
 Perman error.  
 Enagene certa speranza de fadiga.

As, in a later article, we shall describe the manuscript in detail, we defer further discussion of this fascicle, save to say that it is, to all appearances, of the second half of the fifteenth century, and, linguistically considered, gives evidence, in many of its forms, of Venetian influence.<sup>6</sup>

Ista sunt prouerbia uulgaria quorum medium tenendum est.

Ogna tropo sta per noce<sup>7</sup> pocho focho mal se coce  
 Chi tropo he sauiò may non asecura<sup>8</sup>  
 E quello che he mato may non ha pagura<sup>9</sup>  
 Chi tropo pensa perde sua memoria  
 Chi non pensa raro ha uictoria<sup>10</sup>  
 Chi tropo çercha troua lo lupo nelo bosco<sup>11</sup>  
 Chi non çercha non troua in casa ruscho  
 Chi tropo he seguro non troua compagno  
 Chi ha pagura non sta a la dura<sup>12</sup>  
 Chi tropo he presto non fuçe dal fogo

<sup>6</sup> It was thought expedient to give in most cases, proverbs of similar import, wherever found. Considerable search has failed to reveal proverbs corresponding to a few of the *Proverbia Vulgaria*. Some are not recognizable as from the store of literary or popular sayings, and are probably *sententiae* fashioned by the compiler to meet the exigencies of the case. Any detailed exposition of the bibliography or history of early Italian proverb collections is here rendered unnecessary by the splendid introduction and notes of F. Novati in the *Giornale Storico* (ser. III, 15, 18, 54, 55: *Le serie alfabetiche proverbiali e gli alfabeti disposti nella letteratura italiana de' primi tre secoli.*), to which we gratefully refer.

<sup>7</sup> Capp. 317, Ogni troppo è troppo; Novati XVIII, 122, Ogni nimio torna in fastidio; Bartsch (*Germania* III, 340), Quicquid erit nimium datur experiendo nocivum; *Dist.*, Quod nimium est fugito.

<sup>8</sup> Capp. 199, Chi è savio, non è sempre sicuro.

<sup>9</sup> *Proverbs*, XIV, 16, A wise man feareth and departeth from evil; but the fool rageth and is confident.

<sup>10</sup> Capp. 279, verses identical.

<sup>11</sup> Capp. 316, Chi più boschi cerca, più lupi trova.

<sup>12</sup> Cicero, *Philip.* II, 36, Timor non est diuturnus magister officii.

Chi tropo he pegro non ge troua logo<sup>13</sup>  
 Chi he tropo largo non se po deffendere  
 E lo avaro more inanzi che spendere<sup>14</sup>  
 Chi tropo serue pare che habia tema  
 Chi non serue he odiato dala çente  
 Chi tropo parla recresce<sup>15</sup> ala çente<sup>16</sup>  
 Chi non parla non piace ala çente<sup>17</sup>  
 Chi he tropo baldo spesse uolte falla  
 Chi tropo se uergogna no sa come se balla  
 Chi tropo ride fi tenuto da mato<sup>18</sup>  
 Chi non ride fi tenuto corrotto he falso  
 Chi tropo se ira perde sua bonta  
 Chi non se ira sente da falsita  
 Chi tropo he superbo non dura in terra  
 Chi he humile non ge ua uoluntera  
 Chi tropo se alza cade da scagno<sup>19</sup>  
 Chi tropo se tene al basso si sena lo dano  
 Chi tropo abraça mal liga so fasso<sup>20</sup>  
 Mal se mantene a chi non fa so procaço<sup>21</sup>  
 Richeza subita pocho dura in terra

<sup>13</sup> Trovare logo = Trovare pace, riposo. *Prov.* XV, 19, Iter pigrorum quasi sepes spinarum; Stengel, 133, Si tu ne fuiz peresce, Par dreite destresce, Malueise ert ta vie.

<sup>14</sup> *Dist.*, Aeger dives habet nummos, se non habet ipsum.

<sup>15</sup> Rincesce.

<sup>16</sup> *Perc.* (ed. Potvin, 4427/9), Pour çou qu'il a oï retraire:  
 C'ausi bien se puet on trop taire  
 Com trop parler a la foïe.

*Dist.*, Virtutem primam esse puta, compescere linguam.

Ovid, *Ars Am.*, II, 603, Exigua est virtus praestare silentia rebus:

At contra gravis est culpa, tacenda loqui.

<sup>17</sup> Stengel, 142, Gard(e) tei de cels ki murne e taisant sunt.

<sup>18</sup> Monosini, 328, Dal riso molto, conosci lo stolto; Dal continuo riso, raro hai buono avviso; Chi troppo ride ha natura di matto, E chi non ride è di razza di gatto. A much-used medieval Latin proverb was: Per risum multum possis cognoscere stultum.

<sup>19</sup> Capp. 21, Chi troppo in alto sal cade repente. Cf. *Prov.* XVI, 18, and *Luke* I, 52.

<sup>20</sup> Capp. 316, Chi troppo abbraccia nulla stringe; Novati XVIII, 132, Chi tropo abraza pocho astrenghe.

<sup>21</sup> Novati 55, Tu che procuri molti facti altrui, Sempre abbia cura de far ben li tuoi; 296, Pon cura sempre (co)si a facti tui, Che po' ssin ben e non sconci li altrui.

Novati, 133, Chi tosto acquista tosto perde.



Piçolo guadagno non fa granda altura  
 Chi tropo se arme se armissse male  
 Chi tropo se arma<sup>22</sup> in batalia non uale  
 Chi tropo he duro rompere se conuene  
 Chi tropo he uano pocho se mantene  
 Chi he adorno fi tenuto femenile  
 Chi tropo he desconço fi tenuto da porçile  
 Chi tropo ha le male guadagna de arte  
 Chi he falso si fa mala parte  
 Chi tropo uole tuto perdere he brama<sup>23</sup>  
 Chi non ha del suo falso se chiama  
 Non te piaça tropo le losengere persone<sup>24</sup>  
 Chi non sa losengare non troua dona  
 Chi tropo se faticha tropo se stancha  
 Chi non lauora la roba ge mancha<sup>25</sup>  
 Chi tropo dorme pegra diuenta<sup>26</sup>  
 Chi non dorme non polsa bene  
 Chi tropo mança si ne uene al mene  
 Chi non mança lauorare non po bene<sup>27</sup>  
 Chi tropo beue sempre more de sede<sup>28</sup>  
 Chi non beue sede non se uede  
 Chi tropo studia si ne uene malinconioso<sup>29</sup>  
 E mal impara chi non he dubioso<sup>30</sup>

<sup>22</sup> The three forms of this verb are readily explainable on the principle of such verbs as *incoraggiare* (= *incoraggiare*, with or without inchoative ending).

<sup>23</sup> Capp. 5, Chi più vuole, meno adopera; 316, Chi tutto vuole, tutto perde.

<sup>24</sup> *Dist.*, Noli homines blando nimium sermone probare; another version reads; Non bene creduntur nimium qui blanda locuntur.

<sup>25</sup> Capp. 229, Chi non suda non ha roba; *Dist.*, Quum labor in damno est, crescit mortalis egestas.

<sup>26</sup> *Dist.*, Segnitiem fugito, quae vitae ignavia fertur: Nam, quum animus languet, consumit inertia corpus. Stengel, 114, Repos e trop dormir, funt l'ume deuenir, malueis e parecus.

<sup>27</sup> Capp. 285, Poco vive chi troppo sparecchia; Monosini 314, Chi troppo mangia la pancia gli duole, E chi non mangia lavorar non puole.

<sup>28</sup> Capp. 5, Chi assai desidera, assidera.

<sup>29</sup> Capp. 294, Chi troppo studia matto diventa, Chi niente studia mangia polenta. Cf. *Eccles.* XII, 12.

<sup>30</sup> Capp. 275, Chi non dubita di nulla, non sa mai nulla; *Dist.*, Discere ne cesses, cura sapientia crescit; *Rom. de Dolopathos* (Brunet et Mont., vv. 1636/7, Toz jors doit saiges hons douter, N'est pas saiges ki ne se doute. The theme is of common use with famous writers: Bacon, *De Aug. Scient.* V, 116, Prudens interrogatio quasi dimidium scientiae; Dante, *Par.* III, 130/3, Nasce a guisa di rampollo, A piè del vero il dubbio; ed è natura Che al sommo pinga noi di collo in collo.

E de çeschauna cosa lo superchio<sup>81</sup>  
 Si come se dice se rompe lo couerchio  
 E ognia cossa uole modo he misura  
 Chi non fa così pocho si la dura<sup>82</sup>  
 Chi per si non sa e altrui non uol credere  
 La mala uia el conuen prendere  
 Chi da çouene non fa bene  
 E da uechio la mala uia tene<sup>83</sup>  
 Chi per altru intra in briga per se n'esce  
 La porta da intrare in briga  
 E cossi granda como he lo pian de Lombardia  
 Serue he non guardar a chi<sup>84</sup>  
 A chi tu offendi guardate da si<sup>85</sup>  
 O tardi per tempo putane he ladri roman dolenti  
 Da far bene non da demora<sup>86</sup>  
 Che in pocho tempo el passa l'ora  
 Chi te fa honore piu ch'l non sol fare<sup>87</sup>  
 O che te ingana o che te uole inganare  
 Ne per dormire ne per fuçire  
 Non se quista may honore<sup>88</sup>  
 El ualore che uene dal core

<sup>81</sup> Novati, 142, Ognia cosa superflua rompe lo couergio; Capp. 317, Il soperchio rompe il coperchio.

<sup>82</sup> Capp. 233, Chi la misura la dura, chi non la misura non dura; 317, Ogni cosa vuol misura; Novati, 276, In tucte cose abbia modo e misura, Senza la qual nulla cosa dura. The theme is evidently of Latin origin: Horace, *Sat.* I, 106, Est modus in rebus; Plautus, *Poenul.* I, 2, Modus omnibus in rebus, soror, optimum est habitu. Nimia omnia nimium exhibent negocium hominibus ex se.

<sup>83</sup> Capp. 143, Chi non fa bene in gioventù stenta in vecchiaia; Novati, 269, Chi in gioventù si piglia qualche vitio, Quando l'è vecchio attende a quel uffitio; Quaglia, 49, Consuetus vitio cuique juvenilibus annis illud in extremo dimittere tempore nescit.

<sup>84</sup> Capp. 42, Servi, e non badare a chie; Novati, 384, Serui a ciascun e non guardar a cchi.

<sup>85</sup> Capp. 144, Di chi mal fai, di lui non ti fidar mai.

<sup>86</sup> Novati, 128, Al ben fare non indusiare; 51, Quando ben puoi fare non lo tardare.

<sup>87</sup> Capp. 3, Chi t'accarezza più di qual che suole, o t'ha ingannato o ingannar ti vuole; Novati, 55, Quando alchun to losingha e porge laude, Amico, guarti, ch'armato è di fraude.

<sup>88</sup> Capp. 227, A gloria non si va senza fatica; Frezzi, *Quadrir.* IV, Nessun mai per fuggir, o per riposo, Venne in altezza fama over in gloria; Sallust, *Jug.* 85, Ignavia nemo immortalis factus.

Si fa l'omo agrandire<sup>39</sup>  
De quello che tu oldi abatine le doy parte  
De quello che tu uedi abatine la mitade<sup>40</sup>  
Qui non assuesit uertutibus dum iuuenesit  
Amicis nesit discere quando senesit<sup>41</sup>  
Amen.

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<sup>39</sup> Novati, 54, Servire e ben dire fa l'uomo ingrandire.

<sup>40</sup> Capp. 132, Quel che vedi poco credi, quel che senti non creder niente; Novati, 267, A ciò che ti fie decto non farai fede, Ch'a pena se può credere quel c'om vede.

<sup>41</sup> Capp. 143, In gioventù bisogna acquistare, Quel che in vecchiezza ti può giovare; Tobler, 78, Inprende da quelli, qe se amaestradi; Ma tu medesimo amaestraras quili, que nose amaestradi.

## THE STAGE SETTING OF HELL AND THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE MIDDLE AGES<sup>1</sup>

FOR the investigation of the relationship of stage decoration to the art of the Middle Ages, the way has been opened by the remarkable and, for the most part, sound thesis of M. Mâle<sup>2</sup> that the mystery plays gave new subjects to the art of the fifteenth century, transformed and renewed its spirit by placing models on the stage which the artists tried to copy. Thanks to the stage, the art of the fifteenth century became more realistic and less symbolic. It is only when M. Mâle pushes his excellent theory to the extreme and claims that certain scenes were traditional and existed beforehand on the stage merely because they are found represented later in art, that one becomes skeptical. For instance, he points out that the seating arrangement in the scene of the Last Supper in Michel's *Passion* corresponds to the arrangement in the picture of the Last Supper by Thierry Bouts, which is anterior to the play by more than twenty years. Instead of reaching the conclusion that the playwright copied the artist, M. Mâle makes the rather too bold statement, without any proof, that such an arrangement was traditional in the theatre and was not invented by Jean Michel.<sup>3</sup> In a like manner he insists that other playwrights before Jean Michel must have used the episode of the old woman, Hédroit, who forges the nails for the crucifixion, because the scene is found in works of art anterior to Michel's play.<sup>4</sup> Proceeding in this manner it would be only too easy to reconstruct the stage decoration of the period; but if the evidence of the iconography is to be of real value in solv-

<sup>1</sup> This article may be regarded as a chapter supplementary to the author's *Stage Decoration in France in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1910, and is believed to add satisfactory proofs of certain of the positions maintained in that work. A further article on *Stage Decoration and the Unity of Place* has recently appeared in *Modern Philology* (X, pp. 393-406), which carries on the treatment of the subject to more recent times.

<sup>2</sup> Mâle: *l'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, Paris, 1908.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

ing certain problems of stage setting, it must be corroborated in every case either by the stage directions or the lines of the play.

While one does not deny the influence of the stage on art, yet there must have been a reciprocal influence of art on the stage; and one cannot help feeling that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible in many cases, to discover in which direction the influence was working, since it often happened that the artist was also a scene-painter. Only to mention a few examples, Jehan Yvonet at Lyon, Thévenot at Rouen, Jean Fouquet, all of them artists, had charge of mounting plays,<sup>5</sup> and the question naturally arises whether they were more influenced in producing works of art by their work as scene-painters, or whether as scene-painters they merely enlarged their miniatures. The question is almost unanswerable except as we remember that they were artists first and last, and scene-painters only on occasion.

The author of the *Pseudo Méditations* of St. Bonaventure influenced the theatre profoundly, according to M. Mâle; and through the intermediary of the theatre he influenced the plastic arts.<sup>6</sup> For proof of this statement M. Mâle asserts that the pillar supporting the roof of the stable in which Christ is born, was mentioned in the *Méditations*, and that, coming from that source, it was represented on the stage where it was copied by the miniature artists. This being a matter of theory, it seems easier to believe that some devout miniature painter was poring over this very popular book and with great exactness and painstaking illustrated what he read, than to believe that some grosser artisan, such as a stage carpenter, wishing to build a scene for the stable, consulted the *Méditations* and reproduced what he found in the text. It is more likely that stage carpenters enlarged some already existing miniature; or, if in this case the artist and the stage carpenter were the same, it is more probable that he, as stage carpenter, reproduced his more careful work as artist. The stage setting was ephemeral; put up and torn down in a short time. The miniature would have a much longer life. It is more likely that the artists, who were to be influenced by this innovation of the pillar, saw it in a permanent miniature, than

<sup>5</sup> Cohen: *la Mise-en-scène dans le théâtre religieux français du moyen âge*, Paris, 1906, p. 127.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

that they saw it on some stage which only existed for a few days. The picture would more easily become a type and a lasting model, not only for artists, but also for stage carpenters.

To find a specific case in which the stage was reproducing a scene represented in art, one only has to turn to the first day of Michel's *Passion* in which a piece of scenery is called for, showing a temple with fifteen steps which the child Mary ascends. The apocryphal gospels of Matthew<sup>7</sup> and the *Evangile de la Nativité de Marie*<sup>8</sup> are the source of this episode which was painted in the fourteenth century by Taddeo Gaddi,<sup>9</sup> Giovanni da Milano,<sup>10</sup> and Orcagna,<sup>11</sup> all of whom represented the fifteen steps with the utmost exactness over a hundred years before Michel introduced the scene into his *Passion*.<sup>12</sup>

Thus, just as at present, when a stage manager produces a play whose setting is laid in some former century, he copies his scenery from pictures, so the stage manager in the Middle Ages must have found many ideas for his scenery in the iconography of the period. The influence of art and that of the stage must have been reciprocal; and, by consulting the iconographic representations of Hell in the Middle Ages, we hope to throw some light upon the scenery representing Hell on the stage. We shall use this evidence only as corroborative of the evidence furnished by the plays, for to do more than this would be hazardous in the extreme.

The horrible, grinning dragon's head, which was sometimes used to represent Hell, is so strikingly dramatic that its use has been misinterpreted, and it has been given undue importance in the minds of investigators of the subject because it is so remarkable. The statement made by Professor Petit de Julleville and the one which has been too generally accepted as containing the whole truth, reads

<sup>7</sup> Michel, C.: *Evangelies apocryphes*, Paris, 1911, p. 72.

<sup>8</sup> Caput VI.

<sup>9</sup> Santa Croce in Florence.

<sup>10</sup> Santa Croce in Florence.

<sup>11</sup> Or'San Michele in Florence.

<sup>12</sup> One wonders if the temple in the *Hours* of the duc de Berri only has fourteen steps because the artist did not realize why his model had fifteen. This miniature goes back either directly or indirectly to Taddeo Gaddi, as is plainly seen from the architecture and the decoration of the temple. See reproductions in Venturi, *La Madonna*, Milan, 1900, p. 110 ff.

as follows: "*Le premier plan de la scène . . . recouvrait et cachait l'enfer, et lui ouvrait un passage par une trappe cachée derrière un rideau, qui représentait une tête hideuse et grimaçante.*"<sup>13</sup> Professor Wright, in discussing the question in his recent *History of French Literature*, repeats this idea, saying: "At the back and on a higher level was a platform representing Paradise, and in the direct foreground or at one side of the stage was a hideous and grimacing head concealing a trap-door, whence the devils and demons emerged from Hell."<sup>14</sup> In some cases, as in the *Martyre de sainte Apolline* this arrangement of scenery existed, as is sufficiently proved, by Jean Fouquet's miniature representing the stage setting.<sup>15</sup> There are many other plays, however, in which scenery was not arranged in this manner and in which Hell was not represented by a dragon's head; or, if the hideous head did serve as the entrance to Hell, it did not "cover or hide" in any way the interior of the abode of the damned.

In regard to the position of the stage of the scenery representing both Heaven and Hell, we have attempted to prove from evidence furnished by both the lines and the stage directions of plays that these two scenes were often at opposite ends of the stage, and that sometimes they were on the same level, while at other times Heaven was above the stage proper.<sup>16</sup> The iconography of the Middle Ages furnishes strong corroborative evidence that all of these arrangements of scenery existed. To cite specific cases, the lines of the prolog to the *Résurrection du Sauveur* of the thirteenth century, speak of Hell on one side of the stage, as they enumerate the scenes, the *maisons* on the other side and, finally, Heaven.<sup>17</sup> It was evidently a stage of one level with Heaven and Hell at opposite ends. In 1474 at Rouen, the *Passion* was produced with Heaven set on the eastern end of the stage, according to the direction which reads: *Premicrement vers Orient, Paradis*. Then come the other scenes, and finally Hell is placed at the other end of the stage toward the

<sup>13</sup> Petit de Julleville: *les Mystères*, Paris, 1888, p. 388.

<sup>14</sup> Wright: *A History of French Literature*, New York, 1912, p. 79.

<sup>15</sup> Reproduced in Cohen: *op. cit.*, p. 86.

<sup>16</sup> Stuart: *Stage Decoration in France in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1910, *passim*.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

west.<sup>18</sup> Heaven is shown at one end of the stage and Hell at the other end in the *Vie de S. Martin*, according to the prolog.<sup>19</sup> The stage directions of the *Trois Doms* call for Heaven above the eastern end of the stage and Hell on the western end.<sup>20</sup> The Valenciennes *Passion* of 1547 was set thus, according to the somewhat inexact miniature of the stage.<sup>21</sup> In Lucerne in 1583, the market place was set for the *Passion* with Heaven in front of the inn "zur Sonne" on the eastern side of the market place, while Hell was on the opposite side.<sup>22</sup>

This arrangement of the stage is the result of the influence of the symbolic iconography of the Middle Ages. As a rule, the western façade of the churches was the one on which the scene of the Last Judgment was carved, since by false analogy the scholars of the period connected the word *occidens* with the verb *occidere* (to kill), and hence the region of the dead was toward the west.<sup>23</sup> Also in the plastic representations of the Last Judgment, Heaven and the saved souls are accorded the honor of being on the right hand of Christ, while Hell and the condemned are relegated to his left. This influence of art on the stage is shown in the Provençal play of the Last Judgment in which Paradise is *a la part dextra*, and the damned are *a la part senestra*.<sup>24</sup> In other words, the stage carpenters copied the scenes as portrayed on the portals of the churches; and it is, therefore, not surprising to find Hell toward the west and Heaven on the opposite end of the stage.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>21</sup> Reproduced in Suchier und Birch-Hirschfeld: *Geschichte der Französischen Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 286.

<sup>22</sup> See plan in Cohen: *Geschichte der Inszenierung im Geistlichen Schauspiel des Mittelalters in Frankreich*, ins Deutsche uebertragen von C. Bauer, Leipzig, 1907, p. 74.

<sup>23</sup> Mâle: *l'Art religieux du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France*, Paris, 1898, p. 6.

<sup>24</sup> Stuart: *op. cit.*, p. 156.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Montaigne: *Essais*, livre I, ch. XXX, *Des cannibals*. Ils croient les ames éternelles; et celles qui ont bien mérité des dieux, estre logées à l'endroit du ciel où le soleil se lève; les maudites, du costé de l'occident.

Churches continued to be orientated in this way until the fifteenth century. In 1646, however, Mère Angélique Arnauld complains that, because this orientation of churches was obsolete, the Jansenists were accused of being sun-worshippers, since their chapel at Port Royal faced the east. See, St. Cyres: *Pascal*, New York, 1910, p. 245.



As for the different levels of the Heaven and Hell scene, it is hardly necessary to call upon the iconography to prove that Heaven was often above the stage, since that situation of the scene has never been questioned. The Fouquet miniature, just mentioned, however, corroborates this theory. That Heaven and Hell were set on the same level at times is a theory which we have lately advanced, relying upon the evidence of the plays themselves. We find that this is practically confirmed by such representations as that on the portal of St. Etienne at Bourges where the gate of Heaven and that of Hell are shown on the same panel on the same level.<sup>26</sup> This idea is also carried out in a miniature to be found in the *Cabinet des Estampes* in which Paradise in the form of a building is on the same level as the dragon's mouth.<sup>27</sup>

The earliest extant play which calls for a Hell scene is the *Sponsus*. This simple drama is in reality a primitive Last Judgment play, as the story of the Wise and Foolish Virgins was symbolic of the judgment of Christ. Unfortunately there is no possibility of deducing any exact information in regard to the setting of Hell from the lines or stage decorations, and it is not until the thirteenth century that we find a play in which the scenery portraying Hell is described. In the *Adam* play, however, Hell is represented by gates from which smoke escapes.<sup>28</sup> This scene, which is called Hell in the play, is, of course, Limbo, which, as we shall show later, was generally conceived as a prison or stronghold and thus was shown on the stage. That this conception existed in the thirteenth century is proved by a Parisian miniature of that date in which Hell is pictured as a stronghold with towers from which devils defend the place. The gates are broken down, for Christ is freeing the prophets.<sup>29</sup> This, in turn, is also Limbo. Hence we are not surprised to find on the stage just such a scene for the *Adam* play in which no dragon's head is found. The miniature confirms the idea of the setting gained from the play.

In the *Miracle de Théophile* Hell seems to have been used as a

<sup>26</sup> See von der Muelbe: *Die Darstellung des Jüngsten Gerichts an den Romanischen und Gotischen Kirchenportalen Frankreichs*, Leipzig, 1910, for reproduction of portals.

<sup>27</sup> Mâle: *op. cit.*, p. 499.

<sup>28</sup> Stuart: *op. cit.*, p. 35.

<sup>29</sup> Grimouard de St. Laurent: *Guide de l'art chrétienne*, vol. 4, p. 362.

mere exit. Certainly the interior was not visible; and, as far as can be judged from the play itself, the Hell scene was unimportant, there being no indications of tortures, smoke, flames, dragon's head, or any of the attributes of the scene as it appeared in the Mysteries or the purely religious dramas. All the scenery that is necessary is a door by which Satan can enter and leave the stage. In the *Taymouth Hours*,<sup>80</sup> written about 1320, this miracle is illustrated; and when the devil withdraws, defeated, he is pictured disappearing from the scene through a high narrow door, like that of a sentry-box. So much scenery and no more was needed for the play; and it seems to be more than a coincidence that the artist should have illustrated the setting. He may well have seen the play, and this perfunctory representation of Hell may well have appeared on the stage, since it appears in the iconography. In purely religious plays of the Last Judgment, the dragon's head would naturally be the usual setting, because the entrance to Hell was shown in that form in the plastic representations of the scene; but in the miracle plays, the Hell scene was unimportant, was generally merely an exit and was probably some such device as shown in the *Taymouth Hours*.

Hell is just as unimportant in the *Miracles de Notre Dame*; but perhaps in the action of the devils loading the souls into a wheelbarrow and trundling them into Hell<sup>81</sup> is found another example of the realistic influence of the stage on art. In a book of *Hours*<sup>82</sup> of the fifteenth century the devils are shown bringing the souls to Hell in a wheelbarrow. This was evidently a stage device to overcome the difficulty of carrying an actor and was copied by the artist.<sup>83</sup>

The *Miracles de Ste. Geneviève* show the tortures of Hell when Nero is placed in a cauldron and the devils blow upon a fire beneath it. The cauldron as an instrument of torture is a very com-

<sup>80</sup> Thompson: *Some Illuminated Manuscripts*, London, 1912, p. 21.

<sup>81</sup> *Miracle de l'evêque que l'arcediacre murtrit*, l. 1074.

<sup>82</sup> British Museum, Add. MS. 29433f89; reproduced in *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts of the British Museum*, 1910.

<sup>83</sup> Professor George Elderkin has called my attention to a similar scene in an Etruscan wall painting showing two angels, one of the lower world, drawing a soul to Hades on a two wheeled cart. Is this a coincidence or the survival of a tradition in art? The entrance to Hades also bears a strong resemblance to the entrance of Hell depicted in the *Taymouth Hours*. For the Etruscan painting see Micale: *Storia degli Antichi Popoli Italiani*, Milano, 1836, vol. 4, plate 65.

mon *motif* in the iconography of the Hell scene. On the judgment portal of the cathedral at Reims, the cauldron alone is found representing Hell as it does in this play. In other instances it is combined with the dragon's head, sometimes resting in the open jaws, as on the cathedral at Rouen. The morality of the *Mauvais Riche* requires an interior scene in Hell in which Lucifer appears, as is usual; and the cauldron is used as an instrument of torture. The Hell scene of *Bien avisé et mal avisé* is set to resemble the kitchen in the house of a great lord, according to the stage directions. This is plainly a development of the flames, smoke, and the cauldron of other scenes in Hell. Also, in this play, the dragon's jaws are employed to cover the depths of the infernal regions. There can be little doubt that the stage managers in such cases were dramatizing the scenes of the portals.

In the *Nativité*, *Passion*, and *Résurrection* of the Jubinal collection, Hell is divided into two parts: Limbo, the first stage in Hell in which the prophets are held prisoners, and Hell proper.<sup>34</sup> The division was probably taken from the *Elucidarium* of Honorius d'Autun in which the author describes Hell as consisting of two levels: an upper part in which the just who died before Christ are kept, and a lower part where are those forever damned. A thirteenth century manuscript contains a miniature in which this idea is carried out, showing Limbo as the gate of a stronghold or prison, and outside of it a dragon's head covering the lower part of the infernal abode.<sup>35</sup> Hell is thus divided in this miniature into two distinct parts just as the scene demands in the plays of the Jubinal collection. It is a question whether the dragon's head was used as a part of scenery in these plays; but there were the gates which were bolted at the command of Satan, corresponding to the gates in the miniature. Moreover the division of the scene is corroborated by the picture.

The *Passion*<sup>36</sup> of the Arras manuscript is one which demands a very elaborate scene to represent Hell. Here again, according to the lines and stage directions, we find a stronghold with gates, which can be barred and chained, towers and windows. A strong ram-

<sup>34</sup> Stuart: *op. cit.*, p. 96 ff.

<sup>35</sup> Cloquet: *Eléments d'iconographie chrétienne*, Lille, p. 279.

<sup>36</sup> Richard: *le Mystère de la Passion*, Arras, 1891. See lines 5130, 1110, 5522, 18169, 18225, 20890. Also Stuart: *op. cit.*, p. 111.

part is built in front of the principal donjon. Cannons guard the windows, while the devils stand as sentries on the walls. The building is called a *palais diabolique*. Lucifer is within, bound by a chain in the fire of Hell. Snakes, toads, monsters, and the cauldron add to the horror of the scene, but the dragon's head does not seem to have appeared as a part of the scenery. Such a scene of a *palais diabolique*, as far as the exterior is concerned, appears in the painting of the Last Judgment done about 1430 by Lochner. But how was the interior of the scene shown? The wall toward the audience must have been taken out of the scenery. This would be the natural procedure, and this theory is borne out by the evidence obtained from certain plastic representations of Hell. In the miniature mentioned above, found in the book of *Hours* of the fifteenth century, Hell is shown as a diabolic palace with the wall removed in order to show the interior. The roof is supported by pillars and by two round towers of small circumference extending above the roof, which takes the form of a battlement. At the entrance two devils are dragging in souls, while just within, a large crowd of the damned stand before the gigantic Lucifer. On the other side of him a cauldron contains some suffering souls, while snakes and monsters inflict tortures on others. There is no dragon's head in the picture, which is evidence that the Hell mouth was not an indispensable part of the setting.

An English fresco at Stratford-on-Avon<sup>87</sup> shows the interior and exterior of the Hell; but it is hard to tell just what the picture represents because of the faulty perspective. It appears at first glance that the artist has attempted to depict two regions in Hell, such as required by the plays of the Jubinal collection, with Limbo above and the pit of Hell, with its tortures, below. It may be, however, that the pit of Hell is merely in front of the tower and we are looking over the walls. The picture at any rate is strong evidence that the interior of Hell was set on the stage, and that different degrees of punishment were indicated. A Last Judgment<sup>88</sup> by Jeronimus Bos (1470-1518?) presents yet another possible means of disclosing the interior of Hell, which may have been employed on the stage. The dragon's mouth is wide open;

<sup>87</sup> Reproduced in Gayley: *Plays of Our Forefathers*, New York, 1907, frontispiece.

and looking down the throat one sees the familiar cauldron containing the damned. The mouth is the opening of a flaming rocky cliff, and far in the background is the stone gate. Did the jaws at the Rouen *Passion* (1474), which, according to the direction "opened and closed when necessary," disclose the interior of the scene in this manner?

The means of showing the interior of Hell by taking out the wall toward the audience dates far back of the period of elaborate stage settings. On the south portal of the Chapelle de Perse at Espalion, which dates from the eleventh century, a dragon's head serves as entrance to Hell; and behind this entrance Lucifer sits enthroned, surrounded by serpents and monsters, the whole scene being open to view. Thus the scenery must have been set on the stage whenever it was necessary to show the interior of Hell; and thus the dragon's head would in no way "cover and hide" the interior of Hell, as has been believed. The scenery must have been arranged in this manner for the *Mystère des Trois Doms*, played at Romans in 1509. A dragon's head served as entrance to Hell; but, at the same time, scenes take place within Hell and the interior must have been exposed to the view of the spectators.<sup>39</sup> Naturally it was in the plays, such as the *Vie de S. Didier*, in which there was no scene in Hell, that the *gueule d'enfer* could serve as an exit and could "cover and hide" the depths of Hell. The dragon's jaws serve for just that purpose on the judgment portals at Amiens and Chartres.

Another scene in which the interior of the infernal regions is shown is found on the east portal of the church at Conques, which, dating from the eleventh century, hence antedates any elaborate setting of Hell, and may well have been a model for stage-carpenters. Here we also find the explanation of the vexatious question as to how the dragon's head and the gate could both serve as the entrance to Hell at the same time. On this portal the door of the gate is thrown back. The bolts and locks, so often mentioned in the plays, are plainly shown. The dragon's head is thrust through the open door. It is thus that the entrance to Hell is described by Brunon d'Asti, who is evidently the source of this idea, when he

<sup>39</sup> Original in the Detroit Museum of Art.

<sup>40</sup> Stuart: *op. cit.*, p. 175.

says: "By breaking down the doors of Hell, Jesus Christ broke down the doors behind which Leviathan hid his face."<sup>40</sup> Behind this entrance, as it is represented at Conques, is found a scene in Hell with Lucifer, the devils, and the usual torture, all recalling the plays of the Middle Ages. The judgment portal of the cathedral at Autun also portrays the dragon's head sticking out at the entrance. In reconstructing the scenery for the *Jour du jugement*, Roy attempted to solve the problem of combining the two entrances suggested in the miniatures of the manuscript, by claiming that the dragon's head was the real entrance, while the gates appeared as a second entrance behind the jaws.<sup>41</sup> We have already advanced the theory that the dragon's head was behind the gates, appearing when the gates were opened, and we find this theory substantiated by the evidence of these portals.<sup>42</sup> The action of the plays made it necessary for Christ to come to the portals first and break them down in order to enter Hell. A curious means of representing this action and yet showing the grotesque head is portrayed in the tapestries of La Chaise-Dieu in which Limbo is in the shape of a devil's head. The souls are emerging from an opening in the back of the head, the broken doors lying on the ground; and the face is turned in the opposite direction.<sup>43</sup>

At Rouen, on the judgment portal of the cathedral a gate is represented serving alone as the entrance to Hell. There is a dragon's head within but it is upright and holds a cauldron in its jaws. It is neither an entrance nor an exit into the lowest depths, but a part of the tortures. Thus one seems very safe in assuming that in some plays only a gate appeared on the stage to represent the entrance, as is implied by the lines and stage directions. We have already attempted to show that the dragon's jaws were not indispensable to the Hell scene,<sup>44</sup> and when one finds no reference to them in a play, but instead finds a gate called for, there is no reason to believe that the jaws appeared on the stage. The absence of the dragon's head as the entrance to Hell in certain iconographic

<sup>40</sup> Mâle: *l'Art religieux du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 480.

<sup>41</sup> *Le Jour du jugement*, publié par Roy, Paris, 1902.

<sup>42</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

<sup>43</sup> Reproduced in: *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, Lutz und Perdrizet, Mülhausen, 1907, plate 125.

<sup>44</sup> Stuart: *op. cit.*, p. 177 ff.

representations of the scene, confirms the absence of it on the stage, unless it is directly called for in the play.

The *Passion*, played at Rouen in 1474, represented Hell by two scenes: the jaws which opened and closed when necessary, and Limbo in the form of a prison.<sup>45</sup> The stage carpenter could have found his model for the Hell mouth on the *Portail des Libraires* of the cathedral. On the church of St. Maclou, Hell is represented as a building from which flames are escaping and perhaps Limbo on the stage was copied from it. Limbo is constantly represented in art as a prison—or at least a stronghold, and as a rocky cavern with gates.

The elaborate Hell of Michel's *Résurrection* was divided, according to the explicit stage directions, into four parts: Limbo, Purgatory, Limbo of the infants, and the pit of Hell. These scenes were evidently set on four different levels with Limbo highest and the pit of Hell lowest corresponding to the description of Hell given by Lazurus in Gréban's *Passion*.<sup>46</sup> The impulse to make different levels in Hell and to differentiate the regions of eternal punishment had come to the artists from such books as the *Vision de Saint Paul*<sup>47</sup> and from the reported journies through Hell of Dante, St. Brendan, Owen and Tungdal. The description given by Lazurus in Gréban's play, composed about the year 1450, seems to have been derived from Mielot's *Miroir de la salvation humaine*<sup>48</sup> written in 1448. The four levels in Hell are described in chapter XXVIII, just as Lazurus recounts them, with the pit of Hell lowest of all, above that comes the *enfer des enfans*, then Purgatory, and finally Limbo. Michel, however, probably derived his scene from Gréban's *Passion*, since he was intimately acquainted with this play, as his *Passion* is an amplification of two *journées* of Gréban's *Passion*. Michel's scenery is so exactly described by the stage directions, which are the best source of information, that one would hardly feel the lack of corroborative evidence from the field of art; but Hone cites an engraving of Wierx of which the model may have been a Hell scene similar to the

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>46</sup> Stuart: *op. cit.*, p. 129 ff.

<sup>47</sup> Mâle: *l'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, ch. IV.

<sup>48</sup> *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, Lutz und Perdrizet, Mülhausen, 1907.

one in Michel's play. Hone describes the picture as follows: "A landscape with a view of the earth beneath, containing a semi-section of hell, which is a globe divided into four parts: (1) The devil sitting on the body of Judas in the center, surrounded by a body of fire containing the damned in torment. (2) The compartment surrounding the centre is the flame of purgatory with its inhabitants. (3) The next circle is the limbo of infants, whose heat seems to be less fierce. (4) The outer circle is the limbo of the Fathers to which Christ has penetrated from his grave, with a banner surrounded by a light cloud filled with angels." We find here the four divisions of Hell as shown in the Michel *Passion* with the exception that Purgatory and the Limbo of the infants are transposed.<sup>49</sup> This may be another example to support M. Mâle's theory of the influence of the stage on art at this later date; but the early date of the portals at Conques and Espalion forces us to admit that models for scenery to represent Hell were ready at hand for the scenic artists. The stage and the iconography of the Middle Ages exerted a reciprocal influence.

The iconography of the Middle Ages, therefore, confirms the theory, which we have already advanced, that the stage decoration of the period was very elastic, especially in regard to the Hell scene. The simple gates developed into the elaborate stronghold or prison. Hell could be represented on the stage merely by a cauldron. A dragon's head could serve as an entrance in other cases, and could conceal the depths of Hell, or these depths could be revealed if necessary. The dragon's head could be combined with the gates, or it could be separated from the portals of Hell and symbolize Hell proper in contradistinction to Limbo. Finally, Hell could be set without the dragon's head appearing at all. To reconstruct a typical stage of the Middle Ages, except on the broadest lines, is quite impossible, so varied was the treatment of the one scene, which has generally been considered as consisting of merely dragon's jaws.

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<sup>49</sup> Hone: *Ancient Mysteries Described*, London, 1823, p. 121.



## THE DISCUSSION OF THE DATE OF THE BIRTH OF BOCCACCIO

SINCE the publication of my article *The Date of the Birth of Boccaccio* in the ROMANIC REVIEW in 1910,<sup>1</sup> four discussions of the question have appeared: one by Hauvette, in his *Pour la biographie de Boccace*;<sup>2</sup> one by Bacci, *La data di nascita di Giovanni Boccaccio*;<sup>3</sup> one by Massèra, in his *Studi boccacceschi*;<sup>4</sup> and one by Torraca, in his *Per la biografia di Giovanni Boccaccio*.<sup>5</sup> I am returning to the subject in order to revise my own results in view of certain arguments advanced by Hauvette and Massèra, and to criticize those arguments in the four discussions that seem to me inconclusive.

The course of the argument in my previous article was as follows:

The direct sources of information as to the date in question are a statement by Petrarch in a letter to Boccaccio written July 20, 1366, the 62d anniversary of Petrarch's birth: "ego te in nascendi ordine, nouem annorum spatio antecessi"; and a statement by Filippo Villani as to Boccaccio's age at death. Petrarch's statement may have any one of four connotations: first, "you were born on the 9th anniversary of my birth"; second, "you were born on the 9th anniversary of my birth or on one of the 364 days following"; third, "you were born within half a year of the 9th anniversary of my birth"; and fourth, "you were born in the calendar year subsequent by 9 to the calendar year of my birth." If the fourth connotation is the correct one, Petrarch may have had in mind the Roman civil year, beginning Jan. 1, or the year *ab incarnatione*, beginning March 25. If the statement has the first connotation, it implies that Boccaccio was born July 20, 1313. If the second, it implies that he was born in the period July 20, 1313–July 19, 1314. If the third, it implies

<sup>1</sup> I, 367–372.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin italien*, XI (1911), no. 3, pp. 1–10 of the reprint.

<sup>3</sup> In *Studii dedicati a Francesco Torraca*, Naples, 1912, pp. 191–194. Bacci summarizes this article in his *Studi recenti sul Boccaccio*, in *Miscellanea storica della Valdelsa*, XIX (1911), pp. 115–116.

<sup>4</sup> *Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.*, XXXVI (1912), pp. 192–201.

<sup>5</sup> Milan, 1912, pp. 5–11.

that he was born in the period Jan. 1313-Jan. 1314. If it has the fourth connotation, and Petrarch had in mind the year *ab incarnatione*, it implies that Boccaccio was born in the period March 25, 1313-March 24, 1314. The proper inference from the statement of Petrarch is therefore that Boccaccio was born in 1313 or in 1314 before July 20. The proper inference from the statement of Villani is that Boccaccio was born in the period Dec. 21, 1312-Dec. 20, 1314. Both statements are reliable. The proper conclusion is, therefore, identical with that derived from the more precise statement, that of Petrarch.

Hauvette accepts my inference from the statement of Villani, and accepts as rigorously correct my inference from the statement of Petrarch. He then continues:

Cependant, à y regarder de plus près, on s'aperçoit aisément que cette différence de neuf ans ne résulte pas d'un calcul fait par Boccace et transmis tel quel à son ami: c'est Pétrarque qui a tiré cette conséquence des données que son correspondant lui avait fournies: "Ainsi donc *si tu m'as dit la vérité*, je t'ai précédé de neuf ans." Évidemment, Boccace lui avait dit son âge. Quand? Nous l'ignorons. Sous quelle forme? Probablement d'une façon très vague, sans indication de mois, ou du moins Pétrarque l'avait oublié. Boccace avait pu dire: "Je suis né en 1313"; ou bien, à une date déterminée, il avait énoncé le nombre de ses années, et son ami avait conservé le souvenir précis de ce chiffre: 1313; Pétrarque fait donc une soustraction très simple et obtient le reste neuf, sans pouvoir tenir compte des fractions d'année.

He then notes that "1313" probably meant to Petrarch the period March 25, 1313-March 24, 1314.

Hauvette's argument is this: Petrarch's statement is secondary, and is based upon an original statement by Boccaccio; we should therefore reconstruct, from the statement of Petrarch, the original statement of Boccaccio; and we should base our inference as to the date of the birth of Boccaccio upon Boccaccio's original statement as reconstructed, rather than upon Petrarch's secondary statement. This argument is unquestionably valid, but its logical application seems to me to lead to results quite different from those reached by Hauvette. He suggests two plausible reconstructions of Boccaccio's statement, and bases his inference upon those reconstructions, but he does not attempt to consider *all the possible* reconstructions of Boccaccio's statement. It should seem evident *a priori* that if

Petrarch's statement be regarded as a secondary interpretation it may correspond to any one of several possible different statements by Boccaccio; that our basis for argument becomes therefore wider than before; and that the results will necessarily be less precise than before. As a matter of fact, it can readily be shown that Petrarch's statement may have been derived from a statement by Boccaccio consistent with a date as early as Dec. 1312—the earliest date possible in view of Villani's statement—for the birth of Boccaccio; or from a statement by Boccaccio consistent with a birth-date as late as Dec. 1314, the latest date possible in view of Villani's statement.

Suppose, for instance, that Boccaccio was born in Dec. 1312, and that he stated his age to Petrarch in August 1360. His statement would then have been "I am 47 years old." Petrarch was at that time 56 years old: he would therefore have formed the impression, from such a statement, that he was nine years older than Boccaccio. Suppose now that Boccaccio was born in August 1314, and that he stated his age to Petrarch in June 1360. His statement might then have been either: "I am 45 years old" or (in view of the fact that his next birthday was so near) "I am 46 years old." Petrarch was at that time 55 years old. If Boccaccio made the statement "I am 46 years old," Petrarch might have formed the impression that he was nine years older than Boccaccio.<sup>6</sup> This supposition puts no strain on probability. By the admission of such a strain the hypothetical date of the birth of Boccaccio could be moved to the very latest day made possible by the statement of Villani. Suppose that Boccaccio was born Dec. 20, 1314, and that he stated his age to Petrarch early in July 1360. On June 20, 1360, Boccaccio had passed the mid-point between his attainment of the age of 45 and his attainment of the age of 46. He might then possibly have said "I am 46"; and from such a statement, made at that time, Petrarch, then 55, might have formed the impression that he was nine years older than Boccaccio.

<sup>6</sup> If Boccaccio was born in May or June 1314, there are several forms of statement he might have used in 1360 before July 20 from any one of which Petrarch might have inferred that he was nine years older than Boccaccio. *E. g.*: "I am 46" (literally true after Boccaccio's birthday in 1360, and approximately true even in the early months of 1360); "I was born early in 1314"; "I was born in the spring of 1314"; "I was born in May (or June) 1314."

Strictly, then, the proper conclusion as to the date of the birth of Boccaccio is identical with that derived from the statement of Villani: namely, that Boccaccio was born in the period Dec. 21, 1312–Dec. 20, 1314. Since the admission of the possibility that Boccaccio was born late in 1314 rests upon a rather unlikely supposition as to the statement of Boccaccio to Petrarch, it may be regarded as improbable that Boccaccio was born late in 1314.

To his main argument as to the date of the birth of Boccaccio Hauvette adds a secondary argument intended to define more closely the *probabilities* as to that date. This argument may be summarized as follows: Boccaccio's father left Paris not later than Sept. 1314; he left Paris not long after the birth of Boccaccio; the birth of Boccaccio occurred before March 25, 1314; it therefore occurred, probably, in 1314 before March 25, or else late in 1313.

Although I believe, as will presently appear, that the probabilities in the case are very much as Hauvette here claims, I cannot feel that they are established by his argument, for the first link in that argument seems to me very weak. The claim that Boccaccio's father left Paris not later than Sept. 1314 is based upon a Florentine document of Oct. 1318,<sup>7</sup> in which Boccaccio's father and Boccaccio's uncle Vanni request exemption from assessment in the communes of Certaldo and Pulciano on the ground that they have been residents of Florence "iam sunt quatuor anni et ultra." But this does not prove that Boccaccio's father came personally to Florence in 1314. Crescini points out the inconclusiveness of the document:

Possiamo anche pensare che a Firenze nel 1314 si trasferisse realmente il solo Vanni, che solo legalmente vi apparisse trasferito anche il fratello Boccaccio. Se la Ditta de' Chellini da Certaldo era composta de' fratelli indivisi Boccaccio e Vanni, non necessitava che materialmente i due componenti di essa insieme passassero ad abitare sulle rive dell' Arno: bastava che lo facesse uno de' rappresentanti, mentre l'altro poteva seguitare a risiedere in Parigi.<sup>8</sup>

Della Torre argues the matter at some length,<sup>9</sup> and agrees with

<sup>7</sup> Printed by Della Torre, *La giovinezza di G. Boccaccio*, Città di Castello, 1905, pp. 11–13.

<sup>8</sup> *Contributo agli studi sul Boccaccio*, Turin, 1887, p. 41, n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 6–8. Della Torre points out that a mere power of attorney from Boccaccio's father to Vanni would have been enough to constitute Vanni's

Crescini. Hauvette's note—"Aucune raison ne nous oblige, ne nous engage même à supposer que Vanni avait pu s'y installer d'abord seul, en son nom et au nom de son frère (Crescini, *Contributo*, p. 41, n. 1)"—hardly suffices to remove the doubts raised by Crescini and Della Torre. Moreover, some indication that Boccaccio's father did not return to Florence in 1314 is afforded by the fact that his name has not been found in Florentine documents of 1314, 1315, or 1316, while it appears rather frequently in Florentine documents of 1317 and the following years.<sup>10</sup>

The limitation "before March 25" which appears in the last two links of Hauvette's secondary argument is taken over from his main argument, which I have already criticized.

Massèra accepts the conclusions of Hauvette, and seeks to reinforce them by the following argument:

When Boccaccio went to Naples he had almost completed his 14th year; between his arrival and his enamorment there intervened not less than 89 and not more than 100 months; his enamorment occurred March 30, 1336; his arrival therefore occurred in the period Nov. 1327–Oct. 1328; his birth therefore occurred late in 1313 or early in 1314.

As an absolute argument this can hardly stand, for each of its first three links has merely the strength of probability. The first premise rests upon certain autobiographical statements in the story of Caleone in the *Ameto*:

"fanciullo cercai i regni etrurii, e di quelli, in più ferma età venuto, qui venni"; "mi vidi alla entrata de' luoghi cercati: ove io entrai, e l'età pubescente di nuovo, senza ridurre la veduta donna ne' miei pensieri, vi trassi"; "colei, che, nella mia puerizia vegnendo a questi luoghi, apparitami e baciato mi, lieta m'avea la venuta proferta"; "colei, che nella mia puerizia . . . mi apparve."

I am convinced that Massèra's interpretation of these much discussed passages is literally correct; but it should be noted that it is very possible that in these statements the youthfulness of Boccaccio at the time of his arrival in Naples is exaggerated. The dominant

residence in Florence the legal residence of Boccaccio's father. Della Torre remarks that the existence of such a "ditta" as Crescini refers to is not established. It is indicated, however, by one of the Parisian documents cited by Hauvette (p. 5 of the reprint).

<sup>10</sup> Della Torre, pp. 6–14.

literary motive of the story of Caleone is the predestination of Fiammetta to Caleone. The statement of that predestination is obtained by means of accounts of two preliminary visions of Fiammetta vouchsafed to Caleone, and the first of these visions occurs just as Caleone reaches Naples. For the effectiveness of the predestination motive it was desirable that the occurrence of the first vision should be placed as early as possible. That Boccaccio regarded its early dating as important is clear from the fact of his insistence upon the idea "she who *in my boyhood* appeared to me in vision." A specific influence, tending in the direction of such exaggeration, was the influence of Dante's account in the *Vita nuova* of the beginnings of his love for Beatrice. That love began, in a certain mystic sense, in Dante's boyhood. It is therefore evident that familiarity with the early date assigned by Dante to the beginning of his love for Beatrice might have led Boccaccio to represent the event with which he associated the mystic beginning of his love for Fiammetta as occurring in his boyhood, even if in reality it occurred after the beginning of adolescence.

The second link in Massèra's argument depends upon the accuracy of Caleone's statement that six years intervened between his arrival at Naples and his dismissal by Abrotonia. It is possible that the number "six" is unintentionally inaccurate. The *Ameto* was written after Boccaccio's return to Florence: it is possible that lapse of memory or faulty calculation may have led him to write the number "six," even if the interval was actually of five or of seven years.<sup>11</sup>

I have recently shown that 1336 cannot be regarded as certainly the year of the enamorment.<sup>12</sup>

As an indication of probabilities, however, Massèra's argument

<sup>11</sup> Some time ago my friend Mr. Rudolph Altrocchi had the great kindness to ascertain for me the readings of ten Florentine MSS. and eleven early editions of the *Ameto* for the two passages in the story of Caleone containing numerical chronological statements: "e ancorachè Febo avesse tutti i dodici segnali mostrati del cielo sei volte" and "Ma sedici volte ritonda, e altrettante bicorna ci si mostrò Febea" (*L'Ameto*, Florence, 1834 [in *Opere volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio*, vol. XV], p. 153). The several MSS. and editions are unanimous in confirming the "sei" and the "sedici," except that one MS., Naz. Palat. 362, apparently of the 15th century, has "dieci" instead of "sedici."

<sup>12</sup> *The Enamorment of Boccaccio*, in *Modern Philology*, XI (1913-14), 39-55.

seems to me admirable in process and excellent in detail, though it should be modified, I think, in two minor respects. The dismissal by Abrotonia probably occurred, as Massèra shows, in Nov. or Dec. 1334. Caleone states that six years intervened between the arrival in Naples and the dismissal. If the arrival had occurred late in 1327, it seems to me highly probable that Caleone would have said "seven years" rather than "six years." It seems to me, therefore, that it may be regarded as improbable that the arrival occurred late in 1327. Then, since the arrival probably occurred in 1328, and since it probably occurred before the completion of Boccaccio's 14th year, it follows that the birth of Boccaccio probably occurred in 1314.

Massèra offers an argument in favor of arrival in Nov. 1327, pointing out the fact that Boccaccio's father went from Florence to Naples at some time between Sept. 1 and Nov. 30, 1327. It cannot, however, be more than a matter of conjecture that he took the young Boccaccio with him. There is nothing at all improbable in the supposition that he left Boccaccio in Florence, and sent for him after finding a good position for him in Naples. Neither in the story of Caleone nor in that of Idalagos does Boccaccio imply that he came to Naples with his father: indeed, the story of Idalagos seems to contain implication that he did not come with his father: "mi diè per padre un pastore chiamato Eucomos, i cui vestigi quasi tutta la mia puerile età seguitai"; "tanta fu la paura, che abbandonati i paternali campi, in questi boschi venni l' apparato uficio a operare."<sup>18</sup>

Massèra's limitation "early" in 1314 is taken over from Hauvette, and does not result from Massèra's own argument. That argument, indeed, gains in probability just in proportion as the date of the birth of Boccaccio is advanced in 1314.

The arguments and conclusions of Bacci and Torraca are virtually identical. Both think my inference from Petrarch unjustified in its allowance of so long a period of possibility. The essential portion of Bacci's argument is as follows:

Possiamo ben esser sicuri che il Petrarca, dunque, con molta ponderazione, scrivendo al Boccaccio, notava cifre e date, e faceva

<sup>18</sup> *Filocolo*, vol. II (= *Opere volgari*, vol. VIII), Florence, 1829, pp. 238, 243.

calcoli, com'egli soleva. Si deve, perciò, dare la massima importanza alla frase *io ti precedetti di nove anni*, come prova che il Boccaccio al 20 di luglio del 1366 non aveva oltrepassato i 53 anni, o, almeno, non li aveva ancora raggiunti, o li aveva superati di pochissimi giorni, perché il Petrarca, in vena di computi, non avrebbe tralasciato di aggiungere un *quasi* o un *circa*; e, anzi, avrebbe dovuto propendere piuttosto verso l'8° che verso il 9° anno, dato il contesto, e lo spirito ironico dell'osservazione a proposito del Boccaccio. Più giovane di quello che l'amico gli risultasse per i precisi computi, che veniva esponendo, non sembra che egli volesse farlo in quel momento. Qual data poi gli avesse e come indicata l'amico Boccaccio, non c'è noto (la questione sarebbe allora bell' e risolta), ma si può arguire che essa fosse tale e in tal modo fornita da lasciar essere, e credere a noi, esatto, o approssimativamente esatto, il calcolo comparativo del Petrarca. Anzi, le parole del Petrarca fanno supporre che l'indicazione dell'amico fosse precisa, appunto perché è preciso quel *novem*. Cosicché a me non par dubbio che si debba andare ben poco prima, o ben poco oltre il luglio 1313, per fissare la data di nascita del Boccaccio.

Torraca says, with reference to Hauvette's summary of my examination of the statement of Petrarch:

L'osservazione è acuta; ma, considerando il testo *de plus près*, a me sembra se ne possa arguire soltanto che il Boccaccio era nato verso il mese di luglio del 1313. Il Petrarca non dice indeterminatamente:—Io ho nove anni più di te; bensì:—*Io sono nato nove anni prima di te*, e lo dice nel giorno anniversario della propria nascita, mentre ricorda sinanche l'ora—allo spuntar dell'alba—che toccò “la soglia di questa vita.” Se differenza notevole, in più o in meno, vi fosse stata, non gli sarebbe, certo, mancato modo di accennarvi; soprattutto se fosse stata di mezzo anno e più, come l'Hauvette finisce col supporre.

The common argument of Bacci and Torraca is then this: since Petrarch says “nine years” instead of saying “about nine years,” he must have meant “precisely nine years.” That argument fails to take account of the several possibilities pointed out in my previous paper and in the first part of this paper. Its procedure *ex silentio* seems to me unjustified. One might as well argue just the other way: since Petrarch says “nine years” instead of saying “precisely nine years,” he cannot have meant “precisely nine years.” When a man means to imply that he is almost exactly nine years older than another man, he does not say simply: “I am nine years older than



B."; he says: "I am almost exactly nine years older than B." Moreover, when a man says "I am *about* nine years older than B.," he ordinarily means, *not* "I am within a few months of being precisely nine years older than B.," but "I am somewhere from 8 to 10 years older than B."

All that Bacci says about the exactness of Petrarch's computations regarding his own age is perfectly true, but it does not follow that Petrarch was equally interested in the details of Boccaccio's age. Petrarch was an infinitely more important person, to Petrarch, than Boccaccio—or any one else.

Torraca's claim that there is a difference in implication between "*ego te in nascendi ordine novem annorum spatio antecessi*" and "I am nine years older than you" is hardly susceptible of proof. The difference seems to me merely the difference between commonplace and literary phraseology.

Strictly, then, I repeat, the exact conclusion as to the date of the birth of Boccaccio is identical with that derived from the statement of Villani: namely, that Boccaccio was born in the period Dec. 21, 1312–Dec. 20, 1314. It has been shown to be improbable, on the one hand, that his birth occurred late in 1314, and, on the other hand, that it occurred before the beginning of 1314. Briefly, then, the matter may be stated thus: Boccaccio was born in 1313 or 1314, probably in the first half of 1314.

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## STUDIES IN THE IRPINO DIALECT

THE study of Italian dialects is becoming more and more difficult. The spread of education, military service, and the growth of internal commerce cause the formation of various strata of speech in the same community. Southern dialects have not received the same attention as the Northern, and we believe they should, before they become hopelessly entangled with Italian and with neighboring dialects.

The dialect studied in this treatise is spoken in the territory inhabited in ancient times by the Irpini. At present, it is known as the province of Avellino, or, by a former name, as the *Principato Ulteriore*. It comprises the *circondari* of Avellino, Ariano, and Sant'Angelo dei Lombardi, and has a population of about 400,000. The province is bounded on the North by the province of Molise, on the North-East by Capitanata, on the East by Basilicata, on the South by Principato Citeriore, and on the West by Terra di Lavoro. It is here that we find the *forculæ Claudinae* and also the lakes Am-sanctus and Mofete which still give forth pernicious gas as in the times of Virgil.

This dialect bears a striking resemblance to Neapolitan. One of the main divergencies is found in the quantitative accent still preserved in Neapolitan; for the tonic vowels being prolonged cause a weakening of the post-tonic vowels to *e*. In the Irpino dialect the accent denotes mere stress, and the post-tonic vowels are less liable to weaken.

On the whole, the vowels develop much in the same way as in Neapolitan. The difference appears in the fate of the consonants. Initial *b* when confused with *v* is dentilabial, while in Neapolitan it is bilabial. *FL* never gives *fr* as in the Neapolitan *frauto*: *flauto*, *PL* may give *pr* in Neapolitan: *prebba*, *pratea*, Irpino *plebba*, *platea*. Initial *d* often becomes *r*, while that seldom happens in Neapolitan, thus we have *ri*, *ronna*, *rinto*, *ruie*. Initial *l* becomes *r* in this dialect; it remains in Neapolitan. *R* becomes *l* in many words: *lebbrica*, *leggistro*, *lepubbrica*; also *d*: *demerio*, *decreà*; in Neapolitan, it

remains. *CU* before *a, o, u*, becomes at times *qu*: *quiro, quisto, questa, quera*; but in Neapolitan we have: *chillo, chisto, chesta, chella*. *G* before *a, o, u*, may give *v* as in *varzone, vozza*, but not so in Neapolitan; before *e, i*, we find that it may give *j*: *jennero, jelà*, forms not found in Neapolitan.

Medial *b* becomes *v* with more frequency than in Neapolitan. Likewise the change from *d* to *r* is more common in this dialect: *mierico, caruta, verè*. *LL* often becomes *dd*, a development not to be found in Neapolitan; thus: *gaddina, iddo, edda, quedda*. *LM* often becomes *rm*: *parma, sarma*, but remains in Neapolitan. *LT* does not become *rd* as in some cases in Neapolitan; so that we have *utemo* and not *urdemo*.

The pronunciation is the same as that of Italian, with the exception that unaccented *e* and *o*, whether medial or final, have an indistinct sound, and in rapid speech are scarcely audible. The treatise has been made possible by a practical knowledge of the dialect by the author, and by the aid received from friendly teachers scattered throughout the province. The author has also made constant use of Felice de Maria's "Dizionarietto dialettale italiano della Provincia di Avellino."

## I

### TONIC VOWELS

#### *a*

1. Whether in position or not, *a* remains: *sango, patre, malato, trave*.
2. *-arium* gives *-aro* and *-iere*: *jennaro* < \**jennarium*; *azzaro* < \**acciarium*; *cavorara* < *caldariam*; *cancelliere* < *cancellarium*; *varziere* < \**barbarium*; *canneliere* < *candelarium*.

#### *ɪ, ē*

1. Whether in position or not, *ɪ, ē* give close *e* unless there is a *u* in the following syllable, in which case they become *i*: *re* < *rex*; *forese* < *forensem*; *cannela* < *candelam*; *sirena* < *sirenam*; *trezza* < \**tricheam*; *penna* < *pinnam*; *verde* < *viridem*; *pepe* < *piper*; *tiso* < *tensum*; *nimico* < *inimicum*; *niro* < *nigrum*; *quiro* < *eccum illum*; *misso* < *missum*; *capillo* < *capillum*; *rito* < *digitum*; *siggillo* < *sigillum*.

2. Some words have *e* in the singular and *i* in the plural under the influence of a following *i*: *paese, paissi; pesce, pisci; tornese, tornisi; bellezza, bellizzi*.

## ě

1. It diphthongizes to *ie* when followed by *u* in the next syllable, otherwise it remains: *pietto* < *pectus*; *viento* < *ventum*; *fierro* < *ferrum*; *auciello* < *\*avicellum*; *tiembo* < *tempus*; *lietto* < *lectum*; *mantiello* < *mantellum*; *mierico* < *medicum*; but *sempe* < *semper*; *bene* < *bene*; *fonesta* < *fenestram*; *preta* < *petram*; *potenza* < *potentiam*; *gente* < *gentem*; *mele* < *mel*.
2. A few words have *e* in the singular and *ie* in the plural: *rente, rienti* < *dentem*; *certo, cierti*; *parente, parienti*.

## i

Long *i* remains: *bacile* < *\*bacinum*; *vico* < *vicum*; *rigina* < *reginam*; *accossi* < *aequa sic*; *lessia* < *\*lixivam*.

## ũ, õ

1. Whether in position or not, *ũ, õ* become close *o*: *vocca* < *\*buccam*; *doce* < *dulcem*; *poleve* < *pulverem*; *stoppa* < *stuppam*; *sciore* < *florem*; *ora* < *horam*; *sole* < *solem*; *lione* < *leonem*.
2. If followed by *u* in the next syllable or by *i*, be it the plural ending or resultant from latin *s*, they give *u*: *surco* < *sulcum*; *curto* < *curtum*; *urse* < *ursum*; *munno* < *mundum*; *chiummo* < *plumbum*; *punnio* < *pugnum*; *pasturi* < *pastorem*; *sciuri* < *florem*; *canzuni* < *cantionem*; *raziuni* < *orationem*; *nui* < *nos*; *vui, vuje, bui* < *vos*; *dui, duje* < *duo*; but *doje* when feminine.

As for *juorno* < *diurnum*, close *o* became open under the influence of *rn* and it still persists in the South; later the open *o* gave *uo*. A southerner will often say *buon giorno* instead of *buon giorno*.

## ø

When followed by *i* or *u* in the next syllable it gives *uo*, but if followed by *a, e, or o* it gives open *o*: *tuorto* < *tortum*; *luongo* < *longum*; *uorco* < *orcum*; *puorco* < *porcum*; *vuosto* < *vostrum*; *uosso* < *ossum*; *uoglio* < *olcum*; *bona* < *bonam*; *sora* < *soror*; *figliola* < *filio-*

*lam*; *notte* < *noctem*; *omo* < *homo*; *mo* < *modo*; *sciorta* < *sortem*; *fore* < *foras*.

ũ

It remains: *pure*, *sicuro*; *chiù* < *plus*; *ummeto* < *humidum*; *fumo*, *lume*.

## II

### PRETONIC VOWELS.

a

1. Pretonic *a* usually remains: *granato*, *nnammorato*, *capilli*, *allora*, *ammore*, *calamaro*, *aggarbato*.
2. In *a* number of words it falls when initial: *bascio* < *ad-bassum*; *batessa* < *abbatissam*; *runare* < *adunare*; *locco* < *aluccum*; *nanasso* < *ananas*; *scella* < *axillam*.
3. Often we find forms compounded with *ad*, the *d* being assimilated to the following consonant: *addò* < *ad-de-ubi*; *appresentà* < *ad-praesentare*; *addimannà* < *ad-demandare*; *allecordà* < *ad-recordare*; *affigurà* < *ad-figurare*; *arrefutà* < *\*ad-reflutare*.
4. Sometimes an *a* is found in place of other vowels: *addorà*: It. *odorare*; *carmosino* < *Ar. qermazi*; *asci* < *exire*; *cainato* < *cognatum*; *coccato* < *qualis quam altrum*; *saburco* < *sepulcrum*; *giagante* < *gigantem*; *quarera* < *querelam*; *stannardo* < *\*extendardum*; *valanza* < *bilancem*; *zanzaro* < *censualem*.

ě

1. When initial it falls: *cunomia* < *œconomiam*; *limosina* < *eleemosyna*; *pifania* < *epiphania*; *spierito* < *experitum*; *remito* < *eremita*; *state* < *aestatem*; *stenne* < *extendere*; *nchiosto* < *\*inclaustrum*; *ncignà* < *encœniare*; *scummonicà* < *excommunicare*.
2. When not initial it remains, but it is pronounced indistinctly, almost like the French mute *e*: *venì* < *venire*; *belcno* < *venenum*; *mercicina* < *medicinam*; *ferraro* < *ferrarium*; *renucchio* < *geniculum*; *jelà* < *gelare*.
3. In hiatus it becomes *i*: *renià* < *renegare*; *lione* < *leonem*; *prià* < *precare*.
4. A few cases of substitution are: *sommana* < *septimanam*; *fonesta* < *fenestram*; *lurato* < *levatum*; *romaso* < *remansum*.

## ĩ

1. When initial, it generally falls: *nimmico* < *inimicum*; *mparà* < *\*imparare*; *nnanzi* < *in-ante*; *ncomodà* < *incommodare*; *ngrassà* < *\*incrassare*; *nventà* < *inventare*; *nviria* < *invidiam*.
2. When not initial, it gives in most cases *e*, slightly pronounced: *fedele* < *fidelem*; *menà* < *minare*; *carrecà* < *carricare*; *verè* < *videre*; *desasto* < *disastrum*; *mazzecà* < *masticare*.
3. In some cases *i* remains, either through learned influence or on account of a neighboring *i* or a palatal: *roscignuolo* < *\*luscinolium*; *piglià* < *\*piliare*; *lacrimà* < *lacrimare*; *nimmico* < *inimicum*; *cicoria* < *\*cichoriam*; *carità* < *caritatem*.

## ē

1. Generally remains and is slightly pronounced: *relicato* < *delicatum*; *semminà* < *seminare*; *verità* < *veritas*; *sentinella* < *semita*.
2. In hiatus it becomes *i*: *riale* < *regalem*; *mio* < *\*meum*.

## ĩ

1. Initial it falls: *nfierno* < *infernum*; *nfilà* < *\*infilare*; *nsaccà* < *\*insaccare*; *nsertà* < *insertare*.
2. Not initial it remains: *marità* < *maritare*; *figliola* < *filiolam*; *finì* < *finire*; *sirena* < *sirenam*; *vicino* < *vicinum*.

## ō, ō

1. Both *o* and *u* are found. In the speech of the lower classes the *u* prevails; so that one hears both *morì* and *murì* < *\*morire*; *corona* and *curona* < *coronam*; *sordato* and *surdato* < *\*solidatum*; *portà* and *purtà* < *portare*; *fontana* and *funtana* < *fontanam*; *conzola* and *cunzulà* < *consolare*.
2. Only in a few words they fall when initial: *scurò* < *obscurum*; *razione* < *orationem*; *pinione* < *opinionem*.
3. An *a* is found in: *accasione* < *occasionem*; *accide* < *occidere*; *ad-dore* < *odorem*; *affocà* < *offocare*.

## ũ, ũ

1. Generally remain: *vuccone* < *bucconem*; *addunucchià* < *ingenuculare*; *curtiello* < *cultellum*; *rucato* < *ducatum*; *justizia* < *justitiam*; *salutà* < *salutare*; *crurele* < *crudelem*.

2. In a few words we find an *o* instead: *mogliera* < \**mulierem*; *giovà* < *juvare*; *onnejà* < \**undideare*; *iodecà* < *judicare*.
3. They fall when initial in: *mbrello* < \**umbrellam*; *ncino* < *uncinum*; *nu* < *unum* (proclitic).

### III

#### POST-TONIC VOWELS, NOT FINAL

##### *a*

Remains: *sabbato* < *sabbatum*; *barbara* < *barbaram*; *cannavo* < *canabam*.

##### *ě, ē*

Remain: *vence* < *vincere*; *carcere* < *carcerem*; *polleve* < *pulverem*; *iennero* < *generum*; *move* < *movere*; *mogne* < *mulgere*.

##### *ɣ*

1. It generally gives *e*: *museca* < *musicam*; *sorece* < *soricem*; *ummeto* < *humidum*; *ermece* < *imbricem*.
2. In some cases it remains: *cicoria* < \**cichoria*; *grazia* < *gratiam*; *forbicia* < *forficem*.

##### *ø*

Remains: *arbore* < *arborem*; *pecora* < *pecorem*; *riavolo* < *diabolum*.

##### *ũ*

Generally remains: *mierulo* < *merulam*; *fabbula* < *fabulam*; *perula* < *pergulam*; *spiculo* < *spiculum*.

Final vowels remain and develop much as in Italian, although greatly obscured in pronunciation. This weakening of the final vowels causes great confusion between *u* and *o* and between *e* and *i*. Thus we find *nu*, *lu*, *stu*, *dopu*, and *lo*, *sto*, *no*; *te*, *de*, *me*, *se*, and *ti*, *di*, *mi*, *si*.

### IV.

#### CONSONANTS.—INITIAL

Initial consonants are often doubled to denote a more vigorous pronunciation.

##### B

1. In many cases it gives a denti-labial *v*: *vaso*, *viato*, *vascio*, *vocca*, *varra*, *vareva*, *vorio* (Italian *bacio*, *beato*, *basso*, *bocca barra*, *barba*, *boria*).

2. In a more limited number of words *b* remains: *bene, bello, battaglia, buono, benerice*.
3. By attraction we find an *m* in *mammace* and *mammuccio* (It. *bambagia* and *bamboccio*).

## F

Initial *f* remains: *figliola, finì, fonesta, farina*.

## V

1. Generally remains: *vico, vui, venì, velo, via, verde*.
2. It is also confused with *b*: *boglio, bene, bote, beleno, bui, biernerì* (It. *voglio, viene, volte, veleno, voi, venerdì*).

## P

Initial *p* remains: *pietto, preta, panno, patrone, penna*.

## D

1. It remains in the speech of the better educated classes: *Dio, dinto, denaro, duje, donna, doce, durmì*.
2. In the speech of the lower classes initial *d* becomes *r*: *rieci, rurici, ri, ronna, rinto, ra, ruje, ranno, riavolo* (It. *dieci, dodici, donna, dentro, da, due, danno, diavolo*).

## T

Remains: *tutto, tanto, tiembo, taverna, tornata*.

## L

Generally remains: *lettera, luna, luongo*. It gives *r* in *re, ra, ro*; but forms with *l* (*le, la, lo*) are also common. In the speech of the lower classes it falls in *'u, 'i, 'a*, (It. *lo, li, la*).

## M, N

Remain: *muorto, mare, munno; nova, notte, nuvanda, nui*.

## R

1. Generally remains: *rinnegata, rosa, robba, riggina*.



2. In a few cases it gives *d*: *demerio* < *remedium*; *decrea* < *recreare*; *defreggerio* < *\*refrigerium*; *defrisco* < *\*re-frisk*.
3. It becomes *l* in: *lebbrica* < *\*replicam*; *leggistro*: It. *registro*; *leprubica* < *rem publicam*.

S

1. Initial *s* generally remains: *sera*, *sole*, *suonno*, *sempe*, *seta*.
2. In a few cases it becomes *z*: *zuca* < *\*suculare*; *zanzaro*; It. *sen-sale*; *zurfo* < *sulfur*.
3. It gives *š* in: *sciorta* < *sortem*; *scemo* < *\*semus*.

C

1. Before *a*, *o*, *u*, initial *c* gives *k*: *capilli*, *calamite*, *confessà*, *cumpagno*.
2. It becomes *qu* in: *quiro* < *eccum illum*; *quaglià* < *coagulare*.
3. Before *i*, *e*, it gives *č*: *cima*, *centrella*, *cità*, *ciento*, *cera*.

G

1. Initial *g* before *a*, *o*, *u*, remains: *guato*, *galante*, *gode*, *guliuso*.
2. In the speech of the lower classes it often falls: *'allina*: It. *gal-lina*; *'ore* < *gaudere*; *'Offrero*: It. *Goffredo*; *'unnella* < *gunna*.
3. A *v* is found in: *valiota*, *varzone*, *vozza* (It. *galeotta*, *garzone*, *gozzo*).
4. Before *e*, *i*, initial *g* gives *ǵ*: *gente*, *gentile*, *giro*.
5. More often it gives *j*: *jennero* < *generum*; *jenesta* < *genestam*; *jelà* < *gelare*.

W

It becomes *gu*: *guarnì* < *warnjan*; *guardà* < *\*warda*; *guaio* < *wai*.

GE, Z

Become *g*: *giluso* < *ξῆλος*; *Giorgio* < *Γέωργιος*; *giografia* < *geographiam*.

DE, DI, J

1. Become *j*: *jì* < *de-ire*; *jinto* < *de-intro*; *juorno* < *diurnum*; *jettà*; *jennaro*, *justizia*, *jurice*.
2. In a few cases initial *j* becomes *ǵ*: *già* < *jam*; *giovà* < *juvare*.

## V

## INITIAL GROUPS OF CONSONANTS

## 1

*Groups ending in l*

- BL gives *j*: *janco* < *blank*; *junno* < *bland*; *jastemà* < *blasphemare*.  
 CL gives *chi*: *chiamà* < *clamare*; *chiaro* < *clarum*; *chiave* < *clavem*.  
 FL gives *fi* and *š*, rarely *fl* and *j*: *fiore*, *sciore* < *florem*; *jato*, *sciato* < *flatum*; *sciumo* < *flumen*; *flagello* < *flagellum*.  
 GL becomes *j* and *gli*: *jaccio* < *\*glacium*; *gliotte* < *\*gluttire*.  
 PL becomes *chi* and in a few cases *pi*: *chiù* < *plus*; *chiagne* < *plangere*; *chiummo* < *plumbum*; *chiazza* < *plateam*; *piace* < *placere*; *piatto* < *\*plattum*.  
 SCL, STL give *schì*: *schiatà* < *\*exclapitare*; *schioppetta* < *stloppus*.  
 VL becomes *fi*: *fiasco* < *vlasclu*.

## 2

*Groups ending in r*

Remain: *braccio*, *brutto*, *croce*, *craje*, *franchezza*, *grazia*, *prìd*, *scrive*, *trezza*, *trave*.

## 3

*qu, cu*

- qu* remains in most cases: *quanno* < *quando*; *quanto* < *quantum*; *quatto* < *quattuor*; *quarera* < *querelam*; *quarco* < *qualis quam*.
- It becomes *k* in: *chiunque* < *qui-unquam*; *como* < *quomodo*; *cacosa* < *qualis quam causam*; and *c* in *cerza* < *querceam*.
- cu* becomes *qu*: *quisto* < *eccu-istum*; *quiro* < *eccu-illum*; *qua* < *eccu-hac*; the forms *chisto*, *chillo*, *chisse* are Neapolitan.

## 4

*Groups beginning with s or x becoming initial*

- XB becomes *sb*: *sbranà* < *\*ex-branare*; *sbatte* < *\*ex-battere*.  
 SC, XC become *sk* before *a*, *o*, *u*: *scala* < *scalam*; *scola* < *scholam*; *scommenica* < *excommunicare*. Before *e*, *i*, they become *š*: *scenne* < *descendere*; *scetà* < *excitare*; *sciglie* < *exsolvere*.  
 SD, XD give *sd*: *sdegno* < *\*disdignare*; *sdentato* < *\*ex-dentatum*; *sdradicà* < *\*ex-radicare*.  
 SF, XF give *sf*: *sfacciato* < *\*ex-faciatum*; *sfonnà* < *\*ex-fundare*.

SP, XP give *sp*: *spada*<*spatham*; *spina*<*spinam*; *spanne*<*expandere*.

ST, XT give *st*: *stà*<*stare*; *stella*<*stellam*; *stannardo*<*\*extendardum*.

## VI

### MEDIAL CONSONANTS

#### B

1. In most cases intervocalic *b* becomes *v*: *davante*<*de ab antes*; *taverna*, *cavallo*, *lavrurà*<*laborare*; *riavolo*<*diabolum*; *veve*<*bibere*.
2. In learned words *b* remains: *subito*, *robba*, *dubbio*, *diebbito*.
3. In some cases the *b* falls: *riciano*, *ria*, *faciano* (It. *dicevano*, *dava*, *facevano*).
4. It becomes *p* in: *beppeta*<*bibitam*.

#### F

Remains: *rifesa*, *capofuoco*, *giografia*, *cofano*, *refonnere*.

#### V

1. Generally remains: *levà*, *favore*, *nova*, *ulivo*, *chiave*, *neve*.
2. It falls in: *paura*<*\*pavuram*; *paone*<*pavonem*.

#### P

1. Remains in: *capo*, *sape*, *lupo*, *pepe*, *riposa*.
2. It gives *v* in: *povero*<*pauperem*; *vescovo*<*episcopum*; *riceve*<*recipere*.

#### D

1. Intervocalic *d* often becomes *r*: *mierico*, *caruta*, *verè*, *crurele*, *biernerì*, *pere* (It. *medico*, *caduta*, *vedere*, *crudele*, *venerdì*, *piede*).
2. Under Italian influence we find also forms with *d*: *adorà*, *crudele*, *nudeco*, *radeca*.
3. It becomes *t* in: *muceto*<*\*muccidum*; *nfracità*<*\*in-fracidare*; *nzipeto*<*\*insapidum*; *ummeto*<*humidum*.

## T

1. Generally remains: *salutà, rito* < *digitum*; *vita, dote, aiutà, catena*.
2. It becomes *d* in: *spedalo* < *hospitalem*; *strada* < *stratam*; *spada* < *spatham*; *vidella* < *botellum*.

## L

1. Generally remains: *sole, calamite, scala, molino*.
2. In a few cases it becomes *r*: *saraca* < *sala-caccabia*; *sbarià* < *\*ex-baulare*.

## M

Intervocalic *m* remains: *calamaro, chiammà, ammore, fumo*.

## N

Remains: *cane, lionè, menà, molenaro*.

## R

1. Intervocalic *r* remains: *cerasa, dolore, paura, murì*.
2. Infinitives lose final *re*: *cantà, parlà, chiammà*.

## S

Remains: *riposa, cosa, rosa, paese, mese*.

## C

1. Intervocalic *c* before *e, i* becomes *č*: *auciello* < *\*avicellum*; *jurice* < *judicem*; *merecina* < *medicinam*; *croce* < *crucem*; *luce* < *lucem*.
2. Before *a, o, u* becomes *k*: *vico, poco, pecora, luoco, fuoco*. In a few cases it becomes *g*: *pagà* < *pacare*; *annegà* < *enecare*. It falls in: *pridà* < *precare*; *manedà* < *manicare*.

## G

1. Intervocalic *g* before *e, i* becomes *ǵ* or *ǵǵ*: *seggillo* < *sigillum*; *riggina* < *reginam*; *defreggerio* < *\*refrigerium*; *legistro* < *regestum*; *magginà* < *imaginare*.
2. It falls in: *maesto* < *magistrum*; *paese* < *pagensem*; *frie* < *frigere*; *saetta* < *sagittam*.

3. It gives *j* in: *fuje*<*fugere*; *maje*<*magis*; *proje*<*porgere*; *quarajesima*<*quadragesimam*.
4. Intervocalic *g* before *a*, *o*, *u* remains in a very few cases: *legato*, *figura*.
5. It falls in: *fatià*<*fatigare*; *riale*<*regalem*; *rinneata*<*renegatam*; *nià*<*negare*; *austo*<*augustum*.
6. It gives *v* in: *suvaro*: It. *sughero*; *nivuro*<*nigrum*; *fravola*: It. *fragola*.
7. It gives *j* in: *castijà*<*castigare*; *chiaja*<*plagam*.

## VII

### MEDIAL GROUPS

- BB remains in *sabbato*<*sabbatum*; the form *sapato* is also found.
- BL becomes *bbr*: *obbregà*<*obligare*; *leprubbreca*<*res publica*; but *solleone*<*sub leonem*; *nneglia*<*nebulam*.
- BR remains: *libro*<*librum*; *ottobre*<*octobrem*; *frabeca*<*fabricam* shows methathesis; in *frea*<*febrem*, the *b* falls.
- BY, BBY become *ġġi*: *aggio*<*habeo*; *raggia*<*\*rabiam*; *loggia*<*\*laubja*; *suggettà*<*subjectare*.
- BT becomes *tt*: *sotto*<*subtus*; *sotterrà*<*subterrare*.
- FF remains: *affaccià*<*\*affaciare*; *affittà*<*\*affictare*; *affilà*<*\*affilare*.
- Fl, FFL give *š* in *ascià*<*afflare*; *ffr* in *affriggere*<*affligere*; *ffi* in *affianco*<*\*afflaccum*; *affiatà*<*afflatare*.
- FR, FFR remain: *suffrì*, *affruntà*, *defreggerio*.
- VV from DV becomes *bb*: *abbambà*, *abbellì*, *abbenì*, *abbidà*, *abbinato* (It. *avvampare*, *avvilire*, *avvenire*, *avviare*, *avvinazzato*).
- VY gives *ġġ*: *caggiola*<*\*caveola*; *liggerio*<*leviarium*.
- PP remains: *appiccià*, *appenne*, *stoppa*, *cappiello*.
- PY, PPY give *čč*: *accio*<*apium*; *saccio*<*sapio*; *piccione*<*pipionem*; *seccia*<*sepjam*.
- PL, PPL give *cchi*: *acchianà*<*\*applanare*; *cocchia*<*cupulam*; *restocchia*<*\*re-stipula*; also *ppi* as in *duppio*<*duplum*; *ppr* as in *suppreca*<*supplicare*; *br* in *allebreca*<*replicare*.
- PR, PPR remain in: *rappresentà*, *appriesso*, *soprano*, *apri*; it gives *br* in *lebbro*<*leporem*.
- PS gives *š* in *cascia*<*capsam*; and *ss* in *isso*<*\*ipsum*; *stesso*<*\*iste-ipsum*.

- PT gives *tt*: *accattà* < \**accaptare*; *scritto* < *scriptum*; *sette* < *septem*.  
 PTY gives *čč*: *caccia* < \**captiam*.  
 DD remains: *adduce*, *addio*, *addormì*, *addò*.  
 DR remains: *quadro*, *addrizzà* < \**ad-directare*.  
 DY gives *ğğ* in *appoggià* < \**appodiare*; *giaggiolo* < *gladiolum*; *j* in *gioia* < *gaudium*; *raio* < *radium*; *appoià* < \**appodiare*; *abbaià* < \**ad-badiare*; *oie* < *hodie*; *zz* in *miezze* < *medium*; it remains in *mmidia* < *invidiam*; *fastidiuso* < *fastidiosum*; *odio* < *odium*.  
 D of AD followed by a consonant is assimilated to it: *abbandono*, *accussì*, *affaccià*, *aggraziato*, *affrigo*, *appromette*, *arrefutà*.  
 TT remains: *mette*, *mattina*, *piatto*, *vattaglio*.  
 TR generally remains: *lettra*, *pollitro*, *nutrizza*, *patrone*; the *r* disappears in *quatto* < *quattuor*; *arreto* < *ad retrum*; it becomes *dr* in *padre* < *patrem*.  
 TY generally becomes *zz* or *zi*: *chiazza* < *plateam*; *palazzo* < *pala-tium*; *puzzo* < *puteum*; *grazia* < *gratiam*; *justizia* < *justitiam*; in some cases we find *ğğ*: *artiggiano* < \**artitianum*; *raggione* < *rationem*.  
 TC gives *ğğ*: *dammaggio* < *damnaticum*; *companaggio* < \**cumpanaticum*.  
 TL gives *ll* in *spalla* < *spatulam*.  
 LL either remains or becomes *dd*: *bello*, *cuollo*, *seggillo*, *auciello*, *cavallo*; *gaddina*, *zurfarieddo*, *gonnedda*, *quiddo* (It. *gallina*, *zolfanello*, *gonnella*, *quello*).  
 LB becomes *rb*: *arba*, *arboro* (It. *alba*, *albero*).  
 LC becomes *rc*: *carcagno* < *calcaneum*; *barcone*: It. *balcone*; *carcara* < *calcaram*; *surco* < *sulcum*; the *l* falls in *doce* < *dulcem*; but, in *fauce*, *favoce* < *falcem*, the *l* becomes either *u* or *v*.  
 LD gives either *rd* or *ud*: *mmardì* < *male dicere*; *sordato* < \**solidatus*; *caudo* < *calidum*; *scaudà* < *excaldare*.  
 LY gives *gli*: *voglio*, *figliola*, *piglià*, *foglia*, *meglio*.  
 LG before *e* gives *gli*: *sceglie* < \**ex-eligere*; *coglie* < *colligere*.  
 LNY gives *gn*: *bagnà* < *balneare*.  
 LM gives *rm*: *parma* < *palmam*; *sarma* < \**salmam*.  
 LP gives *rp*: *vorpa* < *vulpem*; *scarpiello* < *scalpellum*.  
 LF gives *rf*: *zurfo* < *sulfur*.  
 LS gives *rz* or *uz*: *sarza* < *salsam*; *mbarzamà* < \**inbalsamare*; *fauzo* < *falsum*; *puzo* < *pulsum*.

- LT gives *rt*, but more often the *l* falls; forms in which the *l* becomes *u* or *v* are also found, in the latter case a vowel is interpolated between the *v* and the *t*: *bertà* < \**bellitatem*; *curtiello* < \**cultellum*; *vota* < \**voltam*; *aveto* < \**altum*; *autara* < \**altarem*.
- LTY gives *uz*: *auzà* < \**altiare*.
- LTR gives *t* or *ut*: *ato*, *auto* < \**altrum*.
- LV gives *rv*: *marva* < \**malvam*.
- MM remains: *sommà*, *cummannà* *mamma*.
- MB usually becomes *mm*: *vammace* < \**bambaceam*; *tammurro*: It. *tamburo*; *bomma*: It. *bomba*.
- MBY, MY, become *gn*: *cagnà* < \**cambiare*; *scagnà* < \**excambiare*; *scigna* < \**simia*; *vennegna* < \**vindemiam*.
- MP remains, although in some cases the *p* becomes *b*: *sempe*, *stampà*, *campanella*, *lampa*; but: *abbambà*: It. *avvampare*; *tiembo* < \**tempus*; *mbastà*: It. *impastare*.
- MPL gives *nchi* or *mbr*: *enchiere* < \**implere*; *nchiastro* < \**emplastrum*; *nzembrice* < \**simplicem*.
- MPR remains: *mproperio*, *comprà*.
- MPTY gives *nz*: *scunzà* < \**excomptiare*.
- MPT gives *nt*: *pronto* < \**promptum*.
- MN gives *nn* or *mm*: *colonna*, *donna*, *suonno*; *uommeni*, *dammaggio*.
- NN remains: *penna*, *anno*, *cannito*, *vennella*.
- NC before *a*, *o*, *u* remains: *mancà*, *ncantà*, *ianco*; it gives *g* in *ngantà*: It. *incantare*; *rangascia*: It. *gran cassa*; *ngunia* < \**incudinam*.
- NC before *e*, *i*, and NCY give *nč* or *nz*: *vence* < \**vincere*; *provincia* < \**provinciam*; *valanza* < \**bilancem*; *onza* < \**unciam*.
- NCL gives *nchi*: *caravunchiolo* < \**carbunculum*; *nchiosto* < \**inclaustrum*; *nchiavà* < \**inclavare*.
- NCT gives *nt*: *santo* < \**sanctum*; *punto* < \**punctum*.
- ND becomes *nn*: *quanno* < \**quando*; *canncla* < \**candelam*; *munno* < \**mundum*; *vennetta* < \**vindictam*.
- NDY gives *nz*: *pranzo* < \**prandium*.
- NF remains: *cunfidà* < \**confidare*; *cunfusione* < \**confusionem*.
- NFL gives *nfi*: *runfà* < \**runflare*; *nfiammà* < \**inflammare*.
- NG before *e*, *i* becomes *nğ*: *fenge* < \**fingere*; *ngegnà* < \**ingeniare*; *chiange* < \**plangere*; forms with *gn* are Neapolitan.

NG before *a, o, u* remains: *sango, luongo, lenga*.

NGL gives *gn*: *cigna* < *cingulam*; *cignale* < *singularem*; *ogna* < *ungulam*.

NY becomes *gn*: *carcagno* < *calcaneum*; *campagna* < *campaniam*; *castagna* < *castaneam*.

NS becomes *nz*: *sanzalo* < *censualement*; *ncienzo* < *incensum*; *nzipeto* < *\*insipidus*. In a few cases the *n* disappears: *tiso* < *tensum*; *misurà* < *mensurare*; *mese* < *mensem*.

NT remains: *gentile, cantà, mantene*. There is also a tendency to soften the *t* to *d*: *ndonà* < *\*intonare*; *vindi, trenda, quaranda*.

NTR gives *nt* in *rinto* < *de-intro*; but *ntr* in *contro, ntricante, centrella*.

NTY becomes *nz*: *canzone, licenzia, presenzia, spranza, linzulo*.

NV gives *mm*: *mmità* < *invitare*; *mmentà* < *inventare*.

RR remains: *arrivà, fierro, corre, terra*.

RB gives *rv*: *varva* < *barbam*; *suorvo* < *sorbus*; *erva* < *herbam*; forms with *rb* are due to Italian influence: *birbia*: It. *birba*; *riverboro*: It. *riverbero*; *aggarbato*: It. *garbato*; the *r* falls in *auscio* < *\*arbutum*.

RC before *a, o, u* remains: *uorco, puorco, barca*.

RC before *e, i* gives *rc*: *carcere, purciello*.

RCL becomes *rchi*: *circhio* < *circulum*; *cupierchio* < *coperculum*; *supierchio* < *\*superculum*.

RD remains: *guardà, turdo, perde, verde*.

RDY becomes *rz*: *uorzo* < *hordeum*; *verzà* < *\*viridiatam*.

RG before *a, o, u* gives *ri*: *lario* < *largum*; before *e, i* it gives *rg*: *argiento*.

RM, RN, RP remain: *durmì, fermà, iuorno, vierno, scarpa*.

RS gives *rz*: *perzo*: It. *perso*; *descurzo*: It. *discorso*; *urzo* < *ursum*; *traverza* < *transversam*.

RT remains: *parte, porta, carta, muorto*.

RTY gives *rz*: *terzo* < *tertium*.

RY gives *r*: *ferraro* < *ferrarium*; *calamaro* < *calamarium*.

SS gives *ss* or *š*: *passo, fossa, esse*; *vascio* < *\*bassum*; *cascia*: It. *cassa*.

SC before *e, i* gives *š*: *nasce, mmasciata, pasce*.

ST remains: *questa, festa, castiello*.

STR gives *st*: *orchesto, ienesta, canisto, vuosto*.



- SY gives *s*: *vaso* < *basium*; *cerasa* < \**ceresiam*.
- CC before *a, o, u* remains: *vocca, sicco, accordà, scioccà* < \**floccare*.
- CC before *e, i* gives *čč* and seldom *zz*: *accide* < *occidere*; *soccere* < *succedere*; *accenne* < *accendere*; *azzettà* < \**acceptare*.
- CL becomes *cchi*: *fenuccio* < *fenuculum*; *uocchio* < *oculum*; *vrecchia* < *auriculam*; *viecchio* < \**veculum*. In a few cases it gives *gli*: *tenaglia* < *tenaculum*; *cuniglio* < *cuniculum*.
- CR either remains or gives *gr*: *suocro* < *socerum*; *lucrà* < *lucrare*; *lagrima* < *lacrimam*; *sigreto* < *secretum*.
- CS gives *ss* or *š*: *tuossico* < *toxicum*; *tesse* < *texere*; *lassà* < *laxare*; *asci* < *exire*; *lascià* < *laxare*; *liscia* < \**lixivam*.
- CT gives *tt*: *lietto, pietto, afflitto, iettà*.
- CTY gives *zz* or *zi*: *drizzà* < \**directiare*; *lezione* < *lectionem*.
- CY gives *zz* and *čč*: *lazzo* and *laccio* < \**laceum*; *azzaro* < \**aciarium*; *fazzo* < *faceo*; *setazzo* < *setaceum*; *faccia* < *faciam*; *crapiccio* < \**capricium*.
- CL gives *gli*: *quaglià* < *coagulare*; *striglià* < *strigulare*.
- GN either remains or loses the *g*: *segno* < *signum*; *agnello* < *agnellum*; *canosce* < *cognoscere*; *cainato* < *cognatum*.
- GR either remains or loses the *g*: *agreste* < *agrestem*; *niro* < *nigrum*.
- Final consonants develop as in Italian. Final *s*, however, gives in some monosyllables *je* or *j*: *nuje, vuje, craje* and *nui, vui, crai*.

## VIII

## MORPHOLOGICAL PECULIARITIES

1. Cases of methathesis: *frabecà* < *fabricare*; *lorgio* < *orologium*; *freva* < *febrem*; *preta* < *petram*; < *biernerì* < *veneris dies*; *brevogna* < *verecundiam*; *crapiccio* < \**capricium*.
2. Noun.—As in Italian, the Latin neuter singular becomes masculine in this dialect: *'u corpo, 'u fiore, 'u pietto, 'u lume, 'u mele*. But *caput* instead of giving *capo* as in Italian, gives the feminine *capa*.

The plural of Latin neuters become masculine: *'i piecori, 'i vrazzi, 'i rinucchi, 'i riti*.

Some masculine nouns which become feminine in Italian remain masculine in this dialect: *'u carcere, 'u cemice, 'u police*.

3. Comparison of Adjectives.—The comparative is formed with

*chiù* < *plus*. The comparative of inferiority with *meno* is not found. *Migliore* and *peggiore* have been replaced by the adverbs *meglio* and *peggio* or *pevo*. *Manco* is used for the Italian *nemmeno*: *manco nu soldo*: It. *nemmeno un soldo*. The superlative absolute in *-issimo* is expressed by *assai* before the positive: *assai gruosso*: It. *grandissimo*.

4. *Personal Pronouns*.—Subject pronouns: *io, tu, isso* (or *iddo*), *essa* (or *edda*); *nui, vui* (or *bui*), *issi, esse*.

Direct and indirect objects: *mi, ti, lu* (or *'u, ro*), *li* (or *ci*), *la* (or *'a, ra, ci*); *ci, vi, li* (or *'i, ri, ci*), *le* (or *'e, re, ci*). As in Italian the *i* becomes *e* before another pronoun beginning with *l* or *n*.

Objects of prepositions: *me, te, isso* (or *iddo*), *essa* (or *edda*), *nui, vui, issi, esse* (or *loro*).

5. *Possessive Adjectives*.—*Mio, mia; tujo, toja; sujò, soja; nuosto, nosta; vuosto, vosta; loro; mü, mie; tuji, toje; sui, soje; nuosti, noste; vuosti, voste; loro*.

Possessive adjectives are always placed after the noun: *'a casa mia, 'u libro mio*. *Frateme, sorema, mammeta, caseta* are also found for Italian *mio fratello, mia sorella, tua madre, tua casa*.

The possessive pronouns are the same as the adjectives, but they take the definite article.

6. *Demonstrative Adjectives*.—*Sto, stu*: It. *questo*; *sta*: It. *questa*; plurals: *sti* and *ste*. *Sso, su*: It. *cotesto*; *sa*: It. *cotesta*; plurals: *si* and *se*. *Quiro* or *quiddo*: It. *quello*; *quera* or *quedda*: It. *quella*; plurals: *quiri* or *quiddi*, and *quere* or *quedde*.

7. *Demonstrative Pronouns*.—*Quisto, questa*; pl. *quisti, queste*; *quisso, quessa* for Italian *costui, costei*; pl. *quissi, quesse*; *quiro* or *quiddo*, *quera* or *quedda* for Italian *colui, colei*; pl. *quiri* or *quiddi*, *quere* or *quedde*.

8. *Definite Article*.—*lo, lu, 'u; la, 'a*; pl. *li, 'i, le*.

Indefinite article: *nu, na*.

9. *Numerals*.—*uno, rue, trea, quatto, cinc, sei, sett, ott, nove, riedi, unnicì, rurici, tririci, quattuordici, quinnici, sirici, riciessette; riciotto, ricinnove, vindi, trenda, quaranda, cinquanda, sis-sanda, sittanda, ottanda, nuvanda, ciendo*.

10. *Verb*.—In this dialect the future tense is not used to denote futurity but only to denote probability. Future action is ex-

pressed by the present indicative of the verb *to have* and the infinitive of the verb in question, generally connected by the preposition *da*; so that Italian *farò* becomes *aggia fa*, *aggia* being a contraction of *aggio* and *da*. The present subjunctive is lacking. The infinitive loses its ending and often adds *en* at the end: *parlane, vedene, amane*.

(a) First conjugation in *à*: *parlà, parlanno, parlato*.

Present Indicative: *parlo, parli parla, parliamo, parlate, parlano*.

Imperfect Indicative: *parlava, parlavi, parlava, parlávamo, parlávate, parlavano*.

Preterite: *parlai, parlasti, parlatte, parlammo, parlaste, parlarono*.

Future: *parlarraggio, parlarrai, parlarrae, parlarramo, parlarrate, parlarranno*.

Conditional: *parlarria, parlarristi, parlarria, parlarrimmo, parlarriste, parlarriano*.

Imperfect Subjunctive: *parlassi, parlassi, parlasse, parlassimo, parlasseve, parlassino*.

Imperative: *parla, parlate*.

(b) Second conjugation in *è* or *'e*: *crede, credenno, creduto*.

Present Indicative: *credo, cridi, crede, cridimo, cridite, credono*.

Imperfect Indicative: *credeva, cridivi, credeva, credévamo, credévate, credevano*.

Preterite: *cridietti, cridisti, credette, credemmo, cridiste, crederono*.

Future: *credarraggio, credarrai, credarrà, credarrimo, credarrite, credarranno*.

Conditional: *credarria, cridarristi, credarria, credarrimmo, credarriste, credarriano*.

Imperfect Subjunctive: *credessi, cridissi, credesse, credessimo, cridisceve, credessero*.

Imperative: *criidi, cridite*.

(c) Third conjugation in *ì*: *sentì, sentenno, sentuto*.

Present Indicative: *sento, senti, sente, sintimo, sintite, sentono*.

Imperfect Indicative: *sinteva, sintizi, sinteva, sentévamo, sentévate, sintevano*.

Preterite: *sintietti, sintisti, sintette, sintemmo, sintiste, sinterono*.

Future: *sintarraggio, sientarrai, sintarrà, sintarrimo, sintarrite, sintarranno*.

Conditional: *sintarria, sintarristi, sintarria, sintarrimmo, sintarriste, sintarriano.*

Imperfect Subjunctive: *sintessi, sintissi, sintesse, sintessimo, sintisseve, sintessero.*

Imperative: *sienti, sintite.*

The present indicative of *finì* is: *finiscio, finisci, finisce, finimo, finite, finiscono.* The other tenses follow *senti*.

(d) *Stà, stanno, stato.*

Present Indicative: *stongo, stai, sta, stimo, stite, stanno.*

Imperfect Indicative: *stava, stivi, steva stévamo, stévate, stevano.*

Preterite: *stietti, stisti, stette, stiettimo, stiste, stettero.*

Future: *starraggio, starrai, starrà, starrimo, starrite, starranno.*

Conditional: *starria, starristi, starria, starriamo, starriste, starriano.*

Imperfect Subjunctive: *stessi, stissi, stesse, stessimo, stissive, stessero.*

Imperative: *sta, stite.*

(e) *dà, danno, dato.*

Present Indicative: *dongo, dai, dà, damo, date, danno.*

Imperfect Indicative: *deva, divi, deva, dévamo, dévate, devano.*

Preterite: *dietti, disti, dette, dettimo, diste, derono.*

Future: *darraggio, darrai, darrà, darrimmo, darrite, darranno.*

Conditional: *darria, darristi, darria, darrimmo, darriste, darriano.*

Imperfect Subjunctive: *dessi, dissi, desse, dessimo, dissive, dessero.*

Imperative: *dà, date.*

(f) *jì, jenno juto* (It. *andare*).

Present Indicative: *vaco, vai, va, jamo, jate, vanno.*

Imperfect Indicative: *jeva, jivi, jeva, jévamo, jévate, jevano.*

Preterite: *jetti, jisti, jette, jettimo, jeste, jettero.*

Future: *jarraggio, jarrai, jarrà, jarrimo, jarrite, jarranno.*

Conditional: *jarria, jarristi, jarria, jarrimmo, jarrite, jarriano.*

Imperfect Subjunctive: *jessi, jissi, jesse, jessimo, jisseve, jessero.*

Imperative: *va, jate.*

(g) *fà, facenno, fatto.*

Present Indicative: *fazzo, fai, face, facimo, facite, fanno.*

Imperfect Indicative: *faceva, facivi, faceva, facévamo, facévate, facevano.*

Preterite: *facietti, facisti, facette, facemmo, faciste, facerono.*

Future: *faciarraggio, faciarrai, faciarrà, faciarrimo, faciarrite, faciarranno.*

Conditional: *faciarria, faciarristi, faciarria, faciarrimmo, faciarriste, faciarriano.*

Imperfect Subjunctive: *facessi, facissi, facesse, facessimo, facisseve, facessero.*

Imperative: *fà, facite.*

(h) *sape, sapenno, saputo.*

Present Indicative: *saccio, sai, sape, sapimo, sapite, sapano.*

Imperfect Indicative: *sapeva, sapivi, sapeva, sapévamo, sapévate, sapevano.*

Preterite: *sapietti, sapisti, sapette, sapemmo, sapiste, saperono.*

Future: *saparraggio, saparra, saparrà, saparrimo, saparrite, saparranno.*

Conditional: *saparria, saparristi, saparria, saparrimmo, saparriste, saparriano.*

Imperfect Subjunctive: *sapessi, sapissi, sapesse, sapessimo, sapisseve, sapessero.*

Imperative: *sa, sapite.*

(i) *vole, volenno, voluto.*

Present Indicative: *voglio, vuoi, vole, volimo, volite, vonno.*

Imperfect Indicative: *voleva, volivi, voleva, volévamo, volévate, volevano.*

Preterite: *vulietti, vulisti, vulette, vulemmo, vuliste, vulerono.*

Future: *vularraggio, vularra, vularrà, vularrimo, vularrite, vularranno.*

Conditional: *vularria, vularristi, vularria, vularrimmo, vularriste, vularriano.*

Imperfect Subjunctive: *vulessi, vulissi, vulesse, vulessimo, vulissive, vulessero.*

(k) *pote, putenno, potuto.*

Present Indicative: *pozzo, puoi, pote, putimo, putite, ponno.*

Imperfect Indicative: *puteva, putivi, puteva, putévamo, putévate, putevano.*

Preterite: *putietti, putisti, putette, putemmo, putiste, puterono.*

Future: *putarraggio, putarra, putarrà, putarrimo, putarrite, putarranno.*

Conditional: *putarria, putarristi, putarria, putarriamo, putarrite, putarriano.*

Imperfect Subjunctive: *putessi, putissi, putesse, putessimo, putisseve, putessero.*

(l) *esse, essenno, stato.*

Present Indicative: *songo, si, è or ea, simo, site, so.*

Imperfect Indicative: *era, iri, era, éramo, érate, erano.*

Preterite: *fozi, fusti, foze, fozemo, fuste, fozero.*

Future: *sarraggio, sarrai, sarrà, sarrimo, sarrite, sarranno.*

Conditional: *sarria, sarristi, sarria, sarriamo, sarrite, sarriano.*

Imperfect Subjunctive: *fossi, fussi, fosse, fossimo, fusseve, fossero.*

Imperative: *si, site.*

(m) *ave, avenno, avuto or auto.*

Present Indicative: *aggio, hai, have, avimo, avite, hanno.*

Imperfect Indicative: *aveva, avivi, aveva, avévamo, avévate, avevano.*

Preterite: *avietti, avisti, avette, avemmo, aviste, averono.*

Future: *avarraggio, avarrai, avarrà, avarrimmo, avarrite, avarranno.*

Conditional: *avarria, avarristi, avarria, avarriamo, avarriste, avarriano.*

Imperfect Subjunctive: *avessi, avissi, avesse, avessimo, avisseve, avessero.*

Imperative: *hai, avite.*

(n) *vedè, vedenno, veduto.*

Present Indicative: *veco, vidi, vede, vidimo, vidite, vedono.*

Imperfect Indicative: *videva, vidivi, videva, vidévamo, vidévate, videvano.*

Preterite: *vidietti, vidisti, vidette, videmmo, vidiste, viderono.*

Future: *vidarraggio, vidarrai, vidarrà, vidarrimmo, vidarrite, vidarranno.*

Conditional: *vidarria, vidarristi, vidarria, vidarriamo, vidarriste, vidarriano.*

Imperfect Subjunctive: *videssi, vidissi, vedesse, videssimo, vidissive, vedessero.*

Imperative: *vidi, vidite.*

(o) *dì or dice, dicenno, ditto.*

Present Indicative: *dico, dici, dice, dicimo, dicite, diciono.*

Imperfect Indicative: *diceva, dicivi, diceva, dicévumo, dicévate, dicevano.*

Preterite: *dicietti, dicisti, dicette, dicemmo, diciste, dicerono.*

Future: *diciarraggio, diciarrai, diciarrà, diciarrimo, diciarrite, diciarranno.*

Conditional: *diciarria, diciarristi, diciarria, diciarriamo, diciarriste, diciarriano.*

Imperfect Subjunctive: *dicessi, dicissi, dicesse, dicessimo, dicissive, dicessero.*

Imperative: *dì, dicite.*

(*p*) *mette, mettenno, miso or mittuto.*

Present Indicative: *metto, mitti, mette, mittimo, mittite, mettono.*

Imperfect Indicative: *mitteva, mittivi, mitteva, mittévamo, mittévate, mittevano.*

Preterite: *mittietti, mittisti, mittette, mittemmo, mittiste, mitterono.*

Future: *mittarraggio, mittarrai, mittarrà, mittarrimo, mittarrite, mittarranno.*

Conditional: *mittarria, mittarristi, mittarria, mittarriamo, mittarristeve, mittarriano.*

Imperfect Subjunctive: *mittessi, mittissi, mittesse, mittessimo, mittissive, mittessero.*

Imperative: *mitti, mittite.*

## IX

### WORDS NO LONGER IN USE IN LITERARY ITALIAN, BUT STILL IN USE IN THIS DIALECT

Accattare, comprare.	Attassà, turbare.
Accio, sedano.	Bacolo, bastone.
Accunto, avventore.	Ca< <i>qua re</i> , che.
Affatturà; ammalciare.	Caniglia, crusca.
Affettà, fingere.	Carosare, tosare.
Ammoccià, trafugarsi.	Commò, cassettone.
Angiuglia, ngunaglia, anguinaglia.	Crai, domani.
Antragne, l'interiori del corpo.	Crisuommolo, pesco cotogno.
Arrepezzà, rattoppare.	Cuffià, burlare.
Arillo, vinacciuolo.	Culemo, fusto delle graminacee.
	Ferracavallo, maniscalco.

Fete, puzzare.	Messora, falce.
Ficetula, beccafico.	Mierco, cicatrice.
Forgia, fucina.	Pirchio, avaro.
Frecola, minuzzolo.	Pizza, focaccia.
Guaglione, fanciullo.	Puca, marza.
Jusso, diritto.	Sarcena, carico.
Izzio, ira.	Sceppà, divellere.
Lammia, volta.	Sciarra, rissa.
Langella, brocca.	Stutà, spegnere.
Liscia, ranno.	Zoca, fune.
Loco, colà.	

## X

WORDS WHICH DIFFER IN MEANING FROM THEIR CORRESPONDING  
ITALIAN FORMS

Appannà: It. appannare, offuscare; here it means socchiudere.
Arrecetà: It. ricettare, dar ricetta; here, rimettere in assetto.
Arronzà: It. arronzare, affannarsi, affaticarsi; here, abborracciare.
Chiatto: It. piatto, basso e schiacciato; here, pingue.
Cria: It. il più stentato e debole di una famiglia; here, niente.
Ferzola: It. sferzata; here, cicatrice.
Frommella: It. formella, buca in forma quadrata; here, bottone.
Pacchiana: It. pacchiano, balordo; here, campagnola (as also dialectically in Tuscany).
Palomma: It. colomba; here, farfalla.
Sacca: It. sacco; here, tasca.
Scella: It. concavo sotto il braccio; here, ala.

## XI

WORDS NOT FOUND IN LITERARY ITALIAN

Abba: l. l. aba, scilecca.	nolo; it means filugello.
Abbafà<*ad-babare; It. bava; trafelare.	Annocà, guarnire.
Abbonato, semplice, alla buona.	Antrasatto<*in trans actum, all'improvviso.
Accrianzato, costumato.	Appilà<v. l. appilare, turare.
Accuaturo, nascondiglio.	Appuosto: It. appostare, agguato.
Agnulillo: dim. of angelo, ag-	



Asmezza, di rovescio.	Chianca, beccheria.
Ascià < <i>afflare</i> , trovare.	Devacà, votare.
Aguanno, quest 'anno.	Fattumio, egoista.
Arrassà, farsi indietro.	Fecozza, cazzotto.
Abboffà < v. l. <i>buffare</i> , gonfiare, annoiare.	Fraccomodo, lento, pigro.
Addonà < * <i>adunare</i> , andare a vedere.	Fruscià, sprecare.
'Allifà, avvilirsi, sfinire.	Futo, profondo.
Alluccà, gridare.	Golio, desiderio.
Ammelo, brocca.	Guappo, bravo.
Apprettà < * <i>appectorare</i> , querelarsi.	Gualano, carradore.
Attrassà < * <i>ad-transare</i> , tralasciare.	Iacca, cicatrice.
Butto: It. buttare, caduta.	Ianara, strega.
Cucciarda, allodola.	Iusillo, porcile.
Cacaglio, scilinguato.	Londro, pantano.
Cacciacarne, forchettone.	Lotano, seccatura.
Caliscino, saliscendi.	Mafaro, turacciolo.
Cancaniglia, pantano.	Mannese, carrajo.
Cancariata, paternale.	Mantesino, grembiale.
Cannacca, collana.	Maraisso, misero lui.
Capotico, caparbio.	Mazzeccane, sasso.
Carosiello, salvadanaio.	Mpecà, truffare.
Casadduoglio, pizzicagnolo.	Menchescia, uomo da poco.
Ciammaruca, chiocciola.	Mappina, straccio.
Cifero, diavolo.	Maiatico, polputo.
Ciruto, burbero.	Marpione, astuto.
Colata, bucato.	Morra, stuolo.
Corrivo, stizza.	Natta, panna.
Coppola, berretto.	Nchiemà, imbastire.
Canià, arrabbiare.	Nemmiccola, lenticchia.
Centrella, chiodo.	Ntalià, indugiare.
Campese < Sp. <i>campesino</i> , contadino.	Ngoppa, sopra.
Canzo, scampo.	Nzurà, sposare.
Ceniero, morbido.	Ncanna, in gola, alla gola.
	Nponne, fermarsi.
	Nghianà, salire.
	Noglia, salsiccia.
	Pazzià, scherzare.
	Picca, poco.

Piretto, caraffa.	Taccaglia, legaccio.
Posema, amido.	Taccaro, bastone.
Quatrana, giovanetta.	Taluorno, fastidio.
Raú<Fr. <i>ragoût</i> , stufato.	Tanno, allora.
Rippo, fastello.	Tavuto<Sp. <i>ataud</i> , cassa funebre.
Roddo, porcile.	Trasi< <i>transire</i> , entrare.
Scaruso, in zucca.	Tremente, guardare.
Sciamarro, piccone.	Tricà<v. l. <i>tricare</i> , tardare, indugiare.
Senga, fessura.	Uffolo, anca.
Suglia, lesina.	Usevà, fiutare.
Scarola, endivia.	Vasolato, lastrico.
Scetà, risvegliare.	Vrenna, crusca.
Suoccio< <i>socium</i> , eguale.	Zella, tigna.
Sfriddo, calo, scemamento.	Zennià, ammiccare.
Sinale, grembiale.	Ziarella, nastrino.
Sciammerica, soprabito.	Zumbo, salto.
Scolla, cravatta.	
Stacca, giumenta.	

## XII

## SPECIMENS

(Mostly inedited)

## I

(From Montella)

## a

Quanno mmi partietti ra Montella,  
 Tre bote mmi botai sopra 'no passo;  
 Ia facenno:—"Monte è la Montella,  
 "Monte, Montella bella addò ti lascio?  
 Io mme voglio jì a nzorà rinto Avellino,  
 MMe la voglio piglià maccaronara;  
 A 'no carrino venne li maccaruni,  
 Ciento rocati la maccaronara.  
 Jetti pe da 'no vaso a li maccaruni,  
 Mpietto coglietti a la maccaronara.

*b*

Arreto, arreto la bardascieria  
Mo che nge canto io nnanzi a sta porta;  
Mo che nge canta la persona mmia,  
'Arreto, arreto chi nu bo la morte;  
Mo che nge canta la persona mmia  
S'appicciano re cannele e po la fossa.

*c*

Quanno era piccirillo e ghija a la scola,  
Tutti mme ro diciano:—"buono figlio!"  
Mo so crisciuto e so fatto cchiù buono,  
Nisciuna mamma mme vole ra la figlia.

## II

(From Bagnoli Irpino)

*a*

Tutta sta notte voglio jì cantanno,  
Voglio trovà la chiazza re stu vico.  
Pe gloria de DDio l'aggio truvata,  
Io mo mm'assetto e doje canzone dico;  
Una la dico alla mia cognata,  
N'auta la dico alla faccia polita,  
N'auta la dico alla mmia nnammorata,  
Quella ca s'ha da gode sta mia vita.

*b*

Lo nnammorato mmio è luongo e sottile,  
Porta la calatella re lo sole.  
La mamma rice ca è piccirillo,  
Lo padre 'o vole fa prerecatore;  
O Cristo re lo cielo! pigliatillo,  
No mme nge fa calà più passione.

*c*

Tutta stanotte voglio jì cantanno,  
La voglio fa 'na nuttata tonna.

Nce sta 'na nenna ca mme sta spettanno,  
 Ncoppa a la fenesta a cecà re suonno.  
 Te prego, nenna mmia, trasetenne;  
 Nun voglio ca pe me pierdi stu suonno.  
 T'aggiu amato iuorni, misi, e anne;  
 Se fossi amato DDio, sarria 'nu santo.

## d

La primma vota ca me cunfessaie,  
 Me lo truvaie 'nu buono cunfessore.  
 La primma vota ca m'addimannavo:  
 Se si zitella, si fai l'ammore:  
 —“Patre, mo te la rico la verità,  
 “Io n'astao amanno duie figliuli.  
 —“Figlia mia, te puozzi fa santa,  
 “Come li puoi amare tutt 'e duie?  
 —“Patre, faccio comm 'a l'ausanza,  
 “Lu bello amo e lu brutto abbandono.

## III

(From Ariano)

'Addò si juta penna d'Ariano,  
 Che chiù no scrivi cume anticamente.  
 Bastava fa lu segno cu la mano  
 Pe fa luvà le coppole alla gente.  
 Mo si riddutta preta di lavina,  
 Nisciuno chiù t'annora e ti rispetta:  
 Mo si riddutta come 'na mappina  
 Che penneleia nfaccia a la cascetta.

## IV

(From Pietrastornina)

'Nu juorno ca vidietti a Catarina,  
 Era d'ottobre e ghieva a vennenghià.  
 Luceva comm'a 'na stella mattutina,  
 Facea l'aucielli e l'uommeni ncantà.  
 Tenea mezz'accorciata la vonnella,  
 Le braccia erano quase alla scoperta,  
 Mme sembrava 'na cosa accossi bella!  
 Remase tutto ncantato e a bocca aperta.

V

(From Grottaminarda)

*a*

La notte de Natale fusti vista,  
Nzieme co duje giovani a parlà;  
Dinto Sant'Anna quanno po trasiste,  
Co ssi duje uocchi le lampe allumaste;  
A quiro luoco che tu te mettiste,  
Na fonte d'acqua santa nce criaste;  
Li paternuosti che a Cristo diciste,  
A Roma all 'anno santo li mannaste.

*b*

L'ammore mio mm'ha mannato a dice,  
Ca so brunetto e no mme vole.  
Io le mannatte a dice accossi:  
—"La terra nera buono grano mena,  
"La terra janca va pe lo vallone;  
"La terra nera sse compre a denaro.  
"Non te fidà de l'albero che penne,  
"Manco de l'omo curto che te nganna.

VI

(From Sturno)

*a*

Uocchiniri non la vuoje finì?  
La via de la chiesa non piglià.  
No nce venì quanno nce sto io,  
Manco nu santo mme faje adorà.  
Nu paternuosto voglio di a Cristo,  
E tu no mme lo faje appresentà.  
Uocchiniri, rinneata, cane,  
Ve te confessa e no mme ffa murì.

*b*

Quanno nascietti io la stella verietti,  
Lu cielo a lutto niro sse mettette;

La mammanella mmia subito currivo,  
E co nu velo niro mme coprivo.  
Io nascietti fra liuni e ursi. -  
E la sirena mme cantaje li versi.  
Stonco a stu munno comme non ce stesse,  
Mm'hanno misso a lu libro de li persi.

c

Stu masto ch'è asciuto aguanno,  
Scardalana sse vole mparà;  
Addò tu vidi le donne affacciate,  
Tu te mpunni e te mietti a strillà;  
—" Chi la lana vol 'esse scardata,  
" Nce la scarda ma senza pagà.

ALFONSO DE SALVIO.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

## MISCELLANEOUS

### COGITARE IN GALLO-ROMAN; ROMANIC CINCTU AND PUNCTU

IN *Romania*, XLI, 452, A. Thomas criticizes Meyer-Lübke for assuming French *cuidier* < *cōgitāre*, and expresses his beleef in a primitiv *\*cūgitāre* "q'il faut expliqer et non escamoter." I think it iz possibl to explain *cuidier* az a normal derivativ ov *cogitare*. We lac definit nolej about vouels that wer lost, but it seems reaznabl to say that *\*koyido* miht hav had stresless *i*, du to the influence ov *y*, at a time hwen the derivativ ov *cubitu* woz *\*kovedo*. This wood harmonize with strest *i* in the derivativs ov *mercēde* and *pagense*; compare also Italian *gittare* az a variant ov *gettare*. If we admit *\*koyido* < *cogito*, the rest ov the development iz regular. Erly French has *vin* < *\*vini* < *uēni* and *mui* < *\*mowī* < *\*morwī*. In *\*vini* the *i* woz formd by assimilation. In *mui* the sound *ū* woz formd from *u* by direct assimilation; the sound *u* woz formd from *o* by the clozing influence ov *i*, az in Spanish *durmió* for *\*dormió* paralel with *sirvió* for *\*servió*. Evidently *cuid(e)* < *\*küyido* < *\*kuyido* < *\*koyido* wood agree with the development ov *mui*.

Nou it may be askt hwy *digitu* did not make *\*deyido* hwen *cogito* made *\*koyido*. It did, but the agreement stopt thær. In *\*koyido*, *y* follod a velar vouel and woz kept unchanjed; in *\*deyido*, *y* woz between palatal vouels and woz absorbd. For this variabl treatment ov *y* we find a good paralel in Spanish: *y* iz kept after *u* in *cuyo* and *huyó*, but has bin lost in *veo* < *veyo* and *rió* < *riyó*.<sup>1</sup> Thus *\*deyido* became *\*deido* and develope in the same way az *boive* < *beivet* < *bibat*: *deit* > *doit*. I do not mean to say that *\*deido* woz necesserily contemporery with *beivet* or *\*beivat*; *\*kovedo* made *\*kovdo*, and likewise *\*deido* may hav become *\*dedo*, afterwards redeveloping *ei* from clôs *e*. It iz notewerthy that clôs *e* and clôs *o* wer not altered by contact with *i* or with a palatal consonant: the ending *-oir* < *\*-oiro* < *-ōriu* kept *o*, becauz the *i* woz displaced befoar the strest

<sup>1</sup> Bello, *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, 143, Paris, 1898.

vouels ov *uēni* and *\*movwi* underwent chanje. The final *o*'s ritn abuv in theoretic forms need not be taken litraly for the later stajes; the sound may hav bin alterd, or lost after a simpl consonant, without afecting the developments otherwise.

French has *tuit* < *\*tōtti* paralel with *mui* < *\*movwi*. Provencial shares with French the formacion ov *ü* in the derivativ ov *\*tōtti*. We may thærfoar assume that in *cuidar* and *cujar* the sound *ü* woz normal, just az it woz in French *cuidier*.

In erly Latin the sound-groop *ŋkt* normaly became *nt*, with compensatory lengthening ov the preceeding vouel, az in *quīntus* beside rarer *quinctus*. The sound *k* ov the latter form woz prezervd or restoard under the influence ov *quīnque* < *\*peŋkwe*, in hwich the long vouel woz du to that ov *quīntus*. Mōst werds ov this kind belongd to verbs, and in them a stronger analojy protected *k*. Thus classic Latin had *cinctus*, in acordance with *cingere*, *cingo*, *cinxi*. Spoken Latin seems to have formd *\*cīntus* < *cinctus*, or *\*cīntus* < *\*cīntos* < *cinctos*, with the strict sound-development seen in *quīntus*. From *cinctu* come French *ceint* and Provencial *cench*, hwile *\*cīntu* corresponds to Italian *cinto*, Spanish *cinto*, Portugees *cinto*. In the same way Fr. *point*, Pv. *ponch* and Pt. *ponto* come from *punctu*, but It. *punto* and Sp. *punto* from *\*pūntu*.

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## REVIEWS

*La Vie de Saint Remi.* Poème du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle par Richier publié pour la première fois d'après deux manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles par W. N. BOLDERSTON. London: Henry Frowde. Oxford University Press, 1912.

After an introduction of 38 pages, including two appendices, comes the text of the poem, 8234 lines, followed by a few pages of "Analyse et Notes," a glossary and a list of proper names. All these parts are open to criticism, as is to be expected when the text to be edited is long and by no means easy to understand in several places, and when the editor has had no previous experience in preparing a text for publication.

In the introduction (p. 5) is said: "On ne trouve guère de traces, dans les écrits contemporains, de la première partie de sa [the saint's] vie, mais on s'accorde à constater qu'à l'âge de vingt et un ans il fut fait évêque." This might be understood to include Richier's main source, Hincmar; see on v. 1055, below.—P. 9. Speaking of the lost MS., of which the second leaf began according to the old inventory with Com .j. hault (v. 53 in the printed text) our editor says in a note: "Le texte a 'nus' que Mallet a lu comme 'uns' et écrit '.j.' " The reading *uns* is certainly preferable and the testimony of Mallet (14th century) as to what was in the lost MS. is not to be summarily rejected.—P. 12. The use of Hincmar begins before v. 200 instead of at "vers 240 environ," as P. Meyer noted in his article in *Notices et Extraits des MSS.*, XXXV, and the poet himself refers to "Imer" (v. 194) as his authority for what follows.—The passage quoted (p. 15) from Chrétien de Troyes seems indeed to have been, directly or indirectly, the source of vv. 844 ff., as the phraseology and the rimes indicate. The other verse quotations in the *Analyse et Notes* are much less probable as sources.—P. 16. Strangely enough the editor ascribes to the dots after certain words in the MSS. a significance for the versification, taking them to mark "une forte césure," "une coupe hardie," and as the two MSS. agree in a large proportion of cases in using this mark he thinks this punctuation is due to the author and not to any copyist (which may in part be the fact). But there is no assurance that some or even all of these dots are not due to copyists, who may have added some as well as omitted some. The editor assumes omissions in both MSS. but no additions. He further counts for a thousand verses the number of cases of *coupe masculine* and of *coupe féminine* after the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth syllables respectively. There is no serious objection to reproducing this punctuation, tho it sometimes interferes with modern punctuation, and I suppose the inverted periods appearing after some more or less important or emphatic words do reproduce this feature of one (or both?) of the MSS., tho I find no explanation given. Since this punctuation seems so remarkable to the editor I add that the older of the two MSS. of the *Roman de la Rose* in the Harvard College library shows the same use in many cases. That there is not necessarily any marked pause is shown by elision of *-e*, as it often

is by the sense. It occurs notably where a number of names occur in succession; cf. vv. 98 ff., 119. It has no significance for the versification except perhaps incidentally as indicating a possible rhetorical pause.—Pp. 17, 18 (rimes). Either here or, if they are useful for the determination of the author's dialect, in the next section, that on the dialect, might be mentioned some noteworthy rimes, such as 1397-8 (*esbani[i]ez: recriez*; Godefroy [*Compl.*, s. v. 2. *recreer*], has the second word three times from Gautier de Coincy with the *i*); 6011-12 (*peür: asseür*; so 7963-4); 6813-4 (*empereres: freres*, accus. pl.); 7691-2 (*pere: empere*) 7773-4 (*coivre: boivre*); notice also 8079-80 (*eritage* and *taire* are the words which should rime).

Pp. 19 ff. (on the dialect). This is the least satisfactory part of the introduction, because Mr. Bolderston does not make it clear that he has properly studied the rimes. I am, however, inclined to believe that he has done so more thoroughly than is indicated by what he says. It certainly appears that he has searched for decisive examples of *-ie* for *-iée*. But his examination of the "graphie des manuscrits, tout en notant les exemples où les formes se trouvent à la rime," and his making comparisons only "avec le français normal" make a bad impression. When he says (p. 20) that *an* and *en* rime, referring only to "3418 etc." one involuntarily asks whether he is thinking of *an* and *en* in spelling only, which in this case—the only one he mentions—have the same sound (the words are *comment* = *commant*, 'I commend' and *demant*, 'I ask'), or whether he means that originally distinct *an* and *en* are shown by the rimes to be sounded alike. Further on (p. 28), discussing "le dialecte auquel appartiennent les copistes et l'auteur," he says: "les rimes fréquentes entre *-en* et *-an* écartent le dialecte picard-wallon." This should refer to pronunciation and not to spelling. But such rimes are far from frequent. I have made a somewhat careful examination of all the rimes and find that the author carefully distinguishes *en* and *an* with a few exceptions well known to occur in Picard dialects. In the four words printed as *temps* 618, 881 (: *Montans*, *B Montains*), *penitence*, *femme*, *gemme* (in rime 6117, with *femme*) the sound is *ā*, and probably only *ā*, with some slight doubt for *temps* and *gemme*. In *oiance*, *cheance*, *creance*, *aparence*, *conoissance*, *repentance*, and possibly one or two similar cases, the sound is *ā*, following the participle in *-ant*, but other words in original *-ence* (*patience*, *presence*, *reverence*, etc.) never show *ā*, and *dolent*, *escient*, *nient*, *orient*, *parente*, *talent* never rime with an indubitable *ā*. Perhaps the dialect with which these features best agree is that of Gautier de Coincy (cf. H. Haase's dissertation (1880) on *an* and *en* in Picard and Walloon, pp. 34, 44-46), but I refrain from precise localization. I pass over some details in the pages devoted to the dialect, but note (p. 24) the four instances of the imperfect indic., 3d sing., in *-ot* of verbs of the first conjugation riming with *ot* < *habuit*, because this was not considered at all in the attempt to localize the author's dialect. But the first conj. imperf. 3d sing. also rimes with imperfects not of the first conj.; cf. 401-2, 1727-8, 6575-6, and lines 6573-6 show the same rime in four successive lines. After due consideration of all this and of the variants for the four *-ot* rimes in the first conj. (*B* as well as *A*, has an *oit* for *ot* [in 5316], tho not in rime, and I do not see how the critic in *Romania* XLII, 277, understands this line) I think it probable that the author's dialect had some forms with *o* for older *oi* (cf. Schwan-Behrens, *Grammaire*, ed. of 1913, § 229 Rem.). Lines 4469-72 perhaps offer another instance of four successive rime-words in *-oit* or *-ot*.

The first appendix is a short passage from the text of Hincmar with the corresponding passage in the poem for comparison. The second appendix contains the text of the *Visio Karoli Calvi*, as the source of what is told in some five hundred lines of the poem beginning about line 7630.

We come now to the text itself. There are many passages for which notes would be desirable, either because the sense is not clear or because one asks how the editor understood them. The use of accents is strange. Both the acute and the grave are to be found on accented syllables, to which I do not object, but the acute is also often placed over an unaccented *e* before a vowel, and the editor is very inconsistent; cf. *créance* several times, *creance* 480, *mescréans* 643, *creans* 644, *meschéance* 464, *soudée* 746, *vées* 7651; *ie* in two syllables is sometimes *ie*, sometimes *ie* (*science* 281, *conscience* 282, *crestiennes* 400, *crestiens* 462, *ancien* 488; similarly *chärent* 4641, *envayrent* 4642; and an acute sometimes appears in accented final *-es*; for instance, *mandés* 4501, *sauvés* 3523, *eschauvés* 3524, etc. Why *pilés* and *oiselés* 1369-70? Why *remès*: *mès* 7311-12 (cf. *mes*: *remés* 7003-4, *remest*: *mest* 1779-80)? For *confaitement* and *sifaitement* a peculiar rule is followed: the former is written as one word, the latter as two (*si faitement*). The punctuation is often wrong; a period, for instance, is more than once misplaced. A striking instance, because the Latin text of the *Visio*, which the editor prints as his second appendix to the introduction, should have prevented the error, is seen in v. 7752. He prints *Si l'en traist vigoureusement. Après lui einis s'arrouerent*, etc. But *Après lui* belongs with *traist*, as the Latin *traxitque me post se fortiter* shows. Some of these things are perhaps due to insufficient care in proofreading, but mistakes and inconsistencies are inexcusably numerous.

Out of the many passages I have marked I select a number for comment. v. 199. The glossary defines *periceus* as *périlleux*; in this and the other passages referred to it is the modern *pareseux*.—239. For *ajue* read *aïue* (and similarly in 336 and 1809).—450. For *emporterent* read *em porterent*.—915. For *parfaisement* cf. the editor's note on *parfaisement* 4964; it also occurs in 7615. If "Godefroy ne connaît pas ce mot" it is certainly desirable to include it in the glossary with mention of all the places where it is found in the text.—1055. *Et je n'ai que .xxi. ans*. The note says: "Les deux manuscrits ont 'xxii ans', ce qui rend le vers faux: le texte latin donne 'xxi'." The editor was not aware that *xxii* is in Old French *vint et deus* and the verse is correct with *xxii*. Moreover in the Latin of Hincmar (Richier's most important source) may be found *cum ad viginti et duos aetatis suae annos pervenit*.—1069. The period at the end of this line leaves the sentence incomplete.—1152. For *en tranja* read *estranja*? The introduction, p. 21, takes *tranja* as *trancha*.—1372. The added [en], if added at all, should be before *wels*, not after it.—1374. There should be no punctuation at the end of the line. The editor puts a period.—1381. Is *trouvass* a misprint for *trouvasses*?—1411. The accus. *aucun dechaement* (subject of *en(s)tre*) instead of the nom. is supported by the rime.—1413. For *com* read *c'om*.—1656-7. Period after the second of these lines instead of after the first.—1727. The glossary translates *louissiaus* by *lumière* (evidently from Godefroy's 2. *luisel*, really the same as *luissel*), which is obviously not the meaning. See *Romania* XXXI, 107 and references there; also Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. Etym. Wörterb.*, s. v. *globuscellum*. The form *loincel* (*loinsiaus*) is correctly defined in the glossary.—1941. For *tantost* read *tant ot* (or *o(s)t*).—2044. Omit

the period after *sairement* and put a period after *voir* in 2046? *Por la purté* in 2046 begins a new sentence, I think.—2151. For *n'en voiast* (misprint?) read *n'envoiaist*.—2165. *Qui li*, read *Qu' i[l] li*.—2262. Comma instead of period at the end of the line; so too in 2309 and 2311.—2405. Read *Fist, veant qui* (not *Fist veant, qui*). It means "he made, in the sight of whoever wished to see it."—2627. The form *peres* as nom. sing. is supported by the meter (cf. the introduction, p. 23, and v. 6813).—2891. Read *A cui? A Dieu*.—3218. Read *en-roïllée* (five syllables).—3408. *B* is better. At the foot of the page 3048 is a misprint for 3408.—3558. For *qu'en vos dites* read *que vos dites*.—3571. *A mettre les*; this position of the unstressed pronoun is rather frequent in this text; cf. 3167, 4500, 5118, 6777, 7725.—3742. *Ne*, read *ne*.—4145. Comma after *voir*.—4198. Read *fust* (*B*), not *fu*.—4210. *Emplore*, rather *Em plore*.—4306. It may be observed that in the list of proper names *Rencien* is rightly assumed here instead of what is printed in the text.—4341. Here *eslaisier* is for *eslaisier*, 'to widen'.—4372. The spelling *ostroier* here means *ostoier*.—4388. *Joislains ses freres l'amena*. Better without *l'* as in *B*, and an *i* could be inserted by omitting the final *s* of *freres*.—4564. For *signant* read *si grant*.—4931. For *seüst* read *seü* (*B*).—4995. For *parent* read *par ens*.—5064. Omit the period after *delivrement*.—5280. The word *desputeres* here is rather *disputator* than the same as *deputaire*.—5699. Omit the comma after *vendre*.—5785. For *emmaïne* read *em maine*.—5786. *Com seüe chose demainne*. Read, as in *A*, *Comme seue* [possessive pron., cf. *B's sienne*] c. d.—5938. Omit the comma at the end of the verse.—5974. For *emporta* read *em porta*.—5988. For *il li* read *il i*.—6083. *Qu'i*; rather *Qui*.—6142. For *qu' il emporteroient* read *qu' i[l] l' em porteroient*.—6259. For *la tornerent* read rather *l' atornerent*.—6605. For *mujoient* read *muioient*.—6786. *Et desloies*, rather *Et desloies*.—6957. '*Li soleus samble sac de haire*.' The note says: "peut-être Apocal. ix. 2." Not so; it's Apoc. vi. 12: "Et sol factus est niger tamquam saccus cilicinus."—7832. For *maus* read *mains* (< minus)?—7985. For *en a* read *a en*.—8046. The editor's correction [*i*]ere spoils the rime with *frere*.—8175. There should be no period at the end of the line.—8180. Omit the comma.

The preceding comments are far from clearing up all the difficulties, and I have omitted also some pretty obvious corrections. It is not necessary to examine in detail the analysis and notes, nor the glossary. Enough has already been said to show that these parts are not entirely satisfactory. The editor has undertaken too lightly a difficult task for which his training and his knowledge of Old French had not adequately prepared him.

Before this review was quite finished the April number of *Romania*, containing M. Philipot's important review of the work, written in an admirable spirit, reached me. Since reading his observations I have struck out a good many of my own comments in which he had anticipated me, and have made some other changes.

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*Primera Parte de Guzman de Alfarache, compuesta por MATEO ALEMAN. . . .*

Edición transcrita y revisada por JULIO CEJADOR. Biblioteca Renacimiento (Colección de Obras Maestras), Madrid, 1913, pp. 375.

*Mateo Aleman: Guzmán de Alfarache. Primera Parte. Bibliotheca Romanica, tomos 183, 184, 185, 186, 187. Biblioteca Española. Strasburgo [s. a.], pp. 347.*

Sometime before the close of the year 1604, Luis Valdés wrote that he had heard of more than 26 editions of the first part of Guzmán de Alfarache. Although these cannot all be traced at the present time, it is certain that during the years 1599 and 1600 there were at least eleven editions and that for 250 years after, the book continued to reappear at short intervals both in the original language and in translations.

For the last sixty years however, the Spanish reading world has been content with the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* and other editions of the first half of the nineteenth century; and the appearance of two reprints during the present year, one in Madrid and the other in Strasburg, marks an epoch in the history of this remarkable book. The former is published by the "Biblioteca Renacimiento" under the title of *Obras Maestras de la Literatura Universal* and is edited by Mr. Julio Cejador; the latter, edited by Mr. Fritz Holle, forms nos. 183-187 (in one vol.) of the *Bibliotheca Romanica*.

Though probably without intention, these editions could not have been better planned to meet the needs of two entirely different classes of students, for while one is thoroughly modernized the other is the first edition known that attempts to be an exact reprint of one dating from the early part of the seventeenth century.

On the title page of the copy from Madrid these words are found: "Edición transcrita y revisada por Julio Cejador" and the editor referring in his prologue to the readers who object to the moral reflexions and wish only the story, says: "Lo más que podremos será mudarles el plato de la puntuación que no es poco engorro ni pequeña pejuguera para el lector de las antiguas ediciones y en nada toca á la sustancia de la obra" (page 11).

The spelling has been almost entirely modernized, although such forms as *mesmo*, *nascimento*, *dellos* are found. The accentuation and use of capitals conform to the rules of the Academy. Sentences have been shortened and repunctuated and the inverted exclamation and interrogation marks have been supplied. Long paragraphs have been divided, parentheses omitted and the proverbs printed in italics. Its size, binding and general appearance as well as price (2.50 pts.) should appeal to all readers of the classics who have not learned to love the old novelist best in his stiff ruffs and doublet. It was a happy thought on the part of the editor to insert the picture of Mateo Alemán—a reproduction of the wood engraving from the *Ortografía Castellana* published in Mexico in 1609—for the face of the "Español divino" is too little known at the present time. In the *Prólogo* the editor discusses the philosophy of the picaresque novel and gives a short account of the life of Alemán, based chiefly on the researches of Mr. Rodríguez Marín, as embodied in his discourse before the Royal Academy in 1907.

The *Bibliotheca Romanica* publishes at 2.50 pts. unbound, an exact reprint of the edition chosen. The first 32 pages consist of the *Introducción* by the

editor, the greater part of which is devoted to the analysis of Saavedra's spurious second part, and the Bibliografía in which 42 editions of the first and second parts are enumerated, together with some translations and other works of Alemán.

In this edition of Guzmán a student who does not have access to early editions can easily see what changes in orthography and in typographic custom have taken place during the last 300 years—in the special use of b, u, v, c, z, x, s, h, etc.; by the use of italics to indicate letters supplied in the expansion of abbreviations, and by the omission of the inverted exclamation and interrogation marks; in the lack of rules for the use of accents, punctuation marks and capital letters, the last more frequently employed than now, especially for proper adjectives.

Mr. Holle has gone over the text carefully and thoughtfully, indicating by footnotes, single and double brackets and parentheses the variant readings in later editions, the folio numbers in the original and the letters or words that should, in his judgment, be omitted or supplied.

Some errors have crept into both the Madrid and Strasburg reprints and it is quite possible that criticism will not always agree with the conclusions drawn, but the point I wish especially to discuss here is that of the editions selected. Was the choice in each case a wise one, considering the amount of time and study required to prepare the two books now ready for use?

On the last page of the Cejador reprint, after the table of contents, appears the following: "Acabóse esta reimpression de la edición de Coimbra del año MDC, en la imprenta "Renacimiento" el día 15 de Febrero del año MCMXIII." The Coimbra edition was probably the earliest of the seven appearing that year, the license being dated Jan. 4, 1600. It is based upon the Madrid 1599 edition rather than on the editions of Barcelona or Zaragoza, so that barring typographical errors, especially those due to the Portuguese printer, which the editor has corrected, it would be as free from mistakes and as safe to follow as any except the princeps. But it has one characteristic to which Mr. Cejador has omitted all reference—in common with the other books of Alemán printed in Portugal it bears the permission of the Inquisition and shows that several corrections were made.

The title page has been modernized, the title itself, although like the original Coimbra edition in words, differs in spelling and in the lines, while the words SIC VOS on the left and NON VOBIS on the right of the vignette have been omitted, as has also the following: Em Coimbra, / Na Officina de Antonio de Mariz, Per feu Genro, / Herdeyro Diogo Gomez Loureiro, Im- / preffor da Vniverfidade. M. D. C. / Com Licença da S. Inquição.

Of the introductory matter this edition of 1600 omits the Aprobación found in the princeps and also the Tassa, Erratas, El Rey,<sup>1</sup> the Latin poem *Ad Gusmanem* and the portrait. The Tabla is placed at the end instead of at the beginning, and the sonnet, which Alemán put at the close of the book, is inserted near the end of the preceding paragraph after the words "las dos manos atadas al cuello y por dogal un soneto"; and the final sentence "El foneto que

<sup>1</sup> The omission of this, with its threat of punishment against those who published unauthorized editions, would seem to indicate that this was an unauthorized edition.

pufieron a Oratio, traduzido en el vulgar nuestro dize afsi," is omitted. With two exceptions Mr. Cejador follows all these changes: as already stated, he places the portrait of Alemán taken from the *Ortografía* at the very beginning of the volume; and he omits a very interesting paragraph that appears just before the Dedication. It is the License which reads as follows: *Licença da Mesa Geral da Sancta Inquiçião. Pode-se Imprimir este Libro intitulado Guzman de Alfarache cõ as emendas que o Reuedor pos amargẽ delle & depois de impresso tornará a este Confelho pera se conferir como Original, & se dar licença pera poder correr. Em Lisboa a quatro de Ianeyro de mil & seiscentos. Marcos Teyxeira. Ruy Pirys de Veyga.*

One of these "emendas" is found in the first chapter (page 40 of the Cejador edition, line two, before the sentence beginning "Muchos veo") "No hay de que nos asombremos, alla se entienden, alla se lo hayan, a sus confesores dan larga cuenta dello, solo es Dios el juez de aquestas cosas, mire quien los absuelve lo que hace."

Since the edition chosen as a basis is, of all those appearing for over 300 years, the most nearly like the princeps, it would have been well worth while for the editor to call the attention of the reader to the peculiarities of the book as it was issued from the press of Antonio de Mariz by his son-in-law and heir.

In regard to the Guzmán published in the *Bibliotheca Romanica*, the thought that comes uppermost is, that it is a great pity such a careful and thorough piece of work should have been based on so poor an edition. Mr. Holle says in the *Introducción* that the "presente reimpresión está basada en la edición de Burgos 1619 . . . que tal vez es el prototipo de cuantas después se imprimieron en los siglos XVII & XVIII." In this he is correct; for some reason the Burgos edition was used as the basis of the reprints not only of the seventeenth and eighteenth but also of the nineteenth centuries and is the source of mistakes which have made passages unintelligible ever since.

What is the history of the Burgos edition? In the spring of 1599 Varez de Castro published the so-called princeps. In the next year an edition of the same size and foliation (though with different signatures) appeared "En Madrid por los herederos de Iuan Yñiguez de Lequerica," who, Pérez Pastor asserts (*Biblioteca Madrileña*), "fueron ajustados [1599] para trabajar en la imprenta que el Licenciado Varez de Castro había puesto en Madrid donde existieron hasta 1601." This reprint is the only one of the nine appearing during these first two years (the Paris Bonfons editions I know nothing about) that follows the princeps exactly in printing the same introductory matter in the same order and nothing else. But the text has many changes some of which will be noted later. With the exception of Martínez (Madrid 1601) and León (Sevilla 1602) no other publisher, so far as I can ascertain, follows these textual changes until the year 1619, when Juan Bautista Varesio of Burgos apparently selected the edition of Lequerica instead of that of Varez de Castro for his own. The Tassa, Erratas and Licencia are new, the dedication to Rojas is omitted and the old Aprobación of Fray Diego Davila has a mistake in the date "a 15 de Enero" instead of "de Enero 13." But the textual changes in the Lequerica edition are found here, and these with still others and typographical errors have been followed to the present time. A comparison of a few sentences from the three books will aid in understanding the matter. The readings in the first column are those of Varez de Castro, in the second of

Lequerica and in the third of Varesio and in general of all the editions since. The numbers refer to the pages in Mr. Holle's book.

Madrid, 1599 (Princeps) VAREZ DE CASTRO	Madrid, 1600. IUAN YÑIGUEZ DE LEQUERICA	Burgos, 1619 JUAN BAUTISTA VARESIO
Teniendo escrita esta Poetica historia	Teniendo escrita esta Poetica historia	Holle, page 39, end: Teniendo escrita esta potica <sup>2</sup> historia
seria cosa justa obviar este inconveniente, pues con muy pocas palabras quedaran absueltas	seria cosa justa quitar este inconveniente, pues con muy pocas palabras quedara bien claro	Holle, page 39: (same)
Deo volente	Dios mediante	Holle, p. 40, last line Dec.: Dios mediante
un portillo por donde me entrara qualquier ter- minista, acusando de mal Latin	un portillo por donde me pudiera entrar acu- sando qualquier terminis- ta de mal Latin	Holle, p. 45, last line un portillo por donde me pudiera entrar cu- rando <sup>3</sup> cualquier termi- nista de mal Latin
afrentas agenas, como de ordinario se acostum- bra: lo qual condeno por necedad de siete capas.. descubro mi punto y no salva mi yerro el de mi vecino, o deudo. Antes es siempre vituperado el maldiciente	afrentas agenas segun de ordinario se acostum- bra: lo qual condeno por necedad solemne de siete capas...descubro mi punto no salvando mi yerro el de mi vecino o deudo. Y siempre vemos vituperado el maldiciente	Holle, p. 46, middle: (same)
claros y oscuros segun y en el lugar que convenia	claros y oscuros en las partes y segun que convenia	47, end of paragraph: (same)

<sup>2</sup> The Ambers edition of 1681 changes this word to *poquita* in order to make sense and *poquita* it has remained ever since, with the exception of the Madrid edition of 1723 and the one under consideration, both of which prefer *politica*.

<sup>3</sup> This mistake seems never to have been corrected except by Aribau in the Autores Españoles and he changes *curando* to *cuando*. It is interesting to note that this error and the one above noted were corrected by hand years ago in the edition owned by the Hispanic Society, New York City.



mas bien premiado	(same)	Holle, p. 48, end: mas bien premiado y gra- tificado su trabajo
pudo de alli en adelante quedar rico	pudo quedar de alli en adelante rico	Holle, p. 51, end: (same)
A el amancebado.. A el ladron.. A el murmura- dor.. A el soberbio.. A el blasfemo	Al amancebado...Al famo- so ladron.. Al temerario murmurador.. Al soberbio.. Al desatinado blasfemo	Holle, p. 54: (same)
la fertilidad de la tierra	la fertilidad y dispo- sicion de la tierra	Holle, p. 63, middle: (same)
Confianza que de los dos hazian	confianza que ha- zian de los dos	Holle, p. 72, top: confianza que harian de los dos
aquello me parecia silla de manos	me parecia aquello silla de manos	Holle, p. 86, middle: (same)
Como el Medico viniese y no lo hallase	Como el Medico lo viniese a visitar y no lo hallase	Holle, p. 87, top: (same)
a fe de caballero	a fe de quien soy	Holle, p. 87, middle: (same)
las dos manos atadas al cuello y por dogal un soneto	(same)	Holle, p. 347, middle: las dos manos atadas al cuello
El soneto que pusieron a Oratio, traduzido en el vulgar nuestro dize asi	(same)	Holle, p. 347, end: (omitted)
Sonnet	Sonnet	(omitted)

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*La Damoisele a la Mule*, conte en vers du cycle arthurien par PAÏEN DE MAISIÈRES; nouvelle édition critique par BOLESŁAS ORŁOWSKI. Paris: Champion, 1911.

This is not the first time that two students have chosen the same subject as thesis for the doctorate, but it is unusual that two editions of the same text should be published in the same year. In his preface Mr. Orłowski explains how this came about. As early as 1896 Wendelin Foerster and Gaston Paris had announced in *Romania*, XXV that they intended to include this poem in a collection. As this edition had not appeared although a suitable time had elapsed, Mr. Orłowski took up the work, and to forstall competition, he asked to have an announcement of it put in the *Romania*. This however was not done, and when already much of his work had been completed a copy of the American edition reached Paris.<sup>1</sup> Fortunately soon afterward Mr. Orłowski and I met each other there, and everything was amicably adjusted. Since my study of the literature was not entirely completed, it was decided that he continue his plan of publishing his work and put special emphasis upon that feature. By another strange coincidence, we had both begun an edition of the still unpublished Arthurian romance '*De Gunbaut* or *Gawain et Humbaut*.' As Mr. Orłowski had not yet done much work upon this, he was willing to renounce all claims, hence a satisfactory compromise was effected.

Orłowski's edition is divided into two parts: the first contains a brief study of the language of the author and an analysis of the different literary themes; the second consists of the text, notes, vocabulary and bibliography. There is also a short description of the manuscript and a facsimile. The treatment of the language of the author is too condensed. It contains mention of certain characteristics which belong only to the copyist, such as *faut*: *saut*, cited to prove that *l* is vocalised, and *diaus*: *viaus* as a case of Picard dialect. In the interpretation of the few dialectical peculiarities the editor reaches the same conclusion as that expressed by those who had studied the text before him, viz., that the author was from Champagne and wrote in the latter part of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. After a few pages devoted to certain syntactical usages, without reaching any important conclusions, the editor discusses the versification of the poem. Here he shows a regrettable carelessness in his citations. One can not understand why under *rimes homonymes* he should class v. 1007 *quaroloient: demenoient*, and under examples of '*fort enjambement*,' v. 587, where there is a marked pause indicated in his text by a period. Similarly, under the few cases of elision listed by him, it is surprising to find the three instances of *si* (Lat. sic), verses 143, 258, 268. The first case is not *si* but *se* used in a contrary-to-fact condition and correctly classified by him in his chapter on syntax; while the second and third are both instances of the reflexive pronoun *se*. Similar inaccuracy appears in the statistics showing the proportion of broken couplets in Païen compared with Chrétien de Troyes. Of course in this computation it is almost impossible for two men to arrive at exactly the same result, for individual opinion must vary regarding the close connection of the phrases. Still there is scarcely reason for the wide discrepancy between Orłowski's 34.5 per cent. and my 23 per cent. His figures are erroneous when he mentions the proportion found in Chrétien to be 16.7 per cent., whereas Prof.

<sup>1</sup> *La Mule sanz Frain*, ed. by R. T. Hill. Baltimore, 1911.

F. M. Warren<sup>2</sup> has shown that for the first 2000 verses of *Erec* it is 15.5 per cent., but that for the rest of *Erec* and all the other long poems by the same author it averages 33 per cent. Under the heading 'Style,' ten pages are used to show that the author does not have any, that he shows little or no originality, and that most of his descriptive terms are commonplace. This chapter might well have been omitted.

At least half of the volume is given up to the treatment of the literary themes. The editor shows the main story to be that of the disinherited maiden who has been dispossessed by her sister and calls upon a knight to aid her to recover her rights. This same theme is found related at length in Chrétien's *Yvain* and in the long compilation *Diu Krône* by the Middle High German poet, Heinrich von dem Türlin. Orlowski shows by a comparative table that Chrétien's version departs in many particulars from Païen's, but that the German poem has a great amount of similarity not only in the general outline but in the numerous interpolated adventures. He then cites parallel passages, which are so similar even in the details that there seems to be no room for doubt that one poet was influenced by the other. Of course there are slight differences, for Heinrich has made the *vilain*, who guarded the princess, to be her uncle, and has given names to the chief personages who bore none in the French poem. This is in line with the German poet's habit in the rest of his long poem; many of the changes were necessitated by the need of binding together the different sources which he used. Such a close resemblance leaves no room for doubt that one must have been directly or indirectly influenced by the other. It is not probable that Païen borrowed from the German, for in most cases of influence at this time the reverse tendency is true. Furthermore, Heinrich admits that he knows French and is familiar with the works of Chrétien and others. Yet in spite of the abundance of proof, Orlowski can not bring himself to think that Heinrich used the French poem, but inclines to the theory of one common source used by both. However, he does not stop there but states that Chrétien too drew on this imaginary source for a part of his *Yvain*. This seems to me absurd, for there is no close verbal similarity between the *Yvain* and the other poems. On the other hand the divergences between *Diu Krône* and *La Damoisele a la Mule* are few and of little or no importance. The following passages cited by Orlowski under divergences seem to be the opposite:

Ein Stec smaller denne ein Hant,	
der was gar stahlen	<i>Diu Krône</i> , 13848
Une planche negaires lee	
. . . estoit de fer trestote.	<i>La Mule</i> , 240.

The few instances where *Diu Krône* presents a better text than *La Mule* may be due to the fact that Heinrich had at his disposal a much better manuscript of the French poem than that in which it is preserved to us. A comparative examination of these poems would be a most interesting study for a thorough investigation, which I hope sometime to make. Meanwhile it must be pointed out that the conclusion reached by Orlowski is made contrary to his own evidence and against the opinions of those who have considered the subject before.

<sup>2</sup> *Modern Philology*, IV, 670, 671.

After this detailed study of the main theme, the editor discusses certain minor features. The mention of a fountain which is described simply as '*clere et saine*' suggests for some reason magic fountains and he digresses upon Broceliande. Similarly the episode of the turning castle is the occasion for citing other instances of this common phenomenon of Arthurian poems. A similar compilation is made of extremely narrow bridges. Other chapters, on dwarfs, combats and magic mules, consist merely of commonplace truths. What is the use of showing that dwarfs are common personages in Arthurian literature, that combats are often described in similar language, that mules are animals of supernatural power? All this is so perfectly self-evident to anyone at all familiar with this literature that it is idle to dilate upon it. Orlowski does not seriously attempt to solve the meaning of the bridge and its quest, but merely mentions the possibility that it is symbolic and means the rights of inheritance. It is important to remember that it has nothing to do with the mule, as the old title '*la Mule sanz Frain*' might lead one to think. The mule to be sure has no bridge but these magic beasts need none. After Gawain has obtained it, he does not put it on his steed, but brings it back to court, where he hands it over to the younger sister. So there is no doubt but that the title adopted by Orlowski is the proper one; but it is a question whether one should abandon the other, by which the poem has been known, or whether it would not be better to give the poem a double title. The concluding chapter, on the author and his poem, shows that we know nothing about him, and that if we judge him by this piece, the only one preserved, he has no claims to literary distinction. The rest of the volume consists of the text, two pages of notes, and a bibliography. The last is unnecessarily expanded, including books on the Grail, and medieval histories, while the poem is absolutely lacking in historical references. When, however, Orlowski sees fit to include *Le Dictionnaire des postes et télégraphes . . . de la France continentale, de la Corse et de l'Algérie*. Paris, 1905, and *La Semaine des Enfants: magasin d'images et de lectures amusantes*, etc., one forgets that the subject of the dissertation is an Arthurian romance of the twelfth century.

This analysis has been sufficiently detailed to show that the literary treatment has included much unnecessary matter and has led to no definite conclusions; that the most interesting part, the comparison with a similar poem in Middle High German, was not utilized to the best advantage and led to incorrect theories; and that in the study of the language and versification unpardonable carelessness is frequently apparent.

The following remarks upon the text are intended to supplement the text criticisms of Prof. Roques in his excellent review of both dissertations in *Romania*, XLI, 144-7: v. 45, semicolon instead of comma;—v. 53, ms. has *que a*, which is essential to the verse; v. 62, ms. *montrerai*;—vv. 108, 109, period after 108;—v. 152, *sagenoilloient* is the ms. form; the note being incorrect;—vv. 172, 173, remove period after 172;—v. 197, remove period; then it is unnecessary to change *qui* to *voir* in 199;—v. 211, *et* is not in ms., nor is it necessary;—v. 335, ms. *q̄ il*, hence no need of change;—v. 343, put semicolon at end;—v. 361, I see no reason for changing the punctuation as M. Roques suggests. A similar change from plural subject to sing. verb occurs v. 159, where *chascuns* is used. To make the 'mule' the subject of *vet* seems forced, for the subject of 355-359 is *Gawain* and in 364 *les bestes*. If one wishes to avoid changing from pl. to

sing., then correct *vet* to *vont*;—v. 363, period at end;—v. 387, semicolon;—v. 407, ms. has *par* not *por*;—v. 483, change of *Gauvain* to *soiez* useless—v. 492, change of *et* to *que* good;—v. 493, comma instead of interrogation point;—v. 494, period at end;—v. 556, *aisier* has only two syllables; correct to *aaisier*;—v. 593, ms. reads *maintenat*;—v. 617, ms. *coven*;—v. 619, one syllable lacking in ms.; Orlowski changes *vien* to *venes* but the 2nd pers. sing. is used in the rest of the dialogue; so I prefer to change *or* to *ore*, a form found v. 957;—v. 636, read *fait* as in ms.;—v. 693, period at end;—v. 700, one syllable lacking, but ms. reads *que il*, not *qu il*. This correction to *que il* was made by Prof. Roques probably without knowing the ms.; v. 740, *es denz* as in ms.;—v. 772, no need to change *fait* to *fust*; the form is impersonal;—v. 797, variant listed incorrectly under 787;—v. 808, period at end;—v. 844, ms. *ausi*;—v. 851, read *a fere*; cf. 872; interrogation point at end of verse;—v. 885, read *escriture*; the copyist recognized his error and placed a dot beneath the second *s*;—v. 884, not necessary to change *lo* to *li*, for acc. pronoun is found with *ferir un coup*: cf. Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, I. 89 A; Z FSL, XXIII, 106,—v. 912, ms. *main a main*, not the form in the variant;—v. 953, read *fet* with the ms.;—v. 956, *des mes*, not *desmès*;—v. 986, ms. *fait*;—v. 1025, misspelling for *ovraingne*;—v. 1110, ms. *queroles*.—In the vocabulary *fel* and *felon* should be put under one head. The same is true of *fol* and *fous*, *pel* and *pieus*, *poi* and *pou*, *jame* and *jambe*. *Oirre* means 'way,' 'route.' Errors in spelling are *solans* for *solaus*, *quiens* for *quieus*, and *pregne* for *preigne* (subj. of *prendre*).

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1912

*Vom Ursprung der provenzalischen Schriftsprache.* Von HEINRICH MORF. (Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.) 1912 (XLV). Berlin, Reichsdruckerei. Pp. 22.

The general belief that the language of the troubadours of southern France took its rise in the ancient "Limousin" dialect is due to the obvious misinterpretation of a frequently quoted passage from Ramon Vidal's famous *Razos de trobar*. This erroneous opinion, advanced by superficial medieval readers and scholars, was consecrated, in 1350, by the author of the *Leys d'Amors* and has been maintained up to the present time by a stately line of excellent Romance scholars, who implicitly transmitted it from one to the other. If now and then a sort of doubt arose, no one earnestly ventured to dispel it. Professor H. Morf, with his accustomed energy and incision, is the first to point out this deeply rooted error, whose history he traces accurately and in detail.

By confronting the testimony of Ramon Vidal and G. Molinier, he arrives at the conclusion that Vidal, who as a foreign critic (from Catalonia), is at a loss to sum up under one general designation the literary work of southern France, gives a market preference to the "Limousin," the contemporary literary splendor of which dazzles him. One manuscript of the *Razos* (MS. C) boldly replaces *lemozi* by *proensal*, thus anticipating the term since consecrated by usage to designate the literary hegemony of all southern France.

M. J. MINCKWITZ

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## NOTES AND NEWS

B. M. Woodbridge has been appointed to the adjunct professorship in Romance languages at the University of Texas, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Professor Frederick C. Ostrander.

William Samuel Hendrix, A.M. (Cornell Univ.), for three years assistant in Romance languages at the University of Illinois, after spending the summer at the vacation courses of the University of Madrid, will go to an instructorship in Romance languages at the University of Texas.

The following changes in Romance languages have taken place at the University of Illinois.

Associate professor David Hobart Carnahan is spending his sabbatical leave in study in France. His address for the coming year will be in care of the American Express Co., Paris, France.

Assistant professor David Simon Blondheim has been granted a year's leave of absence to allow him to accept a research fellowship at the Johns Hopkins University.

L. M. Turner, Docteur de l'Université de Paris, has been appointed associate. John Shulters, A.M. (Illinois), Thomas Wesenberg, A.M. (Pennsylvania), Charles S. Carry, B. ès L. (Besançon), and Conrad Joseph Eppels have been appointed assistants.

J. K. Ditchy, A.M. (Illinois), for three years an assistant in Romance languages at the University of Illinois, goes to an instructorship at Ohio State University.

Arthur L. Owen, A.M. (Illinois), assistant professor of Romance languages at the University of Kansas, has been granted a leave of absence for a year of study at the University of Chicago.

Mark Skidmore, A.M. (Illinois), goes from an instructorship in Romance languages at Dartmouth to an instructorship in the same department at the University of Kansas.

Albert Cohn MacMaster goes from an instructorship in Romance languages at Williams College to a similar position at Dartmouth College.

Professor André Marie, of the Lycée, Bordeaux, has been elected Associate professor of French at the Johns Hopkins University, to succeed Professor Terracher. At the same university Mr. Raymond Leguy has been appointed instructor.

Dr. R. B. Michell of the University of Wisconsin has been promoted to an Assistant-professorship. Mr. L. R. Herrick of the same university has been made Professor of Romance languages at Hamline University.

Professor Albert Schintz of Bryn Mawr College has accepted the chiefship in Romance languages at Smith College.

A memorial service for the late Professor Henry Lampart LeDaum was held at the University of North Dakota, on March 13, 1913.

# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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## THE MIRROR OF KNIGHTHOOD

THE most laborious undertaking of the Elizabethans in the way of a direct translation from the Spanish was undoubtedly the complete rendering of the romance of chivalry, *Espejo de principes y caballeros*, into the English tongue. The first part of the Spanish original, from the pen of Diego Ortúñez de Calahorra, appeared at Zaragoza in 1562. Pedro de la Sierra composed a continuation which he termed Part II, published at Alcalá in 1581. Finally, Márcos Martínez concluded the work with his parts III and IV, printed at Alcalá in 1587. The first part consists of three books and the remaining ones of two each. The four parts thus form nine books. They are published in the English version in nine volumes, books 4 and 5 (Pt. 2)<sup>1</sup> being bound together, however, in one volume.

The dates of the different books of the copy in the Bodleian Library are as follows:

- Book 1 *The First Part of the Mirrour of Princely deedes and Knighthood. . . . Now newly translated out of Spanish into our vulgar English tongue, by M. T. Imprinted at London by Thomas Este. [No date]*
- Book 2 *The Second part of the first Booke, 1599.*
- Book 3 *The Third Part of the first booke. [No date]*
- Books 4 and 5 *The Second part of the Mirror of Knighthood. Containing two severall Bookes, 1598.*
- Book 6 *The sixth Booke of the Myrrour of Knighthood, 1598.*
- Book 7 *The Seventh Booke of the Myrrour of Knighthood, 1598.*

<sup>1</sup> I have preserved throughout the Spanish meanings of the words part and book.

Book 8 *The Eighth Booke of the Myrror of Knighthood*, 1599.

Book 9 *The Ninth part of the Mirrour of Knight-hood*, 1601.

The *Dictionary of National Biography*, s. v. Robert Parry, informs us that the British Museum possesses a copy of books 4 and 5, dated 1583, and that the first three books appeared, according to the statement of the publisher, some three years before. This would give us the date 1580. It can be shown, however, that these books probably appeared as early as 1579.

1. The work was licensed on August 4, 1578.

2. There is a certain degree of probability that an episode from the *Mirrour of Knighthood* was performed on the English stage on the first of March, 1579 (see *Revue Germanique* de juillet, 1911, p. 421 ff.).

3. In John Lyly's *Euphues* there is an allusion to the *Mirrour of Knighthood* which runs as follows:

I could not tell whether some mist had blearr'd myne eyes, or some stra[u]ng[e] enchauntment altered my minde, for it may bee, thought I, that in this Island, either some *Artimedorus* or *Lisimandro*, or some odd *Nigromancer* did inhabit. . . . (Lyly's *Euphues*, ed. Arber, Westminster, 1900, p. 444).

Now, the magician Artemidoro plays a very important part in the Spanish novel. We are first introduced to him in the account which his daughter Calinda gives of herself to the Prince Rosicler who has freed her from a giant:

Sabed señor dixo la dōzella, que yo soy llamada Calinda hija del sabio Artemidoro, q̄ por ventura en algun tiēpo aureys oydo, el qual viue en vna insula que cō estar bien cerca de aquí en medio deste mar, jamas por nadie cōtra su volūtad pudo ser hallada. (*Primera parte de Espeio de Principes y Cavalleros*, En Çaragoça, Por Pedro Cabarte, en la Cuchilleria. Año de MDCXVII, p. 37.)

Rosicler marvels greatly at what Calinda tells him about the great sage her father:

Mucho fue marauillado Rosicler en oyr lo que la donzella dezia, assi por loque a ella con el jayan le auia auenido, como por ver la gran velocidad que el batel en que yuan nauegaua, pareciendole que no podia dexar de ser grande el saber del sabio Artemidoro, pues tanto poder sobre las profundas aguas de la mar tenia, y



mucho plazer en si sentia esperãdo de se ver con tan grande sabio, por preguntarle si sabia algo del principe Theoduardo y del donzel del Febo su hermano.<sup>2</sup> (*Espejo*, p. 37.)

The appearance of the sage is described in the following terms :

. . . era vn hombre al parecer muy viejo, y la barua muy blanca hasta la cinta, y con vn baculo en la mano, que su honrada presencia le declaraua por sabio. . . . (*Espejo*, p. 38).

It was also Artemidoro who consigned to writing the deeds of Rosicler :

tengo escrito quanto por vos y la princesa Briana ha passado, y escriuire por historia lo demas que os acaeciére, y por vos passare entretanto que la vida me durare, porque la memoria de vuestras grandes hazañas y estremados hechos en los venideros tiempos no pueda ser perdida, como la de vuestro hermano el donzel del Febo, que tal persona tiene cuenta del, que mientras durare el mudo durara la memoria de sus estrañas marauillas. (*Espejo*, p. 38).

The duty of preserving from oblivion the deeds of Rosicler's brother, the Knight of the Sun, devolved upon another sage, Lirgandeo, whose great knowledge of the magic arts is thus described by the author :

Por las antiguas y mas verdaderas coronicas de los Assirios parece, que en el tiempo que Theodoro el antecesor del gran Trebacio succedio en el imperio de Grecia, reynaua entre los Persas el podeso (sic!) Orixergues, el qual demas de ser Rey de Persia, era tambien Soldan de Babilonia, y por su gran poder en toda la Pagania era nõbrado, y muy temido. Y despues que prosperamente huuo reynado, quãdo vino a morir dexo tres hijos: el primero quedo por Rey en Persia: el segundo fue Soldan de Babylonia: el tercero fue señor de la insula Rubia, q̃ es en el mar Bermejo: y toma este nombre el mar, porque toda aquella tierra es colorada. Y este tercero hermano (Lirgandeo) desde niño fue muy estudioso, y dado al arte magica, en la qual salio tan sabio, que en su tiempo no vuo quien se le ygualasse: y la mayor parte del tiẽpo viuio en aquella su insula, por ser muy aparejada para su arte y estudio. (*Espejo*, p. 14).

Lyly may have confused the name of the magician Lirgandeo with that of Rosicler's uncle Liriamandro (*Espejo*, p. 36).

An Italian translation of the *Caballero del Febo* appeared in

<sup>2</sup> What happened to him can be learned from *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, Bd. 33, p. 211.

1601. This seems to be the only other version of so early a date. The title page of the copy in my possession is as follows:

DELLO  
SPECCHIO  
DE PRENCIPI,  
ET CAVALIERI,  
PARTE PRIMA.  
Diuisa in tre Libri.  
NVOVAMENTE TRADOTTI  
di lingua Castigliana in Italiana.  
PER MELCHIOR ESCAPPA DA VILLAROEL,  
gentilhuomo Spagnuolo Lionese.  
In Vinegia. Presso gli Heredi d'Altobello Salicato. 1610  
The Dedication is dated Di Roma il dì 25. di Maggio MDCI.

As this translation contains only the first three books, it could not have been utilized by the English translators. The French translation—*Le Chevalier du Soleil*—is ruled out of court by the date of its first volume—1617.

As a specimen of the English translation, I transcribe a passage from the *Story of the Unfaithful Lover*. The corresponding passage from the French translation of 1620 is accessible in the *Revue Germanique* of 1911, p. 423:

And hee (the Magician) seeing the great disloyalty of him (Lusindo), determined before hee did die to bee reuenged of that iniury, and likewise of me, in such sort, that in time ther might be some remedy, & so by his great knowledge he brought the prince hether vnto his habitation, and put him into a quadran full of fire, whereas he is continually burning, and without ceasing he crieth out & giueth terrible shrikes,<sup>3</sup> & cannot come foorth of that quadran. And when he was put therin, he said that by no manner of wise he could be cleere of that great torment and peine, till such time as a knight, who by his bounty & prowesse, should come vnto the fountaine of the sauage people and drinck of the water, and drinking therof, he shuld discover the entry into this habitation, as you haue discovered the same. And how y<sup>t</sup> this knight by the great loialty of his loue should supply the great disloyalty of the prince, & how hee should take him forth of that quadran wheras he is, by y<sup>e</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Shakespeare's *Tempest*, I, 2, 275-296.

force and strength of his armes, first getting the victorie by battaile, and how that after hee is deliuered from that place, he should receiue and take me to bee his spouse, & tell the truth of all that has passed. This beeing ordained and done, my father died, and heere I doo remaine all alone very sad and sorrowfull for his death, and with great grieve and compassion of the prince, for that ther cannot be a more grieuous thing in the world then to heare him shrike and lament. And although the king his Father did know of a certaintie that the wise man his brother did bring him hether vnto this habitation, to bee reuenged on him, yet for all that, hee could neuer finde the entrie into it, although hee hath procured by all meanes y<sup>t</sup> euer was possible. So that the king and the queene his mother, and all the rest of the kingdome doo liue in great sorrow and heauinesse for the losse of the prince; for this habitation hath an other entry by a Caue, which in all the world doth beare y<sup>t</sup> fame, but the entrie thereof is so perilous and dark that there is no humane knight dare enter it, and there is none but I alone that doth know of this entry into the valley. And seeing that you, most ventrous knight,<sup>4</sup> is hee, by whom my Father saide should bee concluded and finished, this aduenture. . . . (*The Second part of the first Booke of the Myrrour of Knighthood*. London, 1599 f. 94).

The Spanish original of this passage is as follows:

Y como mi padre conociesse del tan gran deslealtad, primero que muriesse quiso vengar su injuria, y la mia, de tal manera que en algun tiempo tuuiesse remedio; y assi por su saber truxo al Principe a esta su morada, y pusole en vna quadra llena de fuego, donde esta quemandose, y dando grandes gritos sin cessar vn pũto, y sin poder salir de la quadra. Y puesto alli, le dixo, que en ninguna manera podria ser libre de aquella pena, hasta que huuiesse vn cauallero que con su alta bondad pudiesse llegar a beuer del agua de la fuente de los saluajes, y beuiendola, pudiesse descubrir la entrada desta morada, segun que vos la aueys descubierto; y q̃ este cauallero cõ la lealtad de su amor, suplira la deslealtad deste Principe, y le sacaria de aquella quadra donde estaua a fuerça de braços, ṽciendolo primero en la batalla; y despues de salido de alli que el me recibiria por esposa, y diria la verdad de lo que auia passado. Hecho esto, mi padre se murio, y yo quede aqui sola muy triste por su muerte, y con gran pena y compassion del Principe, que es la mayor lastima del mundo de oyrle. Y aunque el Rey su padre tiene por muy cierto que el sabio su hermano por se vengar del le truxo a esta su morada, nunca ha podido saber ni hallar la entrada, por mucho que ha hecho buscar. Y assi el Rey y la Reyna su madre y todos los del Reyno viuen en gran tristeza por la perdida del Principe. Bien es verdad

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, II, 2, 334.

que esta morada tiene otra entrada por vna cueua que en todo el mundo es bien nombrada; mas es su entrada tan temerosa, y tan obscura, que no ay hombre humano que se atreua a entrar por ella, y no sabe nadie, sino yo, que aquella sea la entrada deste valle. Y pues vos venturoso cauallero soys aquel por quien mi padre dixo que auia de ser dada fin a esta auentura. . . . (*Espejo de Principes y Caualleros*, Çaragoça 1617 p. 119).

In conclusion I copy the passage about the mysterious noises<sup>5</sup> which deterred people from approaching the cavern described above:

So after that betwixt them there had passed very much talke, they determined to goe vnto the court of the king *Polidarco*, and they departed from that place, hauing in their company the faire *Pinardo*, & went through the famous caue of *Phenicia*, where of hath been spoken so much, & there they did vnderstand the occasion of that terrible & fearefull noyse which continually was there heard, for the which there was none that durst giue the enterprise to goe into the caue, and was by reason of the valley which the knight of *Cupid* found himselfe in, at such time as he was taken into the fountaine of the Sauages, was so deepe, and compassed about with such high and mightie rocks, so that neuer any man could enter in, neither could they climbe vp vnto the top of those mountaines, nor come to the knowledge of any such valley that was in that place amongst those rocks, and vnder those rocks and mountaines there was a caue that passed through, which was very obscure and darke, and also narrow, by reason whereof, together with other open parts in the same Rock, the ayre dyd enter in, passing through from the one side vnto the other, and the noise was so great that it made in the same Caue, and by cliffes thereof, that it was very timerous and fearefull to beehould, in such sort that there was none durst enter in there at, wherevppon it was called the terrible Caue of *Phenicia* (*The Second part of the first Booke of the Myrrour of Knighthood*. London, 1599 f. 96).

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. Shakespeare's *Tempest*, III, 2, 144-152.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MORT ARTHUR THEME IN MEDIAEVAL ROMANCE

AT the time that I was preparing my edition of the Old French prose-romance, the *Mort Artu*<sup>1</sup> (Halle, 1910), *i. e.*, the last division of the so-called Vulgate or Walter Map cycle of the Arthurian prose-romances, I did not have leisure to work out in detail the relations to one another of the different mediaeval versions of the final incidents in Arthurian story, so that I was compelled to content myself with a mere list of these versions (pp. VIII ff.) and with the statement (p. XII, note 1) that, in my opinion, with the exception of the *Didot-Perceval* (in its last section)<sup>2</sup> and the Middle English alliterative *Morte Arthure*,<sup>3</sup> they were all nothing but later modifications of the *Mort Artu*. Geoffrey of Monmouth and his derivatives are, of course, also excluded from this generalization. It is the purpose of the present article to establish the correctness of this opinion and to consider as far as necessary the relations of the two last-named works to the *Mort Artu*. From these matters I shall proceed to a consideration of the sources of the *Mort Artu* and to an examination of current theories concerning the development of the prose-romances.

<sup>1</sup> All references to this romance in the present article are to my edition, which reproduces the text of MS. 342 of the Bibliothèque Nationale and adds collations from some other MSS. Dr. H. O. Sommer has also recently edited it in his *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, VI, 203 ff., Washington, 1913. The text, however, which he reproduces, viz., that of the British Museum MS. Additional, 10294, is distinctly inferior to that of MS. 342—so much so that at pp. 277 ff. he is forced to relegate it to the foot-notes and substitute for it in the body of the page the text of the British Museum MS. Royal 20. C. VI, which, as I had pointed out in my edition, was the nearest to MS. 342 of all the British Museum MSS. To be sure, Dr. Sommer gives collations at the bottom of the page from the other MSS. in the British Museum and from MS. 342, and he also utilizes these MSS. in his text. In the present article I employ "Mort Arthur" as a convenient designation of any version of the last division of Arthurian story.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by E. Hucher in his *Le Saint Graal*, I, 415 ff. (Mans, 1875), and from a better (Modena) MS. by Miss J. L. Weston in *The Legend of Sir Perceval*, II, 9 ff. (London, 1909). The brief Mort Arthur division (if we include Arthur's wars with the French and the Romans) covers pp. 84–112 of the latter edition.

<sup>3</sup> Edited last by Mary Macleod Banks, London, 1900.

# I.—VERSIONS OF THE *Mort Arthur* THEME OUTSIDE OF THE CHRONICLES

My full list was as follows: (1) *Mort Artu*.—(2) Malory's *Morte Darthur*,<sup>4</sup> Books XVIII, XX and XXI. As far as Books XX and XXI are concerned (the part of the narrative which extends from the scene in which Arthur comes upon Agravain and his brothers discussing the intrigue of Lancelot with Guinevere down to the end), they coincide with ll. 1672–3969 (end) of the Middle English poem in eight-line stanzas called *Le Morte Arthur*,<sup>5</sup> and the two evidently go back to a lost French original (in prose).—(3) Lines 1–1671 of the Middle English stanzaic *Morte Arthur*, which gives a somewhat different version of the incidents covered by the corresponding portion of Malory, viz., his Book XVIII. There can be no doubt, however, that the English poem is here also following a (lost) French original (in prose).—(4). The Spanish *Demanda del Sancto Grial*<sup>6</sup> (Toledo, 1515 and Seville, 1535). The *Mort Arthur* portion of the corresponding Portuguese *Demanda*<sup>7</sup> is still unprinted, but these Portuguese and Spanish versions differ so little that for the purposes of our investigation they may be treated as one. Both represent a French original, which, as far as the *Mort Arthur* is concerned, has been preserved in part in MS. 340 (early fourteenth century) of the Bibliothèque Nationale.—(5) The Italian *Tavola Ritonda*,<sup>8</sup> which also represents a lost

<sup>4</sup> Edited by H. O. Sommer, 3 vols., London, 1889–1890.

<sup>5</sup> Last edited by J. D. Bruce for the Early English Text Society, Extra Series, No. 88 (1903). It is preserved in the unique MS. Harley 2252 (British Museum).

<sup>6</sup> Reprinted in the *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles bajo la direccion del Excmo. Sr. D. Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo*, in the volume entitled *Libros de Caballerias, Primera Parte, Ciclo arturico = Ciclo carolingio, por Adolfo Bonilla y San Martin*, Madrid, 1907.

<sup>7</sup> Preserved in the unique Vienna MS. 2594 (Imperial Library). It has been printed only in part: *A Historia dos Cavalleiros da Mesa Redonda e da Demanda do Santo Graall*, edited by Karl von Reinhardstoettner, Berlin, 1887. The printed portion does not reach the *Mort Arthur*. The only passage from the *Mort Arthur* of this version yet printed will be found in Otto Klob's article, "Dois episodios da Demanda," *Revista Lusitana*, VI, 338 ff. (1901). Alexander Klein is preparing an edition of the whole work. For H. O. Sommer's collation of the two *Demanda's* (Spanish and Portuguese) see *Romania*, vol. 36, pp. 543 ff. (1907).

<sup>8</sup> Edited by F. L. Polidori, Bologna, 1864–5, from MS. Pluteo XLIV, 27, of the Laurentian library in Florence. For the *Mort Arthur* portion see Part I, pp. 524 ff.

French original.—(6) The Middle English *Morte Arthure* (in alliterative verse).—(7) *Didot-Perceval*.<sup>9</sup> Besides these versions I gave (pp. XXIV f.) a list of versions from foreign languages which appeared to me to have no independent value, as their dependence on the *Mort Artu* was too evident. They were:—(1) Two German versions.<sup>10</sup>—(2) A Dutch metrical version.<sup>11</sup>—(3) Two Italian versions, one in prose, a close translation of the printed text of 1533 (Philippe Le Noir),<sup>12</sup> and the other metrical. The latter (probably first half of fifteenth century) is called *Li Chantari di Lancillotto*,<sup>13</sup> and the material is here handled more freely.—(4) A fragmentary Hebrew version (dated 1279).<sup>14</sup> To be sure, in her *Legend of Sir Lancelot du Lac*, ch. XI (London, 1901), Miss J. L. Weston ascribes a certain importance to the Dutch metrical version, but in his review of this work, *Folk-Lore*, XII, 486, ff. (1901), W. W. Greg demonstrated that her theory of the opposing groups—on the one hand, the Dutch *Lancelot*, the 1533 print (Le Noir) and Malory, on the other, the British Museum MSS.—was “a pure phantasm,” which was due to her taking as the basis of her comparison Dr. Sommer’s incorrect analysis (in vol. 3 of his edition of Malory), instead of the texts offered by the MSS. them-

<sup>9</sup> In her above-mentioned edition of this romance, p. 1, note, Miss Weston proposes that it should be called “the prose *Perceval*”; but the old designation, *Didot-Perceval*, is too well established to discard.

<sup>10</sup> Only one—that of Ulrich Fueterer (fifteenth century)—has been published. See A. Peter’s edition, vol. 175 of the *Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart* (1885). The *Mort Arthur* portion begins at page 326. The fuller German version on which this one is based has not yet been printed.

<sup>11</sup> Book IV of the *Roman van Lancelot*, edited by W. J. A. Jonckbloet, The Hague, 1846-9.

<sup>12</sup> *L’illustre et famosa istoria di Lancillotto del Lago*, 3 vols., Venice, 1557-8 (also 1558-9). The *Mort Arthur* begins Libro III, fol. 372 a.

<sup>13</sup> The only edition worth considering is that of Walter De Gray Birch, London, 1874, and even this does not give a very accurate text.

<sup>14</sup> Published by Berliner in his *Otsar Tob*, 1885, and translated into English by M. Gaster, *Folk-Lore*, XX, 277-294 (1909). The translation appeared (Sept. 30) after I had finished the correction of the proofs of my edition of the *Mort Artu*, so that I could not mention it in my list. See too M. Schüler’s article on this Hebrew version in Brandl’s *Archiv*, vol. 122, pp. 51 ff. (1909). Schüler is inclined to believe that the Hebrew text is translated from an archaic redaction of the prose-romances. In her review of Gaster’s article Miss Weston, *Folk-Lore*, XX, 497 f., rightly disputes this. The version differs, however, from the usual text of the Vulgate *Mort Artu* only in a few insignificant details. The forms of some of the names are, perhaps, the most interesting variants.

selves. The Dutch poem condenses somewhat, as in the omission of the arrival of the dead body of the Maid of Ascalot at Camelot, but otherwise the version follows so closely the ordinary text of the Vulgate *Mort Artu* that it would be supererogatory to record the slight differences of detail, which are no greater than are found commonly in the MSS. of the French original.<sup>15</sup> With the *Chantari di Lancelotto*, however, it is different. Although the text, in my opinion, has manifestly no authority as against the MSS. of the *Mort Artu*, it unquestionably exhibits considerable departures from the narrative of the French romance, and since in her review of my edition, *Romania*, XL, 133 f., Miss Weston attaches some critical value to the Italian poem among the treatments of the Mort Arthur theme, I will include it in the following study and give these variations detailed consideration. The method of my article will be to state the points in which the particular version under discussion differs from the Vulgate *Mort Artu* and then to attempt an explanation of the cause of variation.

There would be no advantage for the purpose of this article in enumerating the points of agreement between such a version and the *Mort Artu*, my object being merely to make clear whether there is any necessity for attributing to an earlier source features in which the particular version varies from the Vulgate *Mort Artu* or whether we may not reasonably explain such features as mere additions or modifications of the *Mort Artu*. For convenience' sake I shall discuss the versions in the order of my original list. It is impossible to determine in any conclusive manner the relative dates of the French originals of these versions, so that the principle adopted in that list of enumerating them in the order of their comparative closeness to the *Mort Artu* text seems as good as any other.<sup>16</sup> The fact that the Vulgate *Mort Artu* exists in from thirty to forty MSS., at least seventeen of which date from the thirteenth century, whereas

<sup>15</sup> In the Dutch poem the passage about Gawain's slaying of the knights of the Grail-Quest, which begins the narrative in the Vulgate *Mort Artu*, is transferred to the end of the *Queste*-section. In her *Legend of Sir Lancelot du Lac*, p. 137, note, and elsewhere Miss Weston attributed to this fact an importance which it did not possess. See my article in this journal, vol. III, pp. 173 ff. (1912). I have also pointed out there that Miss Weston is wrong, when she asserts that the 1533 print has the same arrangement.

<sup>16</sup> There is, doubtless, a departure from this principle in the case of No. 3; but we have here a variant narrative for only a part of the romance.



the variant versions which I am about to discuss survive only in early prints or in late MSS. that, except in the case of the *Tavola Ritonda*, are unique, surely creates a strong presumption against the originality of the latter. It is to be noted too that the condensation which is characteristic of all these versions had already begun in the MSS. For a conspicuous illustration of this cf. my edition of the *Mort Artu*, p. 102, note 7. The British Museum MS., Royal 19, C. XIII, is an excellent example of a condensed recension. I have recorded in my edition the omissions and variants of this MS.

### 1. Malory's *Morte Darthur*

The Mort Arthur division of this compilation consists of Books XVIII, XX and XXI. Book XIX has nothing to do with this theme. It deals with Lancelot's protection of Guinevere against Mellyagraunce and his healing of "Syr Vrrre of Hongry."

Let us first take up Book XVIII, which corresponds to pp. 1-92 of MA (the Vulgate *Mort Artu*). In the comparison I omit nothing of importance, but it would be worse than useless to record the minuter differences of detail that have no significance. Moreover, the effort at condensation in Malory is so obvious that I note only the more important omissions which his text exhibits as compared with MA. The result shows clearly, I believe, that Malory's narrative is merely a modification of the Vulgate text as we have it preserved in the numerous MSS. and early prints recorded in the Introduction to my edition of the *Mort Artu*, pp. XII ff. The references to M (Malory) are to Sommer's edition,<sup>17</sup> vol. I. I do not mean to imply, of course, that the changes in M are Malory's own. In all but a few unimportant matters it is virtually certain that they are due to his French source.

<sup>17</sup> In this edition, III, 220 ff. and 249 ff., Sommer has compared the above-mentioned Books of Malory with the corresponding portions of the Vulgate *Mort Artu* according to the text of the 1513 print. For some corrections of his views see my article, "The Middle English metrical romance, *Le Morte Arthur* (Harleian MS. 2252): its sources and its relation to Sir Thomas Malory's '*Morte Darthur*,'" *Anglia*, XXIII, 67 ff. (1900).

Neither Sommer nor myself, however, endeavored to settle with precision just the question which is the subject of the present article. Generally speaking, in my article I left this question open—only at one point (in the account of Arthur's death) I assumed (p. 74, note) that Malory's source was not directly

Pages 725 ff., ch. 1-2.

M suppresses the passage MA, pp. 1-3, concerning Bors' return from the quest of the Holy Grail and the number of knights slain therein (especially Gawain's slaying of Baudemagus). He substitutes a few lines describing the joy of the king and queen at the return of the knights. The substitution is plainly due to the desire to condense. As in MA (p. 3) Lancelot soon forgets his good resolutions and renews his intrigue with the queen—only it is said that many ladies sought Lancelot to be their champion, and, as far as he could, he withdrew from Guinevere's company, so that she accuses him of slackening in his love. He puts down his slackening to his experience in the quest—moreover, he understands that Agravain and Mordred are lying in wait for them. His tone throughout is rather priggish. Guinevere is offended and tells him to leave the court, which he does. There is nothing of this in MA. As a matter of fact, the *motif* of Guinevere's jealousy is taken by an ill-judged anticipation from MA, pp. 59 f., where it had an adequate cause—Lancelot's affair with the Maid of Ascalot. Lancelot's priggishness is due to the author's desire to harmonize this portion of the narrative with the *Queste*, which immediately preceded it. In every particular M is here obviously less original than MA. He is merely modifying that work.

Pages 728 ff., ch. 3-8.

In M the incident of the poisoned fruit and Mador de la Porte begins at ch. 3 and the whole episode is told at one stretch. In MA it is interwoven with the episode of the Maid of Astolat (Ascalot). There can be no question that the interwoven episodes exhibit the more primitive arrangement. The motive for simplifying what was intricate would be obvious.<sup>19</sup> Not so *vice versa*. This impression

dependent on the Vulgate *Mort Artu*. This, however, was at the beginning of my Mort Arthur studies and the assumption was ill-advised. In any case, the fact that the *Mort Artu* is now accessible in modern editions makes such a study as the present easier to undertake and easier to control.

<sup>19</sup> Sommer, III, p. 229, offers what is at first blush the plausible suggestion that M makes this change because he had intercalated at this point the story of Lancelot's rescue of Guinevere from Mellyagraunce (Book XIX) and that consequently if he had left the Mador de la Porte episode where it was in MA we should have had two very similar episodes coming, the one just after the other. After all, however, I believe that M is here merely following his usual method

is confirmed by differences of detail in M. According to MA, pp. 63 ff., a knight, named Auarlan, wished to kill Gawain, and at a feast which Guinevere was giving, he handed her some poisoned fruit expecting her to pass it on to Gawain, but she unsuspectingly passed it to Gaheris de Caraheu, brother of Mador de la Porte. He ate of it and dropped dead at once. Mador turns up and accuses the queen of his brother's death. She is given a respite of forty days in which to find a champion—else she will be burned. Ultimately Lancelot comes in disguise, vanquishes Mador and saves Guinevere.

In accordance with his conception of Guinevere's jealousy's beginning shortly after Lancelot's return from the quest, M represents that she gave this dinner to show that she was not dependent on Lancelot's company. This touch was a natural consequence of the change in the order of the narrative. The motive of Sir Pinel (Pyomel), who in M corresponds to the Auarlan of MA, proves the lateness of M's version. He is endeavoring to revenge the death of his kinsman Sir Lamorak de Galys. But this is taken from the prose *Tristan*,<sup>20</sup> which is certainly later than MA. In M the poisoned man (here called Patryse) is merely a cousin of Mador's, which seems less primitive. The same thing is unquestionably true of the detail in M, according to which Guinevere is given (p. 730) a respite of fifteen days instead of forty, as in MA (p. 73). Forty days was the period actually allowed by mediaeval custom in such cases.<sup>21</sup>

of simplifying and condensing. In exactly the same way he tells, each by itself, the Roman war and Mordred's treason, which in MA are interwoven. So, too, with Guinevere's flight to the convent, although here in MA the interweaving is not so marked. M even objects to the renewal of conversations which have once been dropped, as where Gawain (Book XX, ch. 1) is warning the king of the danger of listening to Agravain's tales concerning Lancelot. He must give the conversation once for all. See the discussion of these matters in the appropriate places below. It may be remarked, besides, that there is, after all, no resemblance between the Mellyagraunce and Mador episodes except in regard to the combat that ends each. But these would be in any event separated by a considerable interval of narrative between—certainly by as great an interval as in MA separates Lancelot's rescue of the queen from Mador (pp. 90 f.) and Agravain (pp. 108 ff.).

<sup>20</sup> See the account of the killing of Lamorak in E. Löseth's *Le roman en prose de Tristan*, p. 167, Paris, 1890. Cf., too, Malory, I, 513.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. the note in my edition of MA, p. 279.

In M, as in MA (p. 87), the king advises Guinevere to appeal to Bors for aid. She does appeal, but only once (p. 731), instead of twice, as in MA (pp. 84, 87). The king's appeal to Gawain (p. 86) on her behalf is wanting in M. These changes are clearly due to an effort at condensation. We should, no doubt, explain in the same way the fact that in M, after only a brief reproach as to her driving Lancelot from court, Bors, being urged by Arthur, promises to act as her champion—and this before he has seen Lancelot and consequently before he knows that Lancelot will be her champion. This spoils the situation, as we find it in MA, where Bors, although knowing that his redoubtable cousin is going to appear in the end as her champion, plays on her terror and makes her taste some of the bitter fruits of her own jealousy in driving Lancelot away.

Unimportant differences of the narrative in M are (1) that Bors is actually about to go forth to fight Mador.—Lancelot is so long in coming, (2) that after Mador is unhorsed by Lancelot, the latter continues the fight on foot, only when challenged by his opponent to do so.

Finally the introduction of Nymuc (ch. 8) as a *dea ex machina* to reveal by her magical knowledge the real criminal in the poisoning incident and so to exculpate Guinevere is plainly unoriginal. Pages 738 f., ch. 8-9.

The tournament at Winchester, with which MA begins, is intimately connected with the episode of the Maid of Ascalot,<sup>22</sup> and so, with the changed arrangement of M, had to come, like this episode, after the episode of the poisoned fruit and Mador's combat with Lancelot. In M Arthur is wroth with his wife from jealousy when she refuses to attend the tournament. In MA (p. 5) he expressly forbids her to go, it being his purpose to test the reports of her misconduct with Lancelot. M here, however, is clearly unoriginal, for, apart from the greater appropriateness of the narrative in MA, there had been no mention hitherto in M of Arthur's being suspicious of his consort's fidelity. In MA (at the beginning of the romance) Agravain had planted such suspicions in his mind. Here in ch. 8 M has that passage in mind, but he had himself suppressed

<sup>22</sup> The identification of Astolat (Ascalot) with Guilford, like other identifications of Arthurian localities with well-known places in England, is no doubt due to Malory and not to his French originals.

the dialogue in question between Agravain and the king. When M makes Guinevere, after Arthur's departure, summon Lancelot and rebuke him for staying behind, this is merely a modification of MA (p. 5), in which he asks her consent to go and she grants it.

Before he sets out for the tournament at Winchester, Lancelot already announces that he is going to oppose the king's party. This is an anticipation of MA (p. 11), where Lancelot decides to oppose the king's party, because the other side is weaker. So M, by the change, has left Lancelot's decision without adequate motive. It is a less important modification of MA (p. 6), when M makes the king recognize Lancelot in the garden of the father of the Maid of Astolat rather than when the latter is riding through the street beneath the windows of the castle where Arthur is staying.

The giving of definite names to the Maid of Astolat (here called Elayne le blank) and to her father (Bernard) and brothers (Tirre and Lauayne) is a sign of lateness in M. In MA they are all unnamed.

Pages 741 f., ch. 10.

Insignificant differences of M are (1) that the night before the tournament Lancelot and Elayne's brother lodge at the house of a rich burgess instead of with the latter's aunt, as in MA (p. 9), (2) that the king would not let Gawain take part in the tournament, because, "as the Frensshe book saith," Gawain had always shown himself inferior to Lancelot. The latter detail is an anticipation of a *motif* which is prominent later in MA (pp. 179 ff.).

The list of knights who take part in the tournament is one of the obvious signs of lateness which is found frequently in M. In the more primitive narrative of MA only the leading characters are named. Note too the occurrence in this list of "Syre Galahad the haut prince"—that is, Lancelot's famous friend who had died long before these events.<sup>23</sup> This is a blunder of M's.

Pages 743 ff., ch. 11-13.

M makes Lancelot recognize Bors who had wounded him in the fight. He spares him, accordingly, as he does also Hector and Lionel. This change of conception compels M, moreover, to drop

<sup>23</sup> See the narrative of his death in the prose *Lancelot*, Sommer's *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, IV, 155.

the rude but effective humour of the scene later on in MA (pp. 42 ff.), where, much to Bors' embarrassment, Gawain lets Lancelot know that it is Bors who has wounded him. MA is here evidently more primitive. In M (p. 745) at the end of the tourney "Galahaut the haute prynce" and his companions try in vain to induce Lancelot to go home with them. Nothing corresponding in MA. Still further, in MA (p. 15) after the tourney the brother of the Maid of Astolat takes Lancelot back to his aunt's and calls in a knight who possessed medical skill. In M he takes him to a hermit to be cured. This was suggested by anticipation, no doubt, from a later incident in MA (p. 68). The fact that the hermit is identified with a knight—Baudewyn of Bretayn—who figures in the Merlin section of Malory's compilation (pp. 43, 44 et passim), is, of course, also a sign of late composition, since the source of that section is a *Merlin* of the late *Huth-Merlin* type.

Pages 748 ff., ch. 13-15.

Owing to compression, M makes Gawain visit Astolat only once. This visit corresponds to the first one in MA (pp. 18 ff.). In M, moreover, Gawain does not court Elaine, as he does in MA (p. 19). On the other hand, he tells her here of Lancelot's wound (received in the tournament). This modification in M was necessary, since in his version the wounded Lancelot went into a hermitage to be cured, not to Elaine's aunt. In MA (pp. 32 f.) he went to this aunt's, and so it was natural that she should chance to light upon him there. In M some new means had to be devised to bring her to the hermitage. It is a less significant difference that in M she nurses Lancelot through the greater part of his illness, whereas in MA she only sees him, after he has been at her aunt's a month or more. The narrative in MA throughout, however, is plainly more primitive.

It is again due to the desire to condense that M does not give either the conversation (MA, pp. 23 f.) in which Arthur tells Gawain of Lancelot's intrigue with the queen, or, later on, the episode (MA, pp. 45 ff.) in which, being lost in the forest, he comes to the castle of his sister Morgain la Fee and sees the pictures there that constitute a record of this same intrigue.

Pages 753 ff., ch. 16.

The main differences in this part of the narrative between M and MA are due to the fact that the former puts Bors' visit to Lancelot before the second tournament (in M not at Tanebor but "besyde Wynchestre") instead of after as in MA (pp. 42 ff.). The manner in which Bors finds out about the place where Lancelot lies ill is much more natural in MA (pp. 41 f.) than in M. He learns it through the father of the Maid of Ascalot, whereas in M, very awkwardly Lancelot gets her brother to place men on the watch in Winchester to look out for Bors. In accordance with this conception Bors does not go by Ascalot at all. The fact that he goes alone in M is due, no doubt, to compression. Moreover, the interview between Bors and Lancelot, as observed above (in the discussion of ch. 11-13), is different, since in M Lancelot had already recognized in the fight that it was Bors who had wounded him, so there is no place for such a scene of disclosure at this point. An unimportant difference is that in M Lancelot's wound bursts during Bors' visit, whereas in MA (p. 35) it is before.

Pages 756 ff., ch. 18-20.

M makes Gareth a prominent figure in the second tournament. After performing remarkable feats of arms, this knight withdraws, no one knows whither, just as Lancelot had done after the first tournament, both in MA and in M. We have manifestly here an imitation of that episode. M's partiality for Gareth has often been remarked on.

In M, after Lancelot has recovered from his wound, accompanied by Elaine as well as Bors, he leaves the hermitage and goes to Astolat. (In MA Bors and Lancelot, without Elaine, go to Camelot.) In MA (pp. 55 ff.) the fatal interview in which Lancelot rejects the Maid of Ascalot's offers of love occurs at her aunt's, where, in that version, he had passed the period of his illness; in M it is at Ascalot (Astolat). Obviously unoriginal features of M here are (1) that Lancelot, whilst rejecting the girl's offers, proposes in return to confer on her a dowry that will enable her to marry another knight, (2) that not only the girl but her father interviews Lancelot on the subject of her love. M, it may be observed, brings Lancelot to Camelot, because he wants him to be there, when the dead body of Elaine arrives.

The touching scene in *M* (pp. 759 f.) in which Elaine, feeling herself at the point of death, gives directions for the disposal of her body, does not appear in *MA*, as, indeed, the whole Elaine episode has been expanded in *M*. The passage was, of course, suggested by the conclusion of the episode in *MA* (pp. 74 ff.), where we see fulfilled the directions here given.

In *M* Gawain is not present when Elaine's body comes down the river to Camelot and he makes no confession that he has slandered Lancelot, by connecting his name with Elaine's. On the other hand, *M* (p. 762), differing from *MA*, represents that Lancelot was present at Camelot when the body arrived, and that Arthur had the letter to Lancelot that accompanied it read to him. In *MA* (pp. 75 f.) this letter was addressed to all the knights of the Round Table and contained reproaches in regard to Lancelot's rejection of the girl's love. In *M* it is addressed to Lancelot and begs him to have the last rites performed for her. This feature of the narrative in *M*, that the girl brings home his cruelty to the lover that caused her death by committing to him the charge of her burial, greatly heightens the pathos, but it is plainly less primitive than *MA*. No one with such a narrative before him would have been likely to have taken the backward step of diminishing its fine pathos. Since *M* made Lancelot so prominent in this scene, it is natural that he should have left out Gawain.

In the interview between Lancelot and Guinevere that follows, as throughout Book XVIII, *M* represents the former as cool in his attitude. There is nothing of this in *MA*.

Pages 763 ff., ch. 21-25.

In *M* when the third tourney is proclaimed, Guinevere bids Lancelot wear her sleeve of gold on his helmet. This is, of course, an imitation of the Maid of Ascalot episode in *MA*. (In *MA* it is to be remembered, Lancelot was not at Camelot in this part of the narrative, so Guinevere in that version could not have asked Lancelot to wear her token). Then with Elaine's brother he goes to the hermit in Windsor Forest, in order to rest, but there he is accidentally wounded by a lady in the forest who is a huntress. (In *MA*, p. 67, it was a huntsman.). Nevertheless, owing to the hermit's treatment, he is well enough to attend the (third) tournament in disguise. Not so in *MA* (p. 68).



The remainder of Book XVIII in M is given up to a description of the third tournament, which in MA (pp. 68 f.) is dismissed in a few lines. M is here clearly unoriginal. The main object of M's expanded description seems to be to glorify his favorite, Gareth, who is not mentioned here in MA. Like Lancelot in the first tournament in MA, Gareth fights against his own kinsmen. Indeed, the whole rather insipid account of this third tournament in M is manifestly imitated from that of the first tournament in MA.

To sum up the results of this comparison of Malory's Book XVIII with MA, we note especially the following features of the former:

1. The effort to tell episodes consecutively, instead of interweaving them, as MA does.
2. As a result of this effort, the episode of the poisoned fruit, coming first, is much more prominent in M than in MA, and an attempt is furthermore made to connect it causally with Guinevere's jealousy of Lancelot.
3. The fuller development of the story of the Maid of Ascalot, including changes to heighten the pathos.
4. The suppression of Hector, and in the latter part of the Book the effort to make Gareth prominent, which probably accounts for the very full description of the third tournament.
5. Lancelot's coolness towards the queen and his occasional priggishness, which is due, no doubt, to the effort at the beginning of the Book to harmonize the narrative with that of the *Queste*.

Let us now pass to the continuation of the Mort Arthur narrative in Malory's Book XX.<sup>24</sup>

Pages 797 ff., ch. 1-2.

In M there is a long conversation between Agravain and his brothers about Lancelot's intrigue with the queen. Despite Gawain's remonstrances, Agravain, backed by Mordred, insists on telling Arthur of the affair. At this point the king enters. In MA (p. 92) the conversation is merely indicated and Agravain does not propose to disclose the intrigue to the king, although, when

<sup>24</sup> Of Book XX Sommer says, III, 250 f., that its source "stands in close relation to P. L. [i. e., MA in the 1513 print] or rather was derived from it with additions and modifications." Take also into account omissions, and the above statement is correct.

Gawain warns him of the king's approach, he refuses to be silent. Much of this conversation in M is taken by anticipation from the following conversations in MA. The whole effort of M here, as usual, is to simplify and condense. Accordingly in this version Gawain, Gareth and Gaherys leave the room at once, before Arthur asks what they were talking about, and we have no such dialogue as that which follows in MA (pp. 92 f.), in which Gawain tries to persuade the king to desist from his inquiry. Similarly, instead of taking the remaining brothers off to a garden and continuing the inquiry there, in M Arthur presses his questions on these brothers without quitting the spot. Moreover, in M no threats are required to extort an answer from Agravain. M also omits the fine scene in MA (pp. 95 f.), where Arthur, whilst brooding over Agravain's story, hears of Lancelot's new acts of prowess at the tournament of Charahes.

There are minor differences between the two versions, but the above are the really significant variations. Apart from the literary inferiority of M, it is obvious that this version is here secondary. There would be no reason for making intricate what was simple, whereas the motives for the opposite procedure are obvious, and, as a matter of fact, are operative throughout Malory's *Morte Darthur*.

Pages 799 ff., ch. 2-4.

A sign of lateness in M is the giving of a detailed list of the knights who, according to Agravain's agreement with the king, are to lie in wait for the purpose of catching Lancelot with the queen. The fondness for such catalogues of names, as has already been observed, is a marked feature of M. In this version Gaheries' attempt to avert Lancelot's meeting with the queen is omitted. Indeed, this is true of the whole paragraph in MA (p. 97) which begins "En tel maniere" and of that which follows it. Accordingly, only Bors warns Lancelot of the danger. Here again we have condensation.

In M when Agravain and his companions have surrounded the lovers and call out to Lancelot, there is a dialogue of some length between Lancelot and Guinevere—rather longer, perhaps, than suits the situation—in which he tries to comfort her and she vows fidelity to him. There is no reason to regard this as anything but a modification of MA. In the conclusion of this adventure there is no essential difference between the two versions.

Pages 803 ff., ch. 5-6.

In the narrative that follows after Lancelot has slain Agravain and escaped from the trap, M is fuller than MA. Notice the long interviews between Bors and Lancelot. There are transferences of material in the dialogue from one character to another, such as we find occasionally even in different MSS. of MA. Thus the fear lest the queen will suffer is expressed by Lancelot in M (p. 805), not by Bors, as in MA (pp. 102 f.). So too (p. 804) with the suggestion of the plan to prevent her execution. M, besides, leaves out Hector altogether. We have again in this version the characteristic catalogue of knights whom Bors summons to aid Lancelot. Most of these names do not belong to what we may call the standard Arthurian tradition. The reference to King Mark's murder of Tristan (p. 807), taken from the prose *Tristan*, is, of course, a sign of late composition.

Pages 807 ff., ch. 7-8.

In MA (p. 105) Arthur issues the command that Lancelot shall be arrested at his lodgings. In M this is different. Here the king speaks in praise of Lancelot, whereas in MA he merely seeks vengeance.

Evidently not primitive in M is Gawain's long attempt to excuse Lancelot on the ground that his visit to Guinevere may not have had any evil intention—so, too, the reference (p. 809) to Lancelot's having slain on a previous occasion Florence and Lovel, two sons of Gawain.

The narrative of the incidents which precede the bringing of Guinevere to the fire where she is to be burned for her adultery, of the fight in which Lancelot rescues her and kills Gaherys and Gareth, and of the escape of the lovers to Joyous Gard, follows the same general lines in M as in MA. The compression, however, which had already begun in the MSS. of MA in this part of the story<sup>25</sup> is in M carried so far as to spoil the effect of the French romance in its original form. The change by which in M Gaherys and Gareth are unarmed, at the time that they are slain, seems unfortunate.

<sup>25</sup> See the note in my edition of the *Mort Artu*, pp. 102 f.

Pages 811 ff., ch. 9-10.

In MA (pp. 113 ff.) Arthur takes active measures from the first to capture Lancelot—not so in M. Moreover, M shortens the king's lamentations over the slaughter of his knights. In M (pp. 812 f.) Gawain is told of Guinevere's escape and the slaying of the knights, including his brothers, before he goes to court. This spoils one of the finest passages in the whole of MA (pp. 116 f.), where Gawain passes through the street under the pitying gaze of the throng, who know of his brothers' death, although he does not. Furthermore, M abbreviates Gawain's lament over his brothers and leaves out altogether the account of their burial.

The preparations for following up Lancelot in MA (pp. 120 ff.) are much shortened in M (p. 814). Indeed twelve pages of MA (pp. 120-132) are represented by only half a page in M (pp. 814 f.). M omits Arthur's consultation with the barons, his filling the vacancies in the Round Table, and the whole episode of the damsel messenger, through whom in MA (pp. 128 ff.) Lancelot tries to avert the conflict.

Pages 815 ff., ch. 11-13.

In M we have a long conversation between Arthur and Lancelot in which the latter, speaking from the walls, defends his own conduct and the queen's. Lancelot's discourse here was suggested by a later passage in MA (pp. 148 f.), where, in finally surrendering the queen to her husband, he puts forward a somewhat similar defence. Then in M follows a long "flyting" between Lancelot and Gawain, which contains, among other things, references to an incident (Gawain's killing of Lamorak) in the relatively late prose *Tristan*. (pp. 149 ff.), after the surrender of Guinevere, when these two. The "flyting," however, was plainly suggested by the scene in MA knights indulge in mutual reproaches.

In the entire account of the siege of Joyous Gard we observe in M a wholesale condensation of the narrative, as it stands in MA, so that a mere skeleton of the latter remains. Apart from omissions, in M Lancelot shows courtesy to the king in the first encounter of the hosts, not in the second as in MA (p. 142). In MA Hector is one of the most prominent figures in these encounters, but M, as usual, almost eliminates him. On the other hand, certain knights

(including Palamades from the prose *Tristan*) not in MA appear in M.

Pages 821 ff., ch. 14-17.

In M, as in MA, the Pope interferes, to put an end to the strife and to reconcile Arthur with his consort, so that on the representations of his legate, the Bishop of Rochester, Lancelot returns Guinevere to Arthur. But in MA (p. 144), although the king willingly takes back his wife, he declares that he will not renounce the war against Lancelot. In M, on the other hand, he wants to be reconciled with Lancelot, but Gawain won't permit it. This is an anticipation of MA (p. 147), where Lancelot's courtesy almost convinces Arthur of his innocence and he is given safe conduct out of the kingdom. Furthermore, in M, by a transference similar to what we observe elsewhere in this version, Lancelot carries on the conversation about returning the queen to her husband with the bishop, instead of with the queen herself and Bors, as in MA (pp. 144 ff.).

In the scene of reproaches between Lancelot and Gawain, after Guinevere has been given up, M (in the effort to condense) suppresses Bors' part in the conversation, but introduces an allusion to Lancelot's rescue of Gawain's brother from Turquyn, apparently, from the late unknown source of Malory's Book VII. Moreover, very inartistically, M inserts, by anticipation, into Lancelot's speech to Gawain just after the restoration of the queen the beautiful farewell to Logres which in MA (p. 153) he speaks after he has embarked, to return to his native land. This scene of reproaches between Lancelot and Gawain in M (pp. 823 ff.) is longer than in MA (pp. 148 ff.). M had already betrayed (pp. 815 ff.) a taste for such "flytings."

The offer of the knights to stand by Lancelot, if he refuses to leave Logres, is an addition of M's (pp. 828 f.). In M, before he returns to his dominions, Lancelot already declares his purpose of dividing his estates among his followers. This is an anticipation of MA (pp. 154 ff.), where this partition, effected after his return, is not mentioned before.

Pages 829 ff., ch. 18-22.

M indulges his taste for catalogues of names in the long list of knights (p. 830) advanced by Lancelot on the occasion of the above-mentioned partition.

In M Lancelot's knights upbraid him for allowing Arthur and Gawain to devastate his lands, when the latter have followed him across the sea and invaded his dominions. See pp. 831, 833, 834. This is plainly less primitive than MA (pp. 160 ff.), in which Lancelot shows no slackness.

The old woman's warning and prediction as to Gawain's end in MA (p. 159) are wanting in M. On the other hand, the narrative in M here shows some features that are evidently transferred from the earlier account of the siege of Joyous Gard in MA. (1) By a damsel (and a dwarf) Lancelot in M sends a message to Arthur to desist from his invasion. This seems a transference from MA (pp. 129 ff.) of the damsel-messenger whom Lancelot sent to Arthur at the beginning of the siege of Joyous Gard. (2) In M Gawain unhorses and wounds Bors. This, too, is, doubtless, transferred from the siege of Joyous Gard in MA, where (p. 140) we have a similar incident. (3) The wounding of Lionel in M is probably likewise taken from the same episode in MA (p. 136).

It is clearly due to condensation that the combat between Lancelot and Gawain in M (pp. 834 ff.) is a mere incident in the general battle, not a formal duel arranged after regular negotiations, as in MA (pp. 174 ff.). M intensifies still further Gawain's hostility to Lancelot, and so, differing from MA (p. 196), represents him (p. 836) as wishing to renew his combat with the latter, although the wound that Lancelot gave him had kept him in bed three weeks. This was doubtless suggested by the two phases (on the same day) of the duel in MA (p. 193), where Gawain compels Lancelot to continue the combat, although he (Gawain) is evidently too worn out for further fighting.

In M (pp. 835, 837) we have a duplication of the *motif*, as to Gawain's strength increasing with the advance of the sun up to noon. This duplication is plainly not original. In this second fight Lancelot (p. 838) strikes Gawain on the wound he had given him before. This, however, is an ill-judged anticipation of MA (p. 200), where the same thing happens to Gawain in Arthur's war with the Romans.

The above concludes the comparison for Book XX.<sup>26</sup> Let us

<sup>26</sup> In his edition of Malory, III, 265, Sommer says: "A minute examination of M's twenty-first book compared with the last ten folios of P. L. [i. e., the text

now take up Book XXI (the last Book of Malory's *Morte Darthur*), in which condensation throughout is very marked.

Pages 839 ff., ch. 1-2.

In MA (pp. 163 ff.) the narrative of Mordred's treason is inserted in the midst of the account of the war between Arthur and Lancelot. It is characteristic of M's simplifying method that he should finish the former entirely before beginning the latter (Book XXI, ch. 1). In M the letter which Mordred forges merely reports Arthur's death. It is not ascribed to the dying king and it does not enjoin the crowning of Mordred. We have here merely abbreviation, as indeed, unlike MA (pp. 164 f.), M does not give the text of this letter. The whole account of how Guinevere evaded marriage with Mordred is much compressed in M, which explains, among other things, why in this version nothing is said of her sending a message to Arthur, to warn him of her danger.

In M the "Bishop of Canterbury" threatens Mordred to make him desist from his pursuit of the queen, but in vain. He himself has to flee and become a hermit. We have here also an anticipation of MA, p. 244, when the Bishop tells Mordred that he (Mordred) is Arthur's son.

M omits entirely Arthur's war with the Romans, related in MA (pp. 197 ff.). This is due, doubtless, to condensation. Besides, it had already been described in Book V of Malory's compilation.

In MA Arthur had only one battle with Mordred<sup>27</sup>—viz. at Salisbury, where the latter was killed and the former mortally wounded. In M under the influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth (Book XI, ch. 1-2) or Wace, ll. 13,490 ff., there are three battles: (1) at Dover, (2) at Barham Down (near Canterbury), (3) at

of MA as found in the printed Lancelot of 1513] discloses many and great differences, but also here the ground-plan of the two accounts is the same, and the incidents common to both establish beyond doubt an intimate, though indirect, relation between the two versions; this fact points out either that the sources of both are derived from a common source, or that P. L. itself is the source of the French romance used by M." So he leaves the question of immediate source open. Apart from the *a priori* consideration, however, that, if M's source for Book XX were derived directly by modification from MA, his source for Book XXI must also almost certainly have stood in the same relation to that version, the facts do not warrant any distinction in the two cases.

<sup>27</sup> See the note on the subject in my edition of the *Mort Artu*, pp. 291 ff.

Salisbury. In M (pp. 841 f.) Gawain, being struck again on the old wound which Lancelot had given him, dies in the first battle. This is taken from MA (pp. 201 ff.), where in the account of the Roman war, suppressed by M, Gawain in exactly the same way receives from the Romans mortal blows on the old wound. We have also noted above M's (p. 838) ill-advised anticipation of this *motif*. In making Gawain receive his fatal wound at Dover, M is doubtless reverting to Geoffrey or Wace.

Although, generally speaking, M is here condensing MA, he makes (pp. 842 f.) a considerable addition in Gawain's dying letter to Lancelot. This letter was suggested, no doubt, partly by the letter of the dying Maid of Ascalot to Lancelot earlier in the romance and partly by Gawain's death-bed speech in MA (p. 212). It owes also something to Arthur's dream in MA (p. 219). Notice the absurdity in M (p. 842) that Gawain says in the letter that it was written two and a half hours before his death.

M, condensing, omits the whole story of the carrying of Gawain's body to Camelot and the Beloe episode (MA, pp. 215 ff.), in which the lord of Beloe slays his wife on account of the grief which she displays over the dead Gawain. In M (p. 843) Gawain is buried at Dover, not at Camelot.

Pages 843 ff., ch. 3.

M continues to condense the narrative of MA, so omits Merlin's prophetic inscription concerning Arthur's death in the latter (p. 222). Obviously for the same reason in M (p. 844) Arthur's dream of the Wheel of Fortune and Gawain's dream of the ladies whose causes he had championed (in MA it is the poor people he had succored) are put in the same night. Not so in MA (pp. 219 ff.).

An addition of M's (pp. 845 ff.) is the interview between Arthur and Mordred before the last battle, which, owing to mutual suspicion and the accidental stinging of a knight by a serpent, precipitated the conflict. MA (pp. 223 ff.) tells here at some length of Mordred's summons to Arthur to leave the kingdom and of the assembling of the hosts, but there is no suggestion of negotiations for peace and the above incident is wanting.

The long description of the final battle in MA (pp. 224 ff.),



covering twenty pages, is in M (pp. 846 f.) compressed into two. In MA (pp. 244 ff.), after Mordred has been killed and Arthur has been mortally wounded, the latter rides with Lucan and Girflet until night and the next day kills Lucan (unintentionally) by the strain of his embrace. In M (pp. 847 f.) the narrative is made more probable, inasmuch as Arthur here does not go so far and Lucan dies from his effort to lift the king. Moreover, Sir Bedivere in M takes the place of Girflet. The change is not a fortunate one, for ever since Geoffrey of Monmouth (Book X, ch. 13) it had been the uniform tradition of the romances that Bedivere fell in the Roman wars, which preceded the conflict with Mordred. In the famous sword incident (when Arthur orders the knight to throw into the lake the sword Excalibur, which is finally received by a hand rising up out of the waters) Bedivere in M continues, of course, to assume the rôle of Girflet in MA.

Following his usual custom, M gives (p. 851) definite names to the ladies who come in the ship that is to bear Arthur to Avalon.

Again following the custom which we have noted in the case of the poisoned fruit episode and the narrative of the Roman wars, M (pp. 851 ff.) tells at one stretch the story of Guinevere's becoming a nun. He condenses into a few lines the narrative of MA (pp. 208 ff., 252), eliminating among other things the queen's hesitation to take the irrevocable step. This step in MA (p. 252) she only takes after she learns that the kingdom is being seized by Mordred's sons, who she fears will kill her. In M it is after she has heard of Arthur's final battle. M suppresses altogether this episode of Mordred's sons, but he, of course, had it before him in MA, and it has left a trace in the obscure allusion to Lionel's death (p. 855), which in MA (p. 255) occurs in the war with these sons.

Instead of the narrative of the war between Mordred's sons and Lancelot, after the latter's return to England on hearing from Guinevere of Arthur's last battle and the troubles that ensued, M has substituted a visit of Lancelot to Gawain's tomb and Guinevere's convent. The substitution is due to a tendency which is constantly exhibited in the progressive development of Arthurian romance—viz., to replace pseudo-historical material with material of a more purely romantic character.

In MA (p. 263) Bors ended his life in the hermitage with the Archbishop of Canterbury, but according to M (p. 860) he went to the Holy Land. His words are: "How be it King Constantyn wold have had them [*i. e.*, Lancelot's companions who had survived him] wyth hym but they wold not abide in this royaume [*i. e.*, England] & there they al lyued in their cuntreys as holy men & somme englysshe bookes maken mencyon that they wente neuer oute of englond after the deth of syr Launcelot but that was but fauour of makers for the frencyshe book maketh mencyon and is auctorysed that syr Bors syr Ector syr Blamour and syr Bleoberis wente in to the holy lande there as Ihesu Cryst was quycke & deed." The "frensch book" is, of course, not MA, but the modification of it which M was following. That M should mention Constantine, son of Cadur, as Arthur's successor may well be due to Geoffrey of Monmouth, ch. 2 (or Wace, ll. 13,600 ff.), whose narrative, as we have already observed, has influenced him in his concluding chapters to change other details of MA.

It is evident from the above that M's changes of MA in Books XX and XXI, like those in Book XVIII, in nearly all instances are due to the desire to compress the narrative into a smaller compass. He effects his purpose, as before, by omissions and by combining conversations or episodes that are separated in MA. The process of compression, as I have remarked above, had already begun in the MSS. of MA.

## 2. The Harleian *Morte Arthur*

In my article in *Anglia*, XXIII, 87 ff., I have shown that the Middle English metrical romance, *Le Morte Arthur*, extant in the unique MS. of the British Museum, Harley 2252, and dating from about the end of the fourteenth century, has preserved in ll. 1-1671 a separate version of the Mort Arthur story down to the point where Agravain, after the Mador de la Porte episode, begins his machinations against Lancelot—a version which differs from M (Book XVIII) and from MA, although it is plainly based on the latter.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> For Dr. Sommer's inconsistent expressions of opinion in regard to the relations of M and MH, see my article in *Anglia*—just cited—also *ibid.*, XXX, 209 ff. From l. 1672 on the English poem has the same source as M, and its narrative is consequently substantially identical with M, so there is no need here of comparing this part with MA.

In the above-mentioned article I have compared the Harleian romance, which I will designate MH, with MA in such detail that it is unnecessary for me in this place to go over the ground again with the same thoroughness. I shall here discuss merely the most salient differences. In reviewing the subject I have found no reason to change the opinion expressed in that article (pp. 67 ff., 94, 99 ff.) that the (French) source of MH was merely a modification of MA, different from the modification represented by M's source and somewhat nearer to MA.

It will simplify matters, if I anticipate the results of the following comparison by saying that in MH we observe the same tendency as in M—namely, to condense MA by omissions and by combining in most cases scenes about the same incidents that are separated in MA. Indeed, in all but the episode of the poisoned fruit and Mador de la Porte, which is interrupted, as in MA, by the story of the death of the Maid of Ascalot, the writer tries to do away with the interweaving of episodes found in MA and to tell each consecutively by itself.

Lines 1-176.

The narrative corresponds in the main with MA, but Yvain takes the place of Girflet, who does not appear anywhere in MH. Girflet, however, was unquestionably a member of the king's household in Arthurian tradition (see my edition of the *Mort Artu*, pp. 295 f.) and his elimination in MH is a mark of its later composition. It points to the same thing that MH should here and elsewhere have a young knight named "Galehod" figuring with Lancelot. This is a duplication either of Lancelot's friend Galahot or his son, Galahad—more probably the former—both of whom were, of course, dead before the events related in the Mort Arthur branch of the prose-romances occurred. In fact, it is most likely that we have here a mere blunder on the part of MH or its source, the writer forgetting what had been the fate of one of the chief characters in the story of Lancelot. Whether the name is due to a blunder or to conscious duplication, it is in either case a manifest sign of late origin.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> As observed above, M also resuscitates "Galahalt the haute prince."

Lines 177-216.

In MH the Maid of Ascalot declares her passion for Lancelot in her first interview with him, and since he refuses her love, she asks him to wear her sleeve in the tournament. This change in MH is due to the usual effort at compression by combining things separated in MA. The first interview is described in MA, pp. 8 f., but MH combines with it features taken by anticipation from later passages about the Maid's fatal passion, MA, pp. 33, 35, 55 f.

Lines 217-543.

Differing from MA (p. 39), in MH (cp. ll. 416 ff.) the second tournament does not come off, because a herald brings to court news of the wounded Lancelot's condition. Then in both follows a search for Lancelot, but in MH (ll. 448 ff.) Gawain does not accompany Bors, Hector and Lionel. Gawain (ll. 520 ff.) only hears of the search later. Having learned that his friends have discovered Lancelot, he wants to see him too. Compare with all this MA, pp. 40 ff.

In the above-mentioned article in *Anglia*, pp. 90 f., I have recorded many other differences of detail between the two versions. These changes in MH were probably due to the author's desire to condense, although even in MA (p. 39) the description of the second tournament occupies only a few lines.

Lines 544-665.

The effort of MH here to condense is very marked. Gawain's two visits to Ascalot (MA, pp. 18 ff. and 41 ff.) are combined in one—the incidents of the first visit (which is really the most important) being transferred to the second for the sake of gaining a continuous narrative. Note, too, that in MH Gawain is represented as being alone at Ascalot, whereas in MA on the first visit he is there—at least, in the same town—with Arthur and on the second visit with Bors, Hector and Lionel. By these rearrangements and modifications of material MH makes one consecutive narrative of how Gawain hears of Lancelot's wearing the Maid of Ascalot's sleeve and of Guinevere's anger when she hears it (MA, pp. 28 ff.).

The principle of condensation is also responsible for the suppression in MH of the conversation in MA (pp. 23 f.), in which Arthur tells Gawain of Agravain's accusations against Lancelot

and the queen, and of the episode of Arthur's stay at Morgain la Fee's castle (MA, pp. 45 ff.), where he sees the pictures representing the intrigue of the lovers.

Lines 664-831.

To this whole passage which relates Lancelot's return to court and his interview with Guinevere, there is nothing corresponding in MA. Indeed, Arthur's lamentations on hearing of Lancelot's departure from the court in MH (ll. 808 ff.) contradict MA (p. 62), where he appears rather glad of it, since it tends to show that Lancelot was not guilty, after all, of a criminal intimacy with the queen. This was rather a subtle inference for the English poet, and it is possible that he and not his French original is responsible for the change just indicated. Lancelot's meeting in the forest with Lionel and Hector, who persuade him to return to court with them, by representing the grief that prevailed over his absence there, was suggested, no doubt, by a later passage in MA, pp. 81 f., where Bors and Hector likewise meet Lancelot in the forest and tell him of Guinevere's danger after the Mador de la Porte incident.

In MH (ll. 704 ff.) in the account of Lancelot's reception on his return to Camelot the queen has an interview with him, whilst Arthur is out hunting. In this she exhibits grief even more strongly than jealousy. In MA (pp. 45 ff., 62) Arthur was absent from Camelot, during the whole of Lancelot's stay there. He had been at Morgain la Fee's castle. Still further, in MA (pp. 56 ff.) when Lancelot came to Camelot, Guinevere, from anger and jealousy, refused to have anything to do with him, so in that version they have no interview. Bors (pp. 57 ff.) remonstrates with the queen—unsuccessfully—in an interview which MH has left out and it is finally on his advice (p. 61) that Lancelot leaves the court.

It is evident that MH is here exalting Lancelot's prestige and toning down the *motif* of jealousy which is so strong in MA.

Lines 832-1181.

Apart from omissions, MH here agrees more closely with MA than in any other part of ll. 1-1671. There is nothing in the poem, however, that corresponds to MA (pp. 66 ff.), where it is related that Lancelot was accidentally wounded by a huntsman and so

missed the tournament at Camelot (pp. 68 f.), whereupon Bors went in search of him. LL. 928 ff. imply, however, the wounding. In my *Anglia* article, pp. 85 f., I was inclined to explain this awkward feature in the narrative of MH as due to hurried condensation. At present, I am rather inclined to believe that the author of MH (or MH's source) was here working with a defective MS. of MA, from which at this point some leaves had dropped out. In any event the dependence of MH on MA is plain.

Lancelot's declaration in MH (ll. 944 ff.) that Guinevere will have a champion is anticipated from MA (p. 81) in the affair of Mador de la Porte. As I have already observed, this episode of the poisoned fruit and Mador de la Porte is broken by the narrative of the Maid of Ascalot's death, just as it is in MA. It is a difference of no importance that in MA (p. 78) the king himself decides to bury the Maid in noble fashion, whereas in MH (ll. 1112 ff.) he is advised by Gawain to do so.

#### Lines 1318-1495.

In MH, as in MA (pp. 84, 87), Guinevere makes two appeals to Bors when her life is in danger on account of the poisoned fruit incident, but in M nothing is said of Lionel and Hector. This unimportant addition may quite likely be due to the exigencies of the metre. Moreover, in MA (p. 86) it is Arthur who appeals to Gawain in this affair, not the queen herself. In this version (p. 82) Hector was going to champion voluntarily Guinevere's cause.

In MH (ll. 1495 ff.) it is after Bors has promised to help the queen (if no one else does) and not before, as in MA (pp. 82 ff.), that Bors meets Lancelot in the forest and learns that he will act as the queen's champion. So in MA Bors purposely makes her suffer. In MH Bors and Hector meet Lancelot at the same time, just as they do in some MSS. of MA (cp. p. 81, note 1), but Lionel was not with them in MA (p. 82).

#### Lines 1496-1647.

MH condenses greatly the narrative of MA—otherwise the differences here are none of them important and they are obviously such as MH might easily have introduced by the modification of MA. For example, in MA (p. 88) the king and queen are not at the table when Mador appears to make a difficulty over the poison-

ing of his brother, nor does Bors arm himself for the combat as he does in MH (ll. 1536 ff.), although even in the English poem he does not really expect that he will be called on to fight. In MA Arthur appeals to Mador to wait until vespers for a champion to appear. Mador consents, but Lancelot arrives before midday.

In MA (p. 90) Lancelot is not unhorsed in the duel with Mador, as he is in MH (ll. 1584 ff.), but voluntarily gets on foot, when he has unhorsed his antagonist, so as to be on equal terms with him.

Lines 1648-1671.

According to MH Guinevere is finally cleared of suspicion in regard to the death of Mador's brother by the confession of a squire who acknowledges that it was he who poisoned the fruit. There is nothing of this in MA, where Lancelot's victory in the trial by combat (p. 91) is taken as sufficient proof of her innocence.

### 3. The Spanish *Demanda* and the Portuguese *Demanda*

As I have already observed, the portion of the Portuguese *Demanda* which embraces the Mort Arthur division is not yet printed. Sommer's collation, however, in *Romania*, XXXVI, 543 ff., shows that it does not differ from the Spanish *Demanda* in any feature of importance, so it will be sufficient for our purpose to compare the latter with MA.

The Mort Arthur section of the Spanish *Demanda* begins with the second paragraph of ch. 391 (p. 313 of Bonilla y San Martin's edition)—that is to say, at the point (p. 92 of MA) where Arthur enters the room, whilst Agravain and his brothers are discussing Lancelot's intrigue with the queen.

In MA the tenor of the conversation is merely indicated, but D (the Spanish *Demanda*), like M,<sup>80</sup> gives the dialogue in considerable detail. The two (D and MA) agree in substance as to the ensuing conversation between the king and Gawain and Gaheriet, until the two last-named leave the room. Then, however, D obscures the narrative by leaving out MA, p. 93, l. 20 to p. 96, l. 22,

<sup>80</sup> The conversations in both derive hints from the passage in MA which they suppress, but they are not identical. I have observed no other coincidence between D and M, so this one is doubtless accidental—the result of condensation in both versions.

which describes, among other things, how Arthur had forced Agravain to tell what he was talking about. By this time Gawain has returned and resumes the conversation with the king. But D, although it had represented Gawain and Gaieriet as having left the room, joins on this second conversation to the first without mentioning Gawain's return.<sup>31</sup> See end of ch. 393.

In ch. 394-418 (*i. e.*, down to the point where Lancelot's damsel-messenger returns to Joyous Gard after a vain effort to arrange a peace with Arthur) D follows closely<sup>32</sup> MA (pp. 97-131). In ch. 419-422 (beginning), the narrative of MA (pp. 131-201) is hardly more than outlined, seventy pages being compressed into one. The narrative thus condensed is concerned with the siege of Joyous Gard, Lancelot's surrender of Guinevere to her husband, the king's invasion of Lancelot's dominions and Lancelot's duel with Gawain. There are here no differences, however, between D and MA, except those that are due to condensation.

After the first line, ch. 422 in D goes on to recapitulate how Mordred, having made himself king, had tried to compel Guinevere to marry him and was now besieging her in the Tower of London (cp. MA, pp. 163 ff.). At the end of this chapter the narrative is so condensed that the reader who was unfamiliar with MA would imagine that Kay and Gawain had fallen in Mordred's siege of the Tower rather than in the Roman war.

The remaining chapters of D, ch. 423-455, give a variant version of the Mort Arthur theme of which the most noteworthy part is the conclusion written under the influence of the prose *Tristan*.

The lateness of this version is really too obvious for discussion,<sup>33</sup> as will appear from the following outline of its main features:

In the final battle at Salisbury, according to D (ch. 424) Bleo-

<sup>31</sup> The passage naturally puzzled the editor of D. See his note, p. 314.

<sup>32</sup> There are some substitutions of characters, *e. g.*, ch. 398, Baudemagus for Yon (MA, p. 106), and ch. 410, Rion for the same character (MA, p. 121).

<sup>33</sup> Sommer has already remarked, *Romania*, XXXVI, 585 (1907), of the Mort Arthur section of the Spanish *Demanda*, that the writer "has undoubtedly taken the Vulgate [*Mort Artu*] as joined to the *Lancelot* as basis, but he has added many features of his own to this account." D refers, pp. 325-6, to "el libro del Baladro" (*i. e.*, the *Conte del Brail*). MS. 340 of the Bibliothèque Nationale contains the (unpublished) French original of the conclusion of D. See the summary in E. Löseth's *Le roman en prose de Tristan*, p. 409 (Paris, 1890).



beris slew Mordred and cut off his head. Arthur orders Bleoberis and the archbishop to have a tower erected on the field of battle. The heads of those who fell in the battle are to be set up on it, Mordred's highest of all, and an inscription concerning his (Mordred's) evil deeds, which is to include a curse, is to be set up also. The tower was called (ch. 425) *la torre de los Muros* (for *Muertos*?)—"E colgaron la cabeça de Morderec encima della. Y estuuu alli fasta que el rey Carlos passo a Inglaterra e fue a ver la torre." But the traitor Gabaron (Ganelon?) out of envy stole the head of Mordred one night and put it no one knew where. The tower, however, remained, "e avn agora estan ay dos muros della; e han nonbre *los muros de la torre de los muertos*, y es en el llano de Salaberos."

Arthur, mortally wounded, but still in his armor, leaves the battle-field with Girflet and Lucan (ch. 426) and, as in MA (p. 245), goes to the chapel, where he unintentionally kills Lucan, who is not in armor, by falling on him. He does not perceive at first (ch. 427) what he has done. Then he laments to Girflet over his changed fortunes. He and Girflet now ride to the sea (as in MA, p. 247).

After Bleoberis and the archbishop have finished the tower (ch. 428), the latter goes into a hermitage. The former, who has heard that Lancelot was coming to Logres (Londres) to wage war on Mordred's sons, goes wandering through the country (ch. 429) until he meets Artur el pequeño, son of King Arthur. They ride together, but when his companion learns Bleoberis' name and so knows that he is of the lineage of King Ban, he attacks him. Bleoberis tries (ch. 430) to dissuade him, just as Lancelot in MA (p. 182) had tried to dissuade Gawain, but in vain. Artur el pequeño is finally killed (ch. 431) and Bleoberis takes his body to an abbey and buries him honorably. This episode has nothing corresponding in any other version and is manifestly late.

In ch. 432-436 D offers no notable differences as compared with MA (pp. 247-251): here too we have the incident of Girflet and the sword and the account of how Arthur was borne away in a boat by Morgain and the strange ladies, the narrative continuing substantially the same down to Girflet's visit to the chapel. There

follows here, however, in D a modification of the narrative of MA which is evidently intended to harmonize that narrative with the Celtic tradition concerning Arthur's translation to Avalon.<sup>34</sup> According to D (ch. 437), on lifting the lid of Arthur's tomb in the chapel, he found it empty. The priest can't explain this and Girflet concludes that there is no use of inquiring further, "ca verdaderamente este fue el rey auenturado, a quien la su muerte ningun hombre no sabra, e bien me dixo a mi verdad, que bien assi como el viniera al reyno por aventura, assi se yria dende." Girflet stays at the chapel with the priest and dies in three months.

In D (ch. 438-441), as in MA (pp. 252 ff.), Mordred's sons try to seize the land and Guinevere becomes a nun. (The earlier passages in MA, pp. 209 f., about her taking refuge in the nunnery had been omitted in D.) So too Lancelot in D (ch. 440) crosses the sea to wage war against these sons. But according to D (ch. 441) there was in Guinevere's convent a girl who was a friend of Girflet's, and the queen loved her company, because Girflet was the last person who had been with Arthur. Guinevere's lament here that Lancelot had forgotten her was no doubt suggested by the message which she sends him in MA (p. 252).

In ch. 442 it is said that in the queen's convent there was also a woman who had loved Lancelot, though her love was unrequited. This character, like Girflet's friend, is plainly a late invention. The woman had become a nun from disappointment and she hated Guinevere from jealousy. Accordingly she brought false news to the queen that Lancelot and his host had perished at sea. (This was doubtless suggested by the false news which Iseult of Brittany gave Tristan in the *Tristan* poems, thereby causing his death.) Guinevere is stricken at the news and neither eats nor drinks. Four days later the truth comes out, but it is too late (ch. 443). The dying queen directs the girl who is Girflet's friend to take out her heart, when she is dead, and bear it to Lancelot. The girl tried to carry out the request but could not reach Lancelot.

As in MA (p. 255), Meliel, the older son of Mordred, kills Lionel (ch. 444) and is himself killed by Bors, whilst the other son

<sup>34</sup> I have remarked in my article, "The pretended exhumation of Arthur and Guinevere," *Revue Celtique*, XXXIII, p. 432, that MA had already attempted in some measure to reconcile the Celtic tradition with that of Glastonbury.

is killed by Lancelot (ch. 445). There is, moreover, no noteworthy difference between MA (pp. 256 ff.) and the account in D (ch. 446) of Lancelot's encounter with the Duke of Gorke (Gorre). The passage, following, however, relating how Lancelot joined the archbishop and Bleoberis in the hermitage (end of ch. 446) is greatly condensed. The conversation between the characters concerned (pp. 258 f.) is left out altogether.

After the battle of Winchester Bors leaves half his host in that city to wait for Lancelot (ch. 447), whenever he should turn up, and the other half he takes back to his dominions with him. In MA (pp. 259 f.) Bors does not thus divide his men. Then in ch. 448 D (differing in this from MA, p. 260) tells with some detail how Hector sought for Lancelot. After finding him (ch. 449) he remained with him and died there four years later, a few days before Lancelot. All this is as in MA (pp. 260 ff.), and the same is true of the following passage (ch. 450-1) concerning the burial of Lancelot and Bors' settling in the hermitage.

The above incidents conclude MA, but, beginning with the seventeenth line—"e quien bien catasse"—of ch. 451, we have in D an addition to the narrative of MA which has nothing to suggest it in Arthurian tradition and was evidently inspired by the prose *Tristan*. The purpose of the writer is to blacken still further the character of King Marc. It will be sufficient to indicate very briefly the contents of this curious addition, which are as follows:

First Merengis de Norgales joins the archbishop and Bleoberis in their hermitage. Then Marc, hearing of Lancelot's death, invades Great Britain and devastates the land, destroying even churches and monasteries and exterminating the inhabitants, as far as he can. He wishes to wipe out every sign of King Arthur's rule. At Joyous Gard he burned the bodies of Lancelot and his friend Galahot and threw the monument of the former into a lake whence it could never be recovered. He next proceeded to Camelot, defeated the inhabitants and destroyed the city together with the Round Table. After this four of King Marc's men come upon Merengis and learn from him where the hermitage of the archbishop and the rest is. They shrink from killing the occupants of the hermitage, but Marc has no such scruples. With one attendant he goes thither and kills the archbishop, but before he can

continue his murderous work, he is himself killed by an armed knight of the lineage of King Ban (his name is Paulos) who had just come to the hermitage. This knight binds Marc's attendant over to secrecy and the hermits bury the king himself in holy ground.<sup>85</sup>

#### 4. *La Tavola Ritonda*

This is the Italian compilation which is especially based on the prose *Tristan*, as indeed the full title is *La Tavola Ritonda o l'istoria de Tristano*.<sup>86</sup> The Mort Arthur, which is inserted in this work, as it is in some of the MSS. of the French original, covers only twenty pages (Part I, 524-545 in Polidori's edition). It accordingly gives only the salient episodes from the point in MA (p. 92) where Arthur comes in, whilst Agravain and his brothers are discussing the intrigue of Lancelot and the queen. Moreover, it gives these episodes with arbitrary alterations and additions that are found nowhere else and are plainly late in origin. In fact, as far as I know, no one has ever advanced the claim that TR (*Tavola Ritonda*) preserved any original feature of the Mort Arthur theme, not found in MA. It will be sufficient then to give an outline of the narrative which concerns us in this version. This narrative runs as follows:

After Arthur and his knights had avenged the death of Tristan on Marc, they had peace for some time. But peace encourages various vices and so it happened now.<sup>87</sup> Lancelot, however, was given up entirely to his passion for the queen, so that rumours of it spread through the city. Just then war breaks out between the King of Norgales and Amoroldo (= Morholt of the prose *Tristan*), King of Ireland. Lancelot and his kinsmen help the King of Norgales; Gawain and his kinsmen help Amoroldo. Amoroldo kills the King of Norgales, but Lancelot kills Amoroldo, and the field remains in the possession of Lancelot's side. They did not, how-

<sup>85</sup> This last statement contradicts the French original in MS. 340, which is more consistent. See Löseth, p. 409.

<sup>86</sup> Polidori's edition is based on a MS. of the first half of the fourteenth century. See his Introduction, p. li. For some kindred MSS. see my edition of the *Mort Artu*, Introduction, pp. xi, note 2, and xxv, note 2.

<sup>87</sup> This was suggested by MA, p. 3, ll. 7 f. The *motif* is more fully expanded in MH, ll. 20 ff.

ever, take the castle. Both Lancelot and Gawain return to Camelot. The latter hates Lancelot more than ever, because he has slain Amoroldo. He consequently defames Lancelot and Guinevere, so that Arthur too hates him (p. 527). Lancelot finds it advisable to retire to Joyous Gard with his kinsmen. Guinevere laments his absence and sends him a letter so that they may meet "*al palagio di messere Agrovalle il quale si e di fuori del porto di Lustriale*" (p. 528). They have an interview at this place but Gawain learns of their presence there from some of the queen's ladies who are returning to court. He obtains confirmation of what they say and goes back to court and tells Arthur. The king wants to go and catch them, but Gawain persuades him to leave the matter to him and his kinsmen. They go to the palace of Agrovalle and there is a fight in which Agravain is killed. Gawain is at last defeated and Lancelot escapes with the queen to Joyous Gard (p. 531).

As will be observed, Gawain here plays the part that Agravain does in MA, and the circumstances under which the lovers are entrapped are different. In what follows now concerning Arthur's wars with Lancelot at Joyous Gard and in the latter's dominions together with Mordred's treason and designs on Guinevere, apart from omissions, the differences are merely in detail. The Pope has no part in TR (p. 532) in bringing about the return of Guinevere to her husband. It is Ivain that intervenes. In the duel between Gawain and Lancelot (cf. MA, pp. 185 ff.) the two champions display a different spirit, as compared with MA. Knowing the peculiarity of his strength—that it increased up to midday and then declined—Gawain in TR (pp. 534 f.) wants the fight to take place in the morning. On the other hand, it is Lancelot's aim to defer the crisis in the combat until the afternoon, and with that object in view he tempts his opponent into a long conversation (p. 537). Then when Gawain, feeling that his strength is diminishing, makes overtures for the cessation of the combat, Lancelot will not consent—on the contrary, declares that he intends to kill him, as he has killed his brothers (p. 539). In the end Lancelot wounds Gawain severely. We have then nothing here of Lancelot's fine courtesy to his old friend, which is so conspicuous in MA.

In TR (pp. 535 f.) Mordred, who had been left regent of the kingdom in Arthur's absence, plays the same false part as in MA

(pp. 163 ff.). Here, too, the narrative of his treason is interwoven with the narrative of the war between the king and Lancelot. TR omits, however, the Roman war, and the fatal stroke which Gawain receives on the wound that Lancelot had given him is accordingly not delivered by a Roman but by Turinoro (p. 541), a nobleman who was coming to Lancelot's assistance. In the end Turinoro is slain and his host defeated. The king has Gawain's body conveyed to Camelot and buried there. The Beloe episode (MA, pp. 216 f.), however, is omitted. He then seeks Mordred at the castle (Urbano) which he is besieging. In the battle that ensues Arthur is overcome (p. 542). Accompanied by Ivain and a squire he flies to the seashore. Here Ivain dies from his wounds. Now we have (very briefly) the sword incident, the squire being substituted for Girflet. Next the strange boat appears and arms which are thrust forth from it take Arthur in.<sup>88</sup> It was thought that Morgain was in the boat and that she bore him to an island in the sea where he died and she buried him (p. 542).

Guinevere, still besieged by Mordred, sends a messenger to Lancelot, who comes, kills Mordred and rescues her, but *quasi tutta gente* on both sides are killed. Lancelot then enters the castle and sees the queen (p. 543). The squire who was last with Arthur arrives and tells of Arthur's fate. The queen, from remorse at being the cause of so many evils, falls dead. Lancelot buries her and has an inscription put on her tomb, which relates the story of Arthur, Guinevere and Mordred. He then adopts a religious life and dies after fifteen months. Every one then abandoned Camelot and went back to his own country.

##### 5. *Li Chantari di Lancelotto*<sup>89</sup>

This poem embraces the whole narrative of MA, but the account of the first effort to entrap Lancelot and Guinevere (corresponding to MA, pp. 3 ff. where Agravain acts alone) is strongly influenced by the account of the second effort in that romance (pp.

<sup>88</sup> As will be seen below, *Li Chantari di Lancelotto* imitates this.

<sup>89</sup> As stated above, unlike Miss Weston, I attach no importance to this late version. None of its main variations are supported by other versions. The book, however, is not a common one, so the following detailed comparison with MA may have some independent interest. It is not unlikely that this poem was based on some earlier Italian version in prose.

92 ff.)—so here from the start, as in the second account just referred to, we have more than one person taking part in the disclosure. The three enemies of Lancelot, however, who undertake this invidious task in the Italian poem (p. 2) are not Agravain and his brothers, Mordred and Gaheriet, but Mordred, Kay (Chieso) and Dodinel (Dudinello), the first-named being the spokesman. CL (*Chantari di Lancelotto*) stands alone among the versions in connecting with the first effort this feature which characterizes the second effort in MA, and I do not believe that any one will ascribe greater authority to this variation of the Italian than to the substitution of characters in the same passage.

Arthur is reluctant to credit this accusation of a knight whom he has so loved but the informers insist and induce him to order all his barons to go to the tournament at Winchester, so that they may catch Lancelot who is expected to stay behind with the queen. The influence of the second account in MA is particularly evident here. Compare the following stanza of the Italian (p. 3):

E'n questo mezo husando ta' ramanzi  
 E lancelotto venne a re davanti  
 E re non gli mostrò chome dinanzi  
 soleva fare buon viso e bè sembianti  
 onde vegiando tali stifichanzi  
 il chuor gli giodichò che mà parlanti  
 per la reina avesson messo isdegnio  
 tra lui et re chon malizioso ingegnio

with MA (p. 98): "Mais molt sesmeruilla Lancelos, quant il fu laiens uenus, de cou ke li rois, ki tant le siut biel apieler, ne li dist mot a cele fois, ains torna sa chiere dautre part, si tost com il le uit uenir. Il ne se perchut mie ke li rois fust si couroucies uers lui com il estoit, car il ne quidoit pas kil eust oies les nouieles ke Engreuains li auoit dites." To be sure, in contradiction to this last sentence of MA's, CL makes Lancelot suspect the true cause of the king's coolness, but this alteration is an anticipation of the passage at the bottom of the same page (98), where Bors suggests to Lancelot that Agravain or Morgain la Fee had been telling tales to the king.

Just as we have had in CL's account of the disclosures made to

Arthur concerning his wife's disloyalty an anticipation of a later passage, so we have the same thing in the next episode—that of the Maid of Ascalot. Here by anticipating MA, pp. 33 f. (her interview with Lancelot after the tournament at Winchester) the Maid is represented as confessing her love to Lancelot the first time she meets him, "et che volea chon lui giacer la sera." I attach no importance to the fact that we have the same confession of love in MH<sup>40</sup> (the Harleian *Morte Arthur*) ll. 177 ff. At most, this would merely indicate that the late French modifications of MA which these two versions reflect had some historical connection with one another. But, as a matter of fact, the preceding sections of this article abundantly prove that such anticipations were a regular accompaniment of condensation, so that occasional coincidences of this nature are bound to occur.

Lancelot's refusal of the Maid's love is also anticipated from MA, p. 33. The Italian, however, makes (p. 5) both sons of the lord of Ascalot (Sghaleotto) go with Lancelot to the tournament where he wears their sister's sleeve. This contradicts MA (p. 7), which says that one of them was ill and that Lancelot took his shield. This feature of MA was necessary for Lancelot's disguise and the variation of CL is, consequently, a mere blunder.

After the tournament in MA (p. 15) the wounded Lancelot went with the young knight of Ascalot to the house of the latter's aunt. In CL (p. 7) he parted company with the two brothers at a crossways and went to a vavassor's.

CL omits the episode of the knight who had been killed by a wild boar (MA, p. 16) and compresses into one stanza the whole affair of Gawain with the Maid of Ascalot (MA, pp. 18–22). Here, as in MA (pp. 25 ff.), Gawain informs Guinevere of Lancelot's supposed love for the Maid, but omits his conversation with the king (pp. 23 f.) concerning Agravain's accusations against the queen.

There is no marked difference between CL (pp. 8 f.) and MA in respect to the narrative of Lancelot's illness and his consequent absence from the tournament that had been proclaimed to draw him out of his concealment. It is to be noted, however, that the Italian places the queen's conversation with Bors in which she re-

<sup>40</sup> It is to be noted, however, that in MH the Maid's brother is present, when she confesses.



proaches Lancelot for his conduct with the Maid of Ascalot after (instead of before) the scene in which the physician forbids Lancelot's attending this tournament. Cp. with this MA, pp. 29 ff. and 36, respectively.

CL (pp. 10 f.) simplifies the search for Lancelot (MA, pp. 39 ff.) by dropping Gawain from it and he compresses into one Bors' two visits to Lancelot in MA (pp. 42 ff. and pp. 59 ff.). Accordingly Bors afflicts Lancelot here with the account of Guinevere's jealous anger, which does not occur in MA until the second visit.

The Italian poem omits altogether Arthur's adventure at Morgain's castle (MA, pp. 45 ff.).

There next follows<sup>41</sup> in CL (pp. 12-16) the account of how Guinevere saw the corpse of the Maid of Ascalot in the boat—then the poisoned fruit incident and the refusal of Gawain and the rest to champion the queen's cause. There are some differences of detail in CL, evidently not original. For instance, the poisoned fruit is brought in by a messenger (from whom is not said) in the midst of the dinner, which Arthur is giving to a strange knight. Bors is unwilling to act as the queen's champion (p. 16) for the unchivalrous reason that she

. . . gli avie tolto il suo tesoro  
che gli schacciò il suo chugin charnale  
onde ve lo volie però gran male.

At no time in CL does he promise to help her, if nobody else will.

The account of how Lancelot heard of Guinevere's peril and came to her defence, which in MA (pp. 78 ff.) covers ten pages, is here compressed into five lines (p. 17). Moreover, CL anticipates a later episode of MA (pp. 107 ff.)—when Guinevere is about to be burnt, after having been caught with Lancelot—in one detail, namely, when it represents the fire prepared for her execution as ready at the time of the rescue. There is nothing to make note of in the account of Lancelot's duel with Mador de la Porte (Amador della porta), except that the latter after his defeat returned melancholy to his own land (p. 19). The Italian characteristically remarks of Lancelot and Guinevere, that, after the

<sup>41</sup> Here begins Chantare II of CL.

former's victory over Mador, had it not been for the presence of others she

cento fiate et più l'arie baciato  
et di giostrar d'amor l'arie 'nvitato.

CL (p. 19) condenses into eight lines MA (pp. 92-97), which relates how a second time Lancelot's enemies tell the king of his intrigue with the queen. It does not name these enemies at this point—merely says that they were the same that made the first attempt—but later, when the ambush is actually laid, the writer repeats their names, Mordred, Kay and Dodinel (p. 20).<sup>42</sup> As in MA (p. 99) Bors tries vainly to dissuade Lancelot from fulfilling the assignation with the queen. In both versions he takes his sword with him. The narrative throughout is extremely condensed. In the scene after Lancelot's escape he goes to Bors as in MA (p. 102), but Hector's advice (MA, pp. 103 f.) is omitted.

The queen<sup>43</sup> is brought in (p. 24) before Arthur, but there is no mention of counsellors. This appearance before Arthur, contradicts MA, p. 106, but such slight variations of details in this condensed narrative, which sums up whole pages in a few lines, have no importance. The same may be said of Guinevere's silence and imprisonment and of Arthur's pitiless bearing (pp. 24-26), which doubtless reflects contemporary Italian feeling on such subjects. The burning is to take place twenty miles from the city (p. 26). As in MA (p. 107), Gawain refuses to take part in the execution.

In CL's account of Lancelot's rescue of the queen (pp. 27 ff.) Lancelot and Bors make speeches (Lancelot's is two stanzas long) before beginning the attack. The poem does not say that Lancelot killed Agravain, but merely "hun chavalier" (p. 28). Here (p. 29) it is Bors that killed Agravain and Lancelot Guerrehet (p. 30)—just reversing in each instance MA (p. 109). The two versions agree, however, that Gaheriet, whilst engaged with Hector, was killed by Lancelot, who did not recognize him (p. 31).

According to CL (p. 31) the queen escaped at first without Lancelot, but he follows her trace and finds her (p. 32). His men take up the body of the knight slain by Gaheriet and they go to

<sup>42</sup> Kay and Dodinel do not appear in this connection in any other version.

<sup>43</sup> Here begins Chantare III.

Joyous Gard (p. 32). None of these differences, as will be observed, are important.

The narrative following this in CL is much condensed. The Italian leaves out the fine passage (MA, pp. 116 f.) about Gawain's going to the palace, unconscious of the fate that had overtaken his brothers. It merely says (p. 34) that when Gaheriet's body was placed in the hall, Arthur and Gawain lamented over it. The author excuses himself for not repeating the speeches of the king and his men over the corpse. He is, of course, referring here to the long speeches of lamentation which he had before him (MA pp. 115 ff.). The actual lament given is little over one stanza. The inscription on the tomb of the three brothers virtually agrees with the one in MA (p. 120), in laying the blame for their destruction on Lancelot.

The preparations<sup>44</sup> which precede the siege of Joyous Gard in MA (pp. 121-127) are here (p. 36) compressed into two stanzas, and the passage about filling the vacancies at the Round Table (MA, pp. 125 f.) is entirely ignored. On the king's side, besides Gawain, CL mentions (p. 37) by anticipation Girflet and Lucan. After the manner of the later romances it gives a long list (p. 38) of the knights who came to Lancelot's assistance. The writer's main aim is to bring in as many famous Arthurian names as possible. He mentions the "sir della valle del serpente," Pellenor, the "sir di serloise" (that is, Galahot of Sorloise, Lancelot's friend, who had died in the prose *Lancelot*), "il re chaleondino" (Galegantin?), Dinas (because Blioberis had defended him against King Marc),<sup>45</sup> Tarsin,<sup>46</sup> the "sir dell' amitano" and about one hundred knights whom Lancelot had delivered from the enchantments of Morgain la Fee in the "valle de fallaciamanti."<sup>47</sup> King Pelles and his daughter, the mother of Galahad, had also sent men.

Hector's going forth (p. 39) over the sea to collect men to raise the siege of Joyous Gard is, of course, not in MA and may have been suggested by something in the local conditions under which the

<sup>44</sup> Here begins Chantare IV.

<sup>45</sup> This is a mark of late composition; for the reference is to the prose *Tristan*. See Löseth, p. 246.

<sup>46</sup> This character is also taken from the prose *Tristan*. Cp. Löseth, p. 440.

<sup>47</sup> This is an allusion to the "ual des faus amans" in the prose *Lancelot*. Cp. Sommer's *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, IV, 117 ff.

author lived. The narrative of CL shows considerable variation in detail, but, inasmuch as it varies here from all other versions, there is no reason to ascribe any authority to these differences. Apart from the complete omission of the damsel-messenger incident (MA, pp. 128 ff.), CL (pp. 40 f.) makes Bors attack Arthur's camp by night. It is not guarded and the assailants kill some of Arthur's men and carry off spoils. During the siege the Italian poet characteristically declares (p. 41) that Lancelot and the queen gave themselves up to love. Then one day the lovers see Hector return with a fleet and a great host of men, who are received into the castle with rejoicings (p. 42). Next day they attack Arthur, who is prepared, however, for it (p. 43).

Hector's sea-expedition has nothing like it in any other version and is plainly the invention of the Italian poet. Indeed, the same thing is true, for the most part, of the whole description of the siege of Joyous Gard. Prominent here on Lancelot's side in the fight are Blioberis and Dinas<sup>48</sup> (p. 44), and the king's host, though double the size of that which opposes them, gets the worst of it (p. 45). At the end of the day Lancelot returns to the castle and is received tenderly by the queen. The incident of Lancelot's saving Arthur's life (MA, p. 142) does not appear in CL, and, indeed, the *motif* of his courtesy is not found anywhere in this version.

After a siege of six months or more (as in MA, p. 143) the Pope intervenes and sends a cardinal<sup>49</sup> to end the discords (p. 46).

The narrative of Lancelot's surrender of Guinevere and his return to his own dominions (p. 47) though extremely condensed, follows substantially the same lines as that in MA. The mutual reproaches on the occasion of the surrender and Lancelot's return to his own country and distribution of fiefs (MA, pp. 149-155) are left out altogether. The<sup>50</sup> king takes no pleasure in his wife's company, and Gawain, as in MA (p. 155), stirs up Arthur to war against Lancelot (p. 49). It is stated that when Arthur left his kingdom to attack Lancelot, he appointed his nephew to be regent in his absence, but the nephew is not named (p. 50).

In the battle with Lancelot Arthur, Bors, Hector and Ivain are

<sup>48</sup> This character's prominence is due to the influence of the prose *Tristan*.

<sup>49</sup> In MA (p. 144) it is the Bishop of Rochester.

<sup>50</sup> Here begins Chantare V.

the most prominent figures in CL (pp. 52-54) also, but other characters are introduced, the Kings of Ireland, Scotland, etc. In CL (p. 54), differing from all the other versions, the fighting is interrupted by intervals of formal truce.

In the account of Mordred's treason (pp. 55 f.) the forged letter does not purport to come from Arthur but from Ivain. Indeed, it announces the death of the king at the hands of Lancelot. Nothing is said of the queen's message (MA, p. 173) to her husband.

Instead of merely general statements, as in MA (p. 174), CL (p. 57), says definitely that Arthur fought more than twenty battles with Lancelot<sup>51</sup> but that the want of victuals caused him to lose one third of his followers. Then Gawain, despite Arthur's opposition,<sup>52</sup> challenges Lancelot to a duel. Differing from all other versions, Lancelot in CL makes no attempt to evade the challenge. As remarked above, the author of the Italian poem has throughout completely discarded the conception of courtesy which was the finest trait of the character in MA. Bors, Hector and Lionel (p. 58) want to fight too, but Lancelot won't consent. In direct contradiction to MA (185) CL says that both sides, distrusting each other, went to the scene of the duel armed. The duel follows in the main (pp. 58-61) the same course as in MA (pp. 186 ff.), although the narrative is much compressed. The Italian says of Gawain's increase of strength at midday:

Dond' egli ebe questa degnitade  
legha chi vole e troverallo scritto  
nel libro della sua natividade.

In CL (p. 61) Lancelot was about to kill Gawain, when Arthur intercedes for him, and so his life is spared. This conflicts with all the other versions, none of which, save TR, impute cruelty to Lancelot. The king returns the next day to his kingdom, although nothing is said of his having received a message concerning Mordred's treason.

The story of the Roman war (MA, pp. 197-201), is condensed into six stanzas (pp. 62 f.) and of Gawain's burial it is said:

et sopPELLIROLLO a un devoto santo.

<sup>51</sup> It will be observed that CL, like MA, and unlike Malory, interweaves the episode of the war against Lancelot with that of Mordred's treason.

<sup>52</sup> CL says nothing of the vallet's remonstrances (MA, p. 175).

Apparently, in order to account for Mordred's sons, who figure later on in the narrative, CL (p. 64) with amusing *naïveté*, says<sup>58</sup> that the traitor, not being able to get hold of Guinevere, married a woman of great beauty and high rank and that by her he had "figliuoli molti piacenti."

In CL (p. 66) besides the Saxons Mordred has in his army men from Ireland and Scotland and others from as far as India. After summoning Arthur to leave the kingdom, as in MA (p. 223), Mordred and his host go to Salisbury plain, and Arthur hearing that he is there, prepares to go there, too (p. 67). CL omits the episode of the lord of Beloe who kills his wife, because of his jealousy of Gawain (MA, pp. 216 f.), but it gives Arthur's vision of Gawain (p. 68). On the other hand, it leaves out his vision of the Wheel of Fortune (MA, p. 220). The leaders of the ten divisions of Arthur's host (pp. 69 f.) are not in all cases the same as in MA (p. 225). Following is the order in which CL gives them: Ivain, Girflet, Lucan, Kay, Carados the King of Ireland, the seventh unnamed ("un caro amicho de re artu che 'l nome non vi dicho"), the King of Scotland, "i re vermiglio," Arthur. As in MA (p. 225), Mordred here divides his army into twenty divisions (the Britons apart from their foreign allies, says CL). The Italian remarks (p. 70) that when Mordred's men respond enthusiastically to his exhortations to battle they forget that they are opposed to their own dearest relatives. Later on (p. 72) stress is again laid on this feature of the conflict. Moreover, unlike MA (p. 226) and the other versions, it says that just before the first shock of battle a great wind sprang up and made everything dark with the dust. In the fight Mordred, according to CL (p. 73), killed not only Ivain but Carados. On the other hand, Arthur not only pierced Mordred with a spear but cut his head half through with a sword (p. 74). In the end, however, as in MA (p. 243), only Lucan and Girflet are left alive with him. In Arthur's lament after the battle CL (p. 75) makes him lay the blame for all these calamities on Lancelot.

It will be observed from the above that, apart from abbreviation, CL introduces some minor alterations in the narrative. None of them, however, are significant and none of them are supported by parallels from the other versions.

<sup>58</sup> Here begins Chantare VI.

CL (pp. 75 f.) reverses the order of the narrative in regard to the ride to the chapel and Lucan's death there (MA, pp. 245 f.) and the episode of Girflet and the sword (MA, pp. 247 f.). It puts the first incident second. Moreover, the sword is cast into a river (p. 75), not a lake. The chapel too, becomes an abbey (p. 76). Then when the boat approaches to bear Arthur away, CL (p. 77) says nothing of Morgain and the other ladies. It merely declares that this boat was covered with black and that an arm was put forth that took him in.<sup>54</sup> He was borne away, no one knew where. The writer merely mentions in a line the story (MA, pp. 25 f.) of Arthur's being buried in the chapel. As Girflet in MA (p. 252) turns hermit, so in CL (p. 77) he ends his days as a monk in the abbey. Guinevere becomes an abbess.

Lancelot (p. 79), hearing of the battle,<sup>55</sup> laments his old companions and decides to go over the sea to protect the queen. With a reminiscence of MA (pp. 154 f.) which it had suppressed before, the Italian poem now mentions the coronation of Lionel (p. 80). On invading Great Britain, Lancelot, Lionel, etc., devastate the land, but learn that Guinevere is dead (p. 80). She had imposed on herself such penances that she died as a consequence (p. 81).<sup>56</sup> Lancelot prays that the queen may be pardoned in Heaven. His grief is so violent that Bors and Hector fear for his life.

The account of Lancelot's war with Mordred's sons does not vary materially from that in MA (pp. 254 ff.). We even have (pp. 86 ff.) the incident of the vallet who, not knowing Lancelot, tells him of the great battle in which Lionel has fallen by the hand of Mordred's son. In CL (p. 86), however, his avenger is Lancelot, not Bors, and Mordred's son has fled some distance before he is overtaken. Furthermore, in CL Blioberis takes part in the war against Mordred's sons.

Lancelot becomes a hermit, as in MA (pp. 257 ff.). CL does not mention the Archbishop of Canterbury—merely says that Lancelot found at the hermitage an old acquaintance, "un conte di somo valore." Blioberis is not there, as he is in MA. On the contrary,

<sup>54</sup> This conception has no parallel in the other versions, except TR. It was suggested no doubt by the arm that rose out of the water to receive Excalibur.

<sup>55</sup> Here begins Chantare VII.

<sup>56</sup> This and what follows merely amplifies slightly MA, p. 254.

we find him (p. 90) seeking for Lancelot like the rest and coming to the hermitage after his friend's death. Lancelot spends the remainder of his days in the hermitage, as in MA.

Contrary to MA (pp. 259 f.) Bors does not return to his own kingdom after the battle with Mordred's sons. He joins Hector in the quest of Lancelot (p. 89). The two reach Lancelot's hermitage after his death. They convey his body to Joyous Gard and, as in MA (p. 262), bury him by Galahot. The Italian poet was evidently puzzled by the similarity of the names of Galahot (Lancelot's friend) and Galahad (Lancelot's son), and so he remarks:

Eravi quel prezza galeotto  
che già al mondo come ciò fu fatto  
in questo mio cantare non ne fo motto  
se non che m'udirete in alchun atto  
che di metallo crebe le figure  
eran di sopra alle tre sepolture.  
Quella di Galeotto in mezzo stava  
et Lancellotto et 'l prezza eran dal lato.

Bors does not remain as a hermit in Lancelot's hermitage, but goes to be crowned king in his own land. We have here the conception of an earlier passage in MA (pp. 259 f.) transferred to the end of the romance. Hector, however, stays with Blioberis in the hermitage (p. 91).

The poem closes (pp. 91 f.) with a warning not to meddle with other men's wives and a prayer to Christ and the Virgin Mary to protect us, particularly the author.

## 6. The Middle English alliterative *Morte Arthure*

Unlike the versions which we have been discussing so far, this romance which gives substantially the same version of the Mort Arthur theme as Wace is not derived from MA.<sup>57</sup> Lancelot figures

<sup>57</sup> The best discussion of the sources of the alliterative poem is that of R. Imelmann: *Layamon: Versuch über seine Quellen*, pp. 50 ff. (Halle, 1906). In *Anglia*, XXXII, 389 ff. (1909), R. H. Griffith has shown, besides, that the author drew on *Fierabras* for the Priamus episode. For other suggested sources see George Neilson, *Huchown of the Awle Ryale*, pp. 40 ff. (Glasgow, 1902). In *The Athenaeum* for Nov. 15, 1902, Neilson has undertaken to identify some of the characters in this poem with actual personages of the fourteenth century.



in it as one of Arthur's knights, but not as Guinevere's lover. On the other hand, having been written in the fourteenth century, it cannot, of course, be a source of MA. Arthur's dream of the Wheel of Fortune, which occurs in both, though with very considerable differences of detail, came to them from a common source—no doubt, the expanded Wace on which Layamon based his poem. As I have pointed out elsewhere,<sup>58</sup> the correspondences between MA and Layamon are due to the fact that they used a common source, not to the influence—as Imelmann (p. 57) supposes—of MA on Layamon's source. Layamon's poem, we may say, was certainly complete by 1205, so his (lost French) source was earlier than this date—probably very much earlier, since books in those days did not reach distant country-parishes (such as Layamon's) from the centres with any great rapidity. Besides, the period when a work like Layamon's source—that is, a verse-chronicle based on Wace with interpolation of new material—would be likely to be composed had already passed in the centres of literary composition, the full-fledged romance having long supplanted such works in interest.<sup>59</sup> On the other hand, it cannot be maintained that MA was written before about the end of the twelfth century, at the earliest. It is evident, then, that the alliterative *Morte Arthure*, fine poem though it be, preserves no material of importance for the development of the Mort Arthur theme that is not found elsewhere.

<sup>58</sup> *Modern Language Notes*, XXVI, 68 f. (1911). Imelmann, himself (p. 57 f.) points out a significant detail of Arthur's dream which could not have come from MA (or the *Lancelot*, as he calls it). He does not quote me quite correctly, however, when he says that I regard as the common source of Malory's last books and the Harleian *Morte Arthure*, ll. 1672 ff., the Vulgate *Lancelot* (*Mort Artu*) or its source. It is really a modification of the Vulgate *Lancelot* that I endeavored (*loc. cit.*) to show was their common source. Worthy of note, too, is that the passage concerning heathen gods which Imelmann (p. 59), following Madden's edition of Layamon, III, 353, cites from the "*Lancelot*" is really from the *Estoire del Saint-Graal*—a work whose sources even were no doubt unknown to Layamon and his source.

<sup>59</sup> The conclusion, of course, is not inevitable, but we have here new material—not merely old material worked over—which points rather to the period when the metrical chronicles were most vigorous—that is, the earlier period.

7. The *Didot-Perceval*<sup>60</sup>

The version of the Mort Arthur theme which is contained in the *Didot-Perceval* is not based on MA.<sup>61</sup> On the other hand, MA owes nothing to the *Didot-Perceval*.

It is not necessary for me to enter into the vexed question of the date of this latter romance,<sup>62</sup> for, despite Miss Weston's contention (*Legend of Sir Perceval*, II, 317 ff.) the brief Mort Arthur section with which it concludes (pp. 84-112 of Miss Weston's edition), whether early or late, has no importance whatever for the development of the Mort Arthur theme. Even if we allow that it is early, there is not a single point in which the *Didot-Perceval* can be maintained to have influenced MA or any of the versions which I have been collating with that romance in the preceding pages. For what does it consist of? For the most part (twenty-four out of the twenty-eight pages), merely of an ordinary chronicle account of

<sup>60</sup> This distinctive title has been too long in use to be displaced without inconvenience by that which Miss Weston proposes—"the prose *Perceval*."

<sup>61</sup> For the proof see W. Hoffmann, *Die Quellen des Didot-Perceval*, pp. 72 ff. (Halle, 1905). In my *Mort Artu*, p. 267, I assumed that the Blanc Chastel episode in the *Didot-Perceval* was influenced by MA. Miss Weston (see next note) denies this. She is doubtless right.

<sup>62</sup> The Second Volume (1909) of Miss Weston's *Legend of Sir Perceval* is, of course, based on the supposition that it is early. But Ferdinand Lot, for example, in his review of her book, speaks of it (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, vol. 70, p. 566) as "ce texte d'assez basse époque (vers 1220?)." In my edition of the *Mort Artu* I assumed that it was later than that romance and that the Blanc Chastel episode showed the influence of the episode in the latter of the Maid of Ascalot. As just said, Miss Weston has pointed out (*Romania*, vol. 40, p. 135) that I exaggerated the similarity of the incidents. But how does this exaggeration introduce any "confusion" into my "treatment of the interrelation subsisting between the different branches of the cycle, and the allied romances?" The view which my note implied, that the *Didot-Perceval* was a late composition, is still held by Ferdinand Lot (see the passage just cited) and others (to say nothing of myself), even since the publication of Miss Weston's *Sir Perceval*. But how is this inconsistent with anything else in this note and the following, which suggest as sources for the passage in MA, Chrétien's *Lancelot* and *Perceval* and the prose *Lancelot* and *Queste*—all works which I maintain are earlier than MA? On the score of method, one might object to the assumption of so many different sources, but there is no inconsistency. As far as Miss Weston's reconstruction of the *Didot-Perceval* from a lost verse-chronicle is concerned, not a single Arthurian specialist has in any publication accepted it. The question of whether the Mort Arthur section belonged to the *Didot-Perceval* from the beginning is likewise indifferent to our present inquiry.

Arthur's wars with the French and the Romans, which conveyed no new information to any one, since it differs so slightly from Wace as to be virtually indistinguishable from his *Brut*. Indeed, as far as I know, nobody—not even Miss Weston—has ever asserted that MA drew any detail of its narrative of the Roman war from the *Didot-Perceval*. Then follows the account of Mordred's treason—again as in the chronicles, only that the final battle between Arthur and the traitor is arbitrarily transferred from Great Britain to an island (apparently, off the coast of Ireland) which is ruled over by a Saxon ally of Mordred's. Mordred here is Arthur's nephew, not his son (as in MA), and he actually marries Guinevere. Lancelot does not appear in the narrative at all. That is to say, I repeat: we have an ordinary chronicle account—one, too, which is nothing like so near to MA as that which we find in Layamon.<sup>63</sup> In some details the *Didot-Perceval* is nearer to Layamon than to Wace, but the divergences from the printed text (ed. Le Roux de Lincy, 2 vols., Rouen, 1838) of the latter are, after all, so minute that they may well rest solely on differences in the MSS. of Wace's poem.<sup>64</sup> On the other hand, as we shall see, in regard to the incidents with which

<sup>63</sup> This will appear in the discussion (below) of the relations of MA to Layamon.

<sup>64</sup> This is the position of Ferdinand Lot in his review of the Second Volume of Miss Weston's *Legend of Sir Perceval* in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, vol. 70 (1909). See p. 568. After what he has said there, pp. 567 f., it is not necessary for me to dwell any further on the slightness of these divergences. A critical edition of Wace in its original form might very well give us the explanation even of what Miss Weston (p. 324) characterizes as "the most notable divergence" between Wace and the *Didot-Perceval*—namely, in the account of Gawain's death, where as against the simple statement in the printed Wace that in the battle with Mordred Gawain was killed, the *Didot-Perceval* adds the detail that he was killed by a Saxon, and then gives a lament, in both of which respects it agrees with Layamon. For my own part, I confess that I do not see why the *Didot-Perceval* and Layamon might not have developed these details independently out of Wace, for already in that writer the Saxons were Mordred's allies and the hint for lamentation was given in the line 13505, "Artus ot de lui dolor grant." If M. Lot wishes to deny that there was an expansion of Wace's chronicle (which may or may not have been due to a certain Martin of Rochester), he is unquestionably wrong. Cp. R. Imelmann's *Layamon: Versuch über seine Quellen* (Berlin, 1906) and my article in *Modern Language Notes* for March, 1911. On the other hand, I do not think that Miss Weston has proved that the *Didot-Perceval* must have drawn from this expanded version.

we are here concerned, MA is a re-shaping evidently not of the *Didot-Perceval*, but of the lost French source of Layamon.<sup>65</sup>

The only possible influence, then, which the *Didot-Perceval* might have exercised over MA would have been in the general suggestion of adding a Mort Arthur to a Quest of the Holy Grail. But apart from the very doubtful view implied in this that the *Didot-Perceval* is earlier than MA,<sup>66</sup> the latter, as has been observed, does not include a single incident that can be set down to the influence of the former, either in the Quest section or the Mort Arthur section, so there is no sign whatever that the author of MA

<sup>65</sup> In all the points where MA and Layamon agree, as enumerated in Section II, below, they differ from the *Didot-Perceval*. To be sure, MA agrees with the *Didot-Perceval* that Arthur killed the emperor, whereas in Layamon his slayer is unknown. So natural a coincidence, however, can have no weight.

<sup>66</sup> Whilst I am on this subject, I wish to record my emphatic disagreement with Miss Weston, as regards her *a priori* reasoning (p. 340) that Perceval could not be made again the hero of the Grail-Quest, after the character of Galahad had been once created. This accords with the assumption that runs all through her work that the Arthurian stories (I will not say "legend," for that implies oral tradition), as they developed, possessed in the minds of contemporaries something like the sacredness of a great religious tradition. As a matter of fact, the romances were the work of men who were writing for the entertainment of patrons, just as modern novelists do for the entertainment of the public. The only difference is that their authors, living in the Middle Ages, had no sense of literary property and so did not hesitate to convert earlier treatments of these themes to any use they chose. The fact that the originator of the Galahad-Quest felt no compunctions about substituting his hero for Perceval, itself shows how lightly tradition sat on the romancers. But there are other instances. For example, if one might have regarded anything as fixed in Arthurian tradition, it would have been Guinevere's connection with the ruin of Arthur and his knights and her entry into a convent; but the *Perlesvaus* changes all this and makes Guinevere die from grief for her son, Lohot, long before there can be any question of the end of the Round Table. Note, too, the Middle English alliterative *Morte Arthure*, discussed above, which was composed in the fourteenth century. Lancelot figures in this poem among Arthur's knights and the author must have known of his love-affair with Guinevere, which, besides being the *raison d'être* of the character, had become through Chrétien's poem, and still more, the prose *Lancelot*, one of the commonplaces of mediaeval literature, yet he deliberately prefers to follow the old tradition of the verse-chronicles, and does not include the above-mentioned love affair in his scheme any more than the author of the *Didot-Perceval* did. In all periods of literature it is such a common phenomenon for older traditions to continue by the side of newer ones that have arisen, that one cannot but be surprised at Miss Weston's position in this matter, which she still maintains in her review of my *Mort Artu*. See *Romania*, XL, 136.

knew of the existence of the *Didot-Perceval*, even if it was earlier. That MA was influenced by the latter even in the general way suggested above is consequently a purely gratuitous assumption. One has a right to be skeptical about the general influence, as long as no single example of specific influence has been pointed out.

## II.—THE VERSE-CHRONICLE SOURCE OF THE VULGATE *Mort Artu*

The *Didot-Perceval* (in its Mort Arthur section) and the alliterative *Morte Arthure*, then, are each derived from a verse-chronicle. In the case of the former, as we have seen, the differences, when compared with Wace's *Brut*, even in Le Roux de Lincy's edition, are so slight that it is questionable whether a critical edition of that poem would not show that the writer has based his work on the unexpanded Wace. The latter drew, it would seem, from an expanded Wace, but, quite likely, not in the form that is used by Layamon. But how about MA? In *Modern Language Notes*, XXVI (1911), pp. 68 f. (including note 20) I have pointed out certain correspondences between MA and Layamon as against the printed Wace which must rest on a common source—an expanded Wace such as Imelmann has argued for. As regards the name of Mordred's son—*Meleon* in Layamon, *Melehan* in MA—a critical edition of Wace might possibly show that this was in the original form of the French poem, but the same thing cannot be maintained of the passages (1) where Arthur learns from a messenger of Mordred's treason and sees in this intelligence the realization of a prophetic dream<sup>67</sup> (cp. MA, p. 202 and Layamon in Madden's edition, III, 117 ff.), (2) where at the end of the final battle with Mordred, besides Arthur, only two of his knights are said to be left alive (MA, p. 244 and Layamon, III, 143), (3) where he is translated to Avalon by Morgain and the fairy ladies (MA, pp. 250 f. and Layamon, III, 144). Since my discussion of the third of these passages,<sup>68</sup> no one, I believe, can doubt that Layamon was here following an expanded Wace. The whole evidence goes to show that the author of MA, likewise, was drawing on just such an ex-

<sup>67</sup> I have also noted, *loc. cit.* and *Mort Artu*, p. 291, the differences between the two versions. I did not note in this connection there the last two of the three points here cited.

<sup>68</sup> In the same article, pp. 65 ff., and in *THE ROMANIC REVIEW*, III, 190 f. (1912).

panded version of that writer's *Brut*. I believe, indeed, that he had before him substantially the same version as that which Layamon used. The only objection is that MA (p. 220) contains the vision of the Wheel of Fortune and Layamon does not—yet the evidence of the alliterative *Morte Arthure*, where this vision also occurs, goes to show that the incident is not an invention of MA's, but must have been in the original verse-chronicle source. If Layamon's manuscript had contained this treatment of a theme so beloved in the Middle Ages, it is not probable that he would have omitted it. In view, however, of the otherwise close correspondence of MA and Layamon, the natural conclusion seems to be that this episode of the vision of the Wheel of Fortune was either a later interpolation in the expanded Wace, having been suggested by the earlier prophetic dream of Arthur (Layamon, III, 117 ff.), or that it was omitted in the particular manuscript of the expanded Wace that Layamon was following. In the above-mentioned article of *Modern Language Notes*, p. 69, note 24, I have pointed out that this manuscript was in another important passage almost certainly defective, so the same may have been the case here.<sup>69</sup>

Assuming then, as I believe that we may safely do, that the verse-chronicle source of MA was the same as that which Layamon had before him, at what point does the author of this romance (MA) begin to draw on it and in what manner does he use it? In regard to the first of these questions, I should say that the verse-chronicle only begins to be a source of MA after the siege of Joyous Gard is ended and Lancelot, having surrendered Guinevere to her consort, returns to his own land (pp. 152 ff. of my edition). Up to this point the prose *Lancelot* and the *Tristan* poems have furnished the authors with the main suggestions from which he has developed his narrative. From here on the framework is given by his verse-chronicle source—only Lancelot, as Guinevere's lover, usurps the

<sup>69</sup> The possibility, of course, suggests itself that the author of the alliterative poem may have derived this dream directly or indirectly from MA. As remarked above, living in the fourteenth century and knowing of Lancelot, he must have known also of the famous love story of this character and Guinevere. But he shows nowhere else any knowledge of MA, and, on the other hand, he certainly based his poem on a verse-chronicle, so that the inference which I have drawn in the text seems the proper one. Layamon's so-called expansions are, doubtless, all due to his French original. See my remarks on the subject, *Modern Language Notes*, XXVI, pp. 69 f., note 24 (March, 1911).

rôle of Mordred. Furthermore, he fills the place of Frolo before Arthur's death<sup>70</sup> and of Constantine after his death. This double rôle suits the conception of Lancelot which runs all through MA. Having wronged Arthur through his guilty passion for Guinevere, he becomes (against his will) the king's enemy. On the other hand, he has never faltered in his personal loyalty, and so, being the greatest of Arthur's knights, he is the proper avenger of his sovereign. In the verse-chronicle source, after overcoming Frolo, Arthur, no doubt, returned from the continent to his own kingdom before undertaking the second expedition—namely, that against the Romans. MA, which was concerned with Arthur's tragedy and not his regal splendor (as the chronicles were), omits this episode of the return and combines the two wars, so that Arthur is on the continent the whole time. It shows the writer's judgment that he does not make the king return to Great Britain until the final struggle with Mordred. The narrative would have gained still further in concentration, if he had omitted altogether the Roman war, but the spell of a written source (as so often in Shakespeare's historical plays) and the insatiable appetite of the Middle Ages for fighting unfortunately influenced him to retain this episode.<sup>71</sup> One of the finest things in MA—Gawain's implacable pursuit of his old companion-in-arms, Lancelot—is, of course, the invention of the author of that romance. It is a mark of the writer's tragic power that he should have made the unwilling Lancelot primarily responsible for Gawain's death (cp. p. 196); for the blow received in the Roman war (p. 200) was on the old wound. The long narrative of the duel between the two characters,<sup>72</sup> of Gawain's burial<sup>73</sup> and

<sup>70</sup> In the note to the *Mort Artu*, pp. 286 f., I remarked that Arthur's expedition to the continent to wage war on Lancelot was no doubt suggested by the similar expedition against the Roman Emperor. (To have been quite accurate, I should have included the expedition against Frolo.) Unfortunately in the summary in my Introduction, p. XXXV, I forgot to mention this.

<sup>71</sup> This episode, which represented Arthur as victorious over even the conquerors of the world, no doubt flattered particularly the imagination of nobles to whom Great Britain had become the chief center of interest.

<sup>72</sup> Some features of this duel, such as the strange fluctuation of Gawain's strength in accordance with the height of the sun, are, of course, taken from outside tradition. See my note to the *Mort Artu*, pp. 287 f.

<sup>73</sup> Layamon (III, 132) merely says that Gawain was slain by a Saxon earl in the first battle with Mordred. He tells nothing of his burial. Wace, II. 13554 ff., says: "Le cors fist [i. e., Arthur] metre ne sai u Ainc hom ne sot u il fu mis Ne qui l'ocist ce m'est avis."

of the jealous lord of Beloe, who kills his wife because of her excessive grief over Gawain's dead body—none of these things were in the verse-chronicle source. The same thing is true of the details of the final battle with Mordred (pp. 225 ff.). The author has here given the reins to his own invention. I have pointed out elsewhere<sup>74</sup> how he has reduced the three battles of his source into one, and placed it on Salisbury plains. Among the incidents that follow the battle, that of Girflet and the sword, though hardly his own invention, is not likely to have been in the verse-chronicle source.<sup>75</sup> After this we have the popular tradition concerning Arthur's translation to Avalon, which the writer found in his source awkwardly combined with the Glastonbury story that the great king was buried there.<sup>76</sup> Then comes the war with Mordred's sons, in which, as has already been observed, Lancelot is substituted for Constantine. Here the influence of the verse-chronicle ends.

From the above it will be seen that considerable allowance has to be made for invention on the part of the author of MA. There is nothing surprising, however, in this; for a comparison of the the earlier portion of this romance (down to pp. 152 ff.) with the romances which suggested indisputably the main framework of the narrative—viz., the *Tristan* poems and the prose *Lancelot*—reveals the same thing—only here the writer works with an even freer hand. In some parts, as in the story of how Agravain and his brothers try to entrap Lancelot with Guinevere (pp. 93 ff.), where

<sup>74</sup> *Mort Artu*, pp. 291 ff.

<sup>75</sup> I say this, because it is not in Layamon. At the time that I wrote the above-cited article in *Modern Language Notes* (see note 20) I was inclined to the opposite opinion. Still further on this incident see my note to the *Mort Artu*, pp. 297 f.

<sup>76</sup> W. W. Newell argues, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XVIII, 459 ff. (1903), that the connection of Arthur with Glastonbury dates from the affair of the pretended exhumation of his and Guinevere's bones there in the year, 1191. His argument is a strong one and I am myself convinced that the notion that Arthur was buried in that place originated with this affair. If the view here expressed is correct, we should have 1191 as the upward limit for the composition of MA. To be sure, this would involve no great gain, since, as far as I have observed, no one has ever put the romance so far back. Similar early localizations (though with no fraudulent intent) from the *Tristan* poems in Dublin and its vicinity (from the twelfth century even) are noted in letters to *The Athenaeum* for February 21 and April 26, 1913. Cp. too issues for May 10 and 17, 1913. The writers naively cite these localizations as proofs of the actual existence of the characters concerned.



he is imitating the *Tristan* poems, or again in the episode of the Pope's interference in Arthur's domestic affairs (pp. 144 f.), where he is borrowing from the prose *Lancelot*, he follows in the main the outlines of his sources, although giving them a different setting and modifying them in certain particulars to suit his purpose. The same thing is true of the poisoned fruit episode, if we may judge by the parallel episodes in *Gaydon* and *Parise la Duchesse*. On the other hand, the combination of old elements (Iseult of Brittany and Perceval's sister) in the episode of the Maid of Ascalot amounts to a new creation, and we have somewhat similar conditions in the case of the episode where Arthur sees the pictures of Lancelot's intrigue with the queen at Morgain's palace. The flight to Joyous Gard and the vicissitudes of the siege are purely invented, and so is the whole train of incident earlier in the romance which follows on the tournament at Winchester.<sup>77</sup> The highest inventive skill, however, of the writer is displayed in the manner in which he has combined these various materials for the construction of his romance and given the whole a shape which renders his work one of the most notable productions of the Middle Ages.

There is not the slightest reason then for doubting that the author of MA was working on a verse-chronicle that was, to all intents and purposes, identical with Layamon's French original. But if this is so, what becomes of that long process of evolution, with its various hypothetical stages, which Miss Weston has assumed for the Mort Arthur theme? If she had tried to form a definite idea of each of these stages, she would have soon seen that this vague hypothesis was baseless. Let us examine in detail what she says on the subject (*Romania*, XL, 134 f.).

First, she remarks: "Beginning with the comparatively brief account given by Geoffrey of Arthur's wars with the Romans and death at the hand of Mordred, the story developed in the hands of the metrical chroniclers into what was practically a full-fledged pseudo-historic romance, and, as such, was utilized by Borron in his cycle."

I pass over the inexact statement that Geoffrey makes Arthur perish "at the hand of" Mordred<sup>78</sup> and the still unproved assump-

<sup>77</sup> I have commented on all these various matters in my notes to the *Mort Artu*.

<sup>78</sup> Geoffrey (Book XI, ch. 2) does not say by whose hand Arthur fell.

tion that the *Didot-Perceval* is based on a lost poem of Robert de Boron's.<sup>79</sup> What I wish to lay stress on is that here, at the very start, the evil of indefinite language shows itself. Why does Miss Weston leave the matter in the vague with such an expression as "the metrical chroniclers"? As a matter of fact, there were only two—Wace and the person who expanded Wace's poem. One might imagine from Miss Weston's language that already there had been a number of such chroniclers, each one adding something that led up to the "full-fledged pseudo-historic romance." Still further, the above-quoted sentences imply an exaggerated estimate of the difference between Wace in its original and in its expanded form. The expansion of this writer's chronicle represented by Layamon does mark undeniably a step further in the direction of pure romance, but, after all, it remains a chronicle, though interpolated with romantic material.

Miss Weston proceeds: "Gradually it [*i. e.*, her 'full-fledged, pseudo-historic romance,' which, if it means anything, must mean an expanded Wace] became divested of the historic elements, the demand for tribute and war with the Romans, being transferred to the *Merlin*,<sup>80</sup> and the conquest of Gaul, and fight with Frolo, to the *Lancelot*,<sup>81</sup> receiving in their stead as central 'motif' the guilty love of Lancelot and the Queen, and Arthur's wars with his faithless knight. No study would, at the present moment, be of more general value for critical purposes than one which followed and elucidated the various phases of the M[ort] A[rthur] in its transition from historic tradition to literary romance."

The very first word of the paragraph just quoted—"gradually"—arrests one's attention. The word implies that the expanded

<sup>79</sup> As I remarked above, the verse-chronicle on which the Mort Arthur section of the *Didot-Perceval* is based was probably merely Wace (of whom we have yet no critical edition), or, if it was not in every respect identical with Wace, it differed so little from his poem that it does not deserve the title of a separate work. Even Layamon's original, after all, was in the main identical with Wace.

<sup>80</sup> The war with the Romans will be found in H. O. Sommer's edition of that romance, *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, II, 424 ff.

<sup>81</sup> It appears from Miss Weston's *Legend of Sir Lancelot*, p. 4, that she is referring to the part of the prose *Lancelot* which relates "the war against Claudas to recover Lancelot's patrimony." This, I presume, is the passage in the last division of the *Lancelot* (Sommer, V, 370 ff.). What I have said in the text, however, shows that the matter has no importance.

Wace, itself, passed through a number of redactions, which showed successively a diminution of the historic elements, etc. But where are there any such redactions? and where is there any evidence that such redactions ever existed? If Miss Weston will pardon me for saying so, in the condition in which she has left it, her theory is no better than any other figment of the imagination. And, still further, what does she mean, when she speaks of "the demand for tribute and war with the Romans being transferred to the *Merlin* and the conquest of Gaul and fight with Frolo, to the *Lancelot*," this expanded Wace "receiving in their stead as central 'motif' the guilty love of Lancelot and the Queen and Arthur's wars with his faithless knight?" The only versions in existence that show this guilty love as the central *motif* are MA and its derivatives. There is accordingly no reason to doubt that the author of MA was the first to connect this conception with the story of the end of the Round Table. There is not a trace of it in any extant verse-chronicle or in any prose version based on a verse-chronicle, such as we have in the *Didot-Perceval*. But MA is not "divested of the historic elements" here spoken of. It has, of course, the Roman war (pp. 197 ff.), and, as I have just shown, it has the war with Frolo disguised—that is, with Lancelot substituted for that character. For the rest, the *Merlin*, or, strictly speaking, *Merlin*-continuation, which contains also an account of this war, is generally recognized as the latest portion of the Vulgate cycle,<sup>82</sup> so that its introduction into that romance might very well be due to imitation of MA.

In view of what I have said in this and the preceding sections, there is obviously no reason to speak with Miss Weston<sup>83</sup> of the "compiler" of MA. One might as well call Shakespeare the "compiler" of *King Lear*, because he used as his sources Holinshed, Sidney's *Arcadia* and, in some points, the older play on the same theme.

In concluding this division of my article I will say that the literary quality of MA furnishes of itself as powerful an argument as one could desire against the theory that this romance is a

<sup>82</sup> Cp. Brugger (whose views in so many respects coincide with Miss Weston's), *Zs. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit.*, XXIX, 138 (stemma of the prose romances).

<sup>83</sup> *Romania*, XL, 137.

"compilation" or that it came into existence through successive accretions to a nucleus.<sup>84</sup> Regarded from this point of view it outweighs all the rest of the cycle put together. Apart from the interest of the romantic elements in its narrative which is sufficiently attested by the universal fame that they have attained, this is the only one of the cycle that exhibits a genuine dramatic power in depicting the play of contending character and passion. Its constructive skill, too, is extraordinary, for the successive episodes of the Maid of Ascalot and the poisoned fruit lead up to a climax of passion between the guilty lovers with an art that is unparalleled in the other mediaeval romances. This is only one of the many marks, however, of a genius of exceptional order that this romance bears. E. Freymond has recently pronounced it with justice one of the most important prose-works of Old French literature.<sup>85</sup> Brugger too has spoken of its beauties and its "erhabene Tragik"<sup>86</sup> but I confess that I do not see how he reconciles this estimate with his theory of its origin.

### III.—THE RELATIVE DATE OF THE *Queste* AND *Mort Artu*

Postponing to the next section of this article the consideration of theories as to the origin of the prose-romances which would require us to disregard the manuscript tradition, let us take the two romances, named above, as we have them in the MSS., and examine the question of their relative date.

In all of our MSS. and early prints, of course, we find MA at the beginning connected directly with the *Queste* (which comes just before it in these MSS.): (1) through the passage concerning Gawain's slaying of Baudemagus and the Quest-knights and (2) through the allusion that follows immediately after to the confession which Lancelot made to the hermit in the *Queste*. In accordance with her theory as to the development of the prose-romances which makes the *Mort Artu* earlier in its origin than the *Queste*, in her *Legend of Sir Lancelot du Lac*<sup>87</sup> and elsewhere Miss Weston

<sup>84</sup> This is a feature of Brugger's theory, see *Zs. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit.*, XXIX, 91 ff.

<sup>85</sup> In his review of my *Mort Artu* in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* for May 3, 1913.

<sup>86</sup> *Zs. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit.*, XXIX, 95 (1905).

<sup>87</sup> Pp. 137 (note), 145, 184, and *Folk-Lore*, XX, 497 f.

proposed to transfer to the *Queste* the first of these passages, despite the manuscript tradition. I have proved in the *Romanic Review*, III, 173 ff. (1912) that the reasons which she advanced for this transference were not valid, so it is not necessary for me to go over the ground again. Miss Weston, among other things, overlooked the second of the passages, which, if retained, would show just as clearly as the first that the *Mort Artu* was subsequent to the *Queste*. On the other hand, Dr. Sommer evidently observed that the second passage was as important as the first in its bearing on the relations of the two romances, so in his recent edition of MA<sup>88</sup> he tries to get this out of the way, too. The *Grail-Queste*, he asserts, ends just before the words, "Ceste parole dist li rois Artus," etc. (p. 3, line 2 of my text)—that is to say, it ends *here* and not where every manuscript and early print in existence makes it end—and MA properly begins with the words<sup>89</sup> concerning the renewal of Lancelot's mad passion for the queen: "Et sil auoit maintenu deuant cel pechiet etc." (p. 3, line 16 of my text). The lines that lie between, he says, "form the connecting link between the grail-quest and what follows" (*i. e.*, were inserted by an editor of the cycle). Now such arbitrary cutting up of the uniform manuscript tradition as this, to suit one's own theories, is, in my opinion, unworthy of serious discussion. And, after all, what should we have, if we accepted these violent alterations? A most improbable ending for the *Queste* and a preposterous beginning for MA. Imagine a romance starting off: "And if he had before carried on this sin so discreetly and covertly that no one perceived it, he carried it on afterwards so madly that Agravain . . . observed it," etc. And even if we supposed (which is the only other possibility) that this was intended to form an absolutely continuous narrative with the *Queste*, as Dr. Sommer would have it end (a supposition that contradicts all manuscript tradition, the universal principle of division into branches which we find in the prose-romances and the virtual certainty that MA and the *Queste* are by different authors), the joints would not fit in the slightest degree: the beginning of Dr. Sommer's MA would have no connection with

<sup>88</sup> *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, VI, 204, note 10.

<sup>89</sup> The MSS. followed by Dr. Sommer and myself, respectively, differ slightly in their wording.

the end of his *Queste*. Let us dismiss all these absurdities, I say, and stand by the manuscript tradition, which, as I have shown in my discussion of Miss Weston's more rational proposal, offers no difficulty whatever.<sup>90</sup>

The above are not the only passages in our MSS. of MA where we have direct allusion to the *Queste*. Cp. the list of instances given in the Introduction (p. xxxiv, note 4) to my edition of the *Mort Artu*. But it has been asserted<sup>91</sup> that these allusions are interpolations. Now, there are unquestionably anticipatory references<sup>92</sup> in the *Lancelot* (the earliest romance of the cycle) to other romances of the series that were composed later, and such references must clearly be later insertions of the scribes or editors. There is a possibility then that we have in these references in MA interpolations of the same nature. But who can affirm with any certainty that they are? The references here accord with the indications afforded by the opening paragraphs of MA which we have been considering and by its conclusion (the retirement of the knights to a hermitage being suggested by the end of the *Queste*)

<sup>90</sup> The arbitrary changes which Dr. Sommer proposes here remind one of the equally arbitrary changes which he once proposed in the Harleian *Morte Arthur*. In that case a comparison with any MS. or early print of the Vulgate *Mort Artu* would have shown him that he was wrong. See my discussion of the matter, *Anglia*, XXIII, 81 ff. (1900).

<sup>91</sup> By Dr. Sommer in the note just cited.

<sup>92</sup> The references to MA in the *Lancelot* are merely brief cross-references. On the other hand, in MA we have not only allusions to the *Lancelot* but wholesale imitation of it. So the cases are not similar, as Brugger's words (*Zs. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit.*, XXXVI, 205) might imply. I may say somewhat the same thing in regard to the relation of the *Queste* and *Agravain*. When I wrote the Introduction to my edition of the *Mort Artu*, I assumed that the *Agravain* was by the author of MA and later than the *Queste*, so I was not inconsistent (cp. Brugger, *ibid.*, 206). Since then I have read the *Agravain* in Sommer's edition. I believe it now to be a composite work of which a large part at any rate is later than the *Queste*.

I take occasion to say here that I agree with Sommer in his opinion "that, leaving aside all mere differences of phraseology, the Vulgate-Quest has practically come down to us in the form in which it was originally cast" (*Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, VI, p. 3, note 1). When I expressed a different opinion in my edition of the *Mort Artu*, p. xii, note 1, I had in mind Heinzel's discussion of these matters, pp. 168 f. of his treatise on the Grail romances, but as I have endeavored to show in the next section of this article, the facts in question are capable of a different interpretation. I cannot agree with Dr. Sommer, however, when in the same note he adds to the words just quoted "an assertion that cannot be made of any other branch of the cycle."

to the effect that MA was subsequent to the *Queste*, and they accord with the clear indications of the Maid of Ascalot episode. If there is any indisputable case of borrowing in the entire range of Arthurian romance, surely we have it in the description of how the body of the Maid with a letter in its hand drifted down to Camelot. As I pointed out in my edition of MA (pp. 279 ff.), this is plainly an imitation of the corresponding passage of the *Queste* concerning Perceval's sister. Now, in this case we are not dealing with comparatively brief references, but with a full and beautiful narrative, so that the convenient theory of interpolation is not here applicable.

The passage from the Maid of Ascalot episode then points clearly to the conclusion that MA was written after the *Queste*.<sup>93</sup> Is there anything in the *Queste* that conflicts with that conclusion? Nothing at all, I maintain. As against the use of the *Queste* made in MA, there is not even a single allusion to MA in the whole of the *Queste*—not even one of the anticipatory kind which were occasionally inserted by *assembleurs* or scribes elsewhere in the cycle. This romance, indeed, gives us no reason to suppose that the downfall of the Round Table had been connected with the love-affair of Lancelot and Guinevere at the time that it was written. The confession of Lancelot to the hermit afforded the best opportunity possible for some allusion to the tragical conse-

<sup>93</sup>I have not considered it necessary to discuss in the body of the article the hypothesis that MA originally began with what in our existing text of the romance is Agravain's second attempt to incite Arthur against Lancelot and Guinevere (p. 92 of my edition). Only Wechssler, I believe, has assumed this. See his *Über die verschiedenen Redaktionen des Robert von Borron zugeschriebenen Graal-Lancelot Cyklus*, p. 36 (Halle, 1895). He is influenced, I suppose, by the fact that the Mort Arthur section of the Portuguese (Spanish) *Demanda* begins here and that Malory breaks the narrative of MA at this point by the interpolation of Book XIX. The *Demanda*, however, belongs to a redaction of the Robert de Boron cycle, which amputates in a most ruthless manner in order to establish an artificial equality between the different members of a trilogy. It has, therefore, no authority. On the other hand, whatever were Malory's motives for his division, he gives, after all, the whole narrative of MA (in a modified version). Imitations and allusions in the prose *Tristan* show that at the time that romance was composed (about 1220) MA had the same form as in our MSS. See Löseth, pp. 24 (probably Winchester tournament), 40 ff. (Lancelot entrapped with Guinevere), 59 (final battle at Salisbury), 91 (probably Morgain episode), 108 (probably Winchester tournament), 136 (Arthur's stay at Morgain's palace).

quences which the sin of the lovers was to entail—an opportunity which the author of the *Queste* with his craze for sermonizing would surely have availed himself of—but there is no such allusion. In my judgment the reason is plain: that conception is the invention of the author of MA, and MA was not yet written.

#### IV.—THEORIES CONCERNING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROSE CYCLES

According to the theory which Brugger has elaborated, the Vulgate cycle of the prose-romances, as we have it in our MSS. of the late thirteenth century, is the result of a long process of evolution, the existing cycle developing out of successive series of antecedent cycles.<sup>94</sup> According to this theory a Mort Arthur branch was inserted at an early stage in the development of these supposed cycles, at a time when a Perceval-*Queste* held the place which in the existing Vulgate cycle, is held by the Galahad-*Queste*. As far as the Mort Arthur is concerned, it is very difficult to discuss Brugger's theory, for he does not give us any definite idea as to the form which he supposes this branch to have had in the various hypothetical stages of development which he postulates. The very complexity of Brugger's scheme arouses skepticism; for all these antecedent cycles, it is to be remembered, are purely hypothetical, and the theory requires us at its start to accept as a fact something that cannot possibly be proved—namely, that Robert de Boron really wrote a Perceval romance. It goes on still further to other unproved assumptions—namely, that the *Didot-Perceval* is the prose rendering of Robert's lost Perceval romance and earlier than the Galahad-*Queste* and MA.

Again, it postulates a *Perlesvaus* that is different from that which we actually possess; for in the extant *Perlesvaus* Guinevere dies from grief for her son long before the end of Arthurian story, so the romance could not possibly have been combined with the only kind of *Mort Arthur* we know—viz. that in which she is the most potent cause of the destruction of the Round Table. And,

<sup>94</sup> See the stemma, just referred to, in the *Zs. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit.*, XXIX, 138 (1905), and the summary, *ibid.*, XXXVI, 206 f. (1910). Miss Weston's views coincide with Brugger's in the most important respects. See the latter's note in the journal just cited, XXX, 169 (1906).



apart from these matters, the theory necessitates the supposition that the composition of these huge cycles was the result of collaborative effort.<sup>95</sup> But the cooperative composition of fiction on this scale has no parallel in literary history, and I, for my part, contend that such an improbable supposition is wholly unnecessary.

These romances are cyclic, of course, but they came into existence, I maintain, like all other cyclic works—for example, like the Greek cyclic poems concerning the siege of Troy or the cycle of Guillaume d'Orange among the *chansons de geste*—without the concerted action of the authors. The only differences are (1) that the interval that separated the composition of the various branches was not so long, (2) that the writers of the later branches were not dependent on recitation as doubtless even the poets of the *chansons de geste* often were—they always had the earlier branches before them in written form, (3) that finally *assembleurs* brought the various branches together in huge MSS. and edited them after a fashion, connecting them with one another by cross-references—inserting especially Grail-references here and there, so as to make the Holy Grail appear the center of interest throughout.<sup>96</sup> Even Brug-

<sup>95</sup> At least beginning with what he calls the "(O-) Galaad-Gralcylus." For, as compared with the *Josephe*, the *Grand St. Graal* is virtually a new romance, and the hypothetical *Mort Arthur* of this stage of development must have been even fuller as compared with the earlier *Mort Arthur* (of Brugger's theory), represented by the last section of the *Didot-Perceval*. The *Lancelot*, too, I suppose, is imagined as fuller. I will remark in passing that a brief romance like the *Merlin* (before it was continued) would have cut a singular figure in the midst of these long romances. An examination of the grouping of the prose romances in the extant MSS. might naturally be expected to throw some light on the development of the cycles, but the only fairly systematic effort of this kind that has been made seems to me a failure. I refer to that of Gröber in Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, 997 f.

<sup>96</sup> It will be objected, of course, that we have a more essential difference in the fact that the earliest treatment of the themes of the Arthurian prose romances appears at the very beginning in the form of a cycle—Robert de Boron's poems. No one will deny that the fact that in the Vulgate cycle an *Estoire del Saint Graal* is followed by a *Merlin* is due to the example of Robert de Boron; but apart from the complete uncertainty that exists as to whether he really wrote a *Perceval*, this correspondence would not render necessary the assumption that we had between that writer's poems and the Vulgate cycle the continuous chain of hypothetical redactions of Brugger's scheme. The Greek tragedians cast their treatments of the stories of Agamemnon, Oedipus, etc., in the form of trilogies, but Seneca (and doubtless others before him) felt under no constraint to do the same thing in dealing with these themes. He has an *Agamemno*, for example,

ger acknowledges that the *Lancelot* was an independent (i. e., not cooperative) work and I see no reason for doubting that the same was true of the *Queste*, whether in the earliest prose-romance on the subject Perceval or Galahad was the Grail-hero. This was Richard Heinzel's view, as he states explicitly in his treatise, *Ueber die Französischen Gralromane*, p. 188. With regard to the *Lancelot*, however, Brugger is certainly in error, when he says: "der Lancelot ist eine Einheit und jede Teilung ist willkürlich." I am myself almost tempted to say that we might as well speak of the Old or the New Testament as an "Einheit." In the first place, he is wrong in his assertion: "Die Unterscheidung eines Agravainromans (sie rührt von P. Paris her) hat nicht die geringste Berechtigung weder in der Überlieferung noch sonst." In a number of MSS. from the thirteenth century down we have the *Agravain* (as it is still convenient to call it) as the only part of the *Lancelot* proper joined to the later branches of the cycle.<sup>97</sup> Of course, every one recognizes that it is merely a continuation of the original *Lancelot* (in my judgment not so late in date as some other parts of the *Lancelot* of our MSS.)—and in that sense not a separate romance—but the manuscript conditions strengthen the suspicion, suggested by other circumstances, that it is a continuation undertaken independently by its author.<sup>98</sup> But aside from the *Agravain*, does Brugger wish to maintain that the remainder of the *Lancelot* constitutes an "Einheit"—that the excellent pictures of feudal strife in the wars of

but nothing corresponding to the last two members of Aeschylus' trilogy. Why shouldn't the writers of Arthurian prose romances have exercised the same liberty? The scale on which the individual romances are planned makes it all the more probable that they did exercise such a liberty. After that, as I have argued above, these immense compositions could have been combined.

<sup>97</sup> In the Introduction to my edition of the *Mort Artu*, pp. xvi ff., I have enumerated four such MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, one in the British Museum and one in the Phillipps Library. This does not include the MSS. which link with the last two members of the cycle the *Agravain*, but incomplete. Again in the other MSS. that contain the whole *Lancelot* we have the *Agravain* beginning a new division. Miss Weston, in my judgment, is much nearer to the mark than Brugger, when she says (*The Legend of Sir Lancelot*, p. 149, note) of Paulin Paris' observation concerning the separation of the *Agravain* in the manuscript tradition: "One of the useful hints of this scholar that might have earlier been taken into consideration."

<sup>98</sup> As I have remarked elsewhere in this article it is not certain, in my opinion, that all of the *Agravain* even is from one hand. The bulk of it, however, doubtless was.

Claudas and the charming descriptions of childhood in the early part of this branch are from the same hand or formed a part of the same plan as the unutterable inanities that follow on the Charrette section in this same romance? If there is a work in all literature that is more plainly composite than the prose *Lancelot*, I do not know what it is.<sup>99</sup> But that its composite character is due to collaboration I see no reason for admitting. Even before minor insertions were made by the *assembleurs* (according to my theory), when they were bringing the romances of the cycle into closer manuscript union, I have no doubt that the *Lancelot* in its original form had already undergone various expansions. These expansions, however, I believe, were almost exclusively simply additions (whether forwards or backwards). The scribes or *assembleurs* have everywhere taken the liberty of inserting cross-references from time to time, but I see no ground for the opinion, very commonly held, that the older material was recast on any considerable scale by *Redaktoren* or any one else.

Granting then the existence of the *Lancelot* in its original form and the *Galahad-Queste* as separate works, what was the next stage in the evolution of the cycle? In my opinion, it was the composition of the *Mort Artu*. Then would follow the *Grand Saint Graal* and the *Merlin*, respectively, the author of the latter branch using for the beginning of his romance the prose-rendering (already in existence) of Robert de Boron's *Merlin*.

The assembling of these romances in the same MSS. began, no doubt, before the last of the cycle was written. Owing to the moderate length of the *Queste* and *Mort Artu* as well as to the fact that the latter carried on directly the Arthurian story where the former had left it off, these two romances were, probably from the time that the *Mort Artu* was first composed, usually combined in the same MSS.

On the theory which I have here outlined, the incorporation of

<sup>99</sup> The term "Einheit" seems hardly applicable from any point of view, for the *Lancelot*, as it stands in the MSS., is one of the most rambling works in literature. Brugger, himself, assumes throughout his articles different stages in the development of the romance, so I don't see why he should apply this term to it. If he means that from stage to stage a coherent plan was still maintained, this view would conflict in the most obvious way with the facts.

parts of one romance of the cycle in another,<sup>100</sup> the imitations of one romance in another,<sup>101</sup> the unevennesses<sup>102</sup> which we observe in the cycle are explicable, as they are not on the theory of collaborative authorship. The *assembleurs* who put together the romances in the form in which these works have come down to us took the manuscripts of the different branches as they found them and did not go over them with care enough to weed out such repetitions or to observe the inequalities which they contained; the imitations, of course, did not concern men who were merely fitting together the branches. On the other hand, it is inconceivable that such a procedure should have prevailed, if the romances of the cycle had been the result of conscious collaboration.

There is, in my judgment, only one stage of cyclic development behind the one preserved in the actual MSS. of the Vulgate cycle which can be argued for—at least, as regards the *Queste* branch—with any show of probability and even in this I have, personally, no belief—that stage, namely, which would represent a common source for the Vulgate cycle and the so-called Robert de Boron cycle. But as regards these two cycles, we have seen that the *Mort Arthur* of the latter is merely a modification of the *Mort Arthur* of the former. The same relation is observable in the *Merlin* sections of the two cycles.<sup>103</sup> On the other hand, if the Robert de Boron cycle ever had a *Lancelot*, it is lost and the *Grand Saint Graal* of the cycle which appears to be preserved only in a Portuguese version (Torre do Tombo MS.) has never been printed, so that really, as far as our present knowledge goes, the theory that the Robert de Boron cycle was derived not from the Vulgate cycle but from a common source narrows down to the *Queste* section. And what is the evidence here? The only older element of any real importance absent

<sup>100</sup> Parts of the *Grand Saint Graal*, for instance, are incorporated in the *Lancelot* and *Queste*. See Sommer's *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, IV, 324 ff., and VI, 151 ff.

<sup>101</sup> See, for example, the numerous imitations of the *Lancelot* in the *Mort Artu* which I have recorded in my notes to the latter—the restoration of Guinevere to Arthur through the Pope's interference, etc.

<sup>102</sup> For example, the wars in Gaul against the Romans appear three times in the cycle, (1) in the *Merlin* (Sommer, II, 424 ff.), (2) in the *Lancelot* (*ibid.*, V, 370 ff.), (3) in the *Mort Artu* (pp. 197 ff. of my edition).

<sup>103</sup> This section of the Robert de Boron cycle is best represented by the *Huth-Merlin*.

from the extant MSS. of the Vulgate *Queste* which is contained in the *Queste* of the Robert de Boron cycle (as represented by the Spanish and Portuguese *Demanda*'s and the fragments in MSS. 112 and 343 of the Bibliothèque Nationale) is the account of Gawain's slaying of Baudemagus. But this incident is necessarily implied in the narrative of the Vulgate *Queste*, so that it must have stood once in the *Queste* of that cycle, and its absence from our MSS. must be due to a defect of the archetype from which these MSS. are descended.<sup>104</sup>

Now if we are able to show (as I trust that I have shown) that the extant materials, which are very abundant, give us no ground to believe that there was any Mort Arthur romance before MA (the Vulgate form)<sup>105</sup> and if we can explain in a satisfactory way how this romance was built up out of the *Tristan* poems, the prose *Lancelot* and an expanded Wace (to say nothing of minor sources and the author's own genius), I contend that we are not obliged to lay aside all these reasonable conclusions, because they conflict with a theory of the origin of the prose cycles which rests on the basis of a series of unprovable assumptions like that of Brugger and Miss Weston. The idea that no one could write a *Queste* (whether with Perceval or Galahad as the hero) unless a Mort Arthur was pro-

<sup>104</sup> In *Romania*, XXXVI, 594 ff. (1907), A. Pauphilet has already called into question the assumed priority of the Robert de Boron cycle. The whole article is very instructive. The best statement of the reasons for supposing that the Portuguese (Spanish) *Demanda* contains older elements than the Vulgate *Queste* will be found in R. Heinzel's *Über die französischen Gralromane*, pp. 168 f. Besides the point mentioned above, Heinzel cites in this connection the fact that Lancelot's rôle is not so much stressed in the *Demanda* and the slightly looser connection of the *Demanda* with the *Grand Saint Graal* of the Vulgate cycle. The first of these matters is, however, evidently subjective. As to the second, the *Grand Saint Graal*, to which the *Demanda* was fitted, was not that of the Vulgate cycle, but of the so-called Robert de Boron cycle, which, as said above, remains unprinted to this day. Heinzel himself remarks (p. 169) on the large number of points in which the *Demanda* is plainly secondary as compared with the Vulgate *Queste*.

<sup>105</sup> Such, for instance, as the existence of isolated redactions of other members of the cycle: e. g., the *Merlin*-continuation of MS. 337 and the unprinted redaction of Part II, pp. 1-204 (Sommer's ed.) of the *Lancelot*. There is no reason to believe that these were parts of some different redaction of the whole cycle. The *Queste* of the so-called Robert de Boron cycle would prove the same thing, if it really were derived from the source of the Vulgate *Queste* and not from that romance itself, for the *Mort Arthur* of this cycle is plainly a modification of the Vulgate. I believe, however, that the same is true of the *Queste*.

vided for and *vice versa* is an implication of this theory. But, apart from any other objection, this idea is refuted by the fact mentioned above that the *Galahad-Queste*, as we have it in the Vulgate cycle, does not contain a single allusion to a Mort Arthur in any form and might have been read by all contemporary readers of romance without the feeling that it was not finished because it did not end with a Mort Arthur. What reader of the present day, indeed, who was unacquainted with Arthurian romance, would imagine on reading the *Queste*, by itself, that it had to have a sequel? Similarly, the *Perlesvaus*, as I have already pointed out, not only has no Mort Arthur section but could not have one.

But, it may be objected, how about the allusions to Perceval as the hero of the Grail-quest in the prose *Lancelot*? I cannot ascribe to these allusions the importance that Brugger and some others do, for, as a matter of fact, no existing MS. of the Vulgate cycle includes a *Perceval-Queste*, and my discussion of the Mort Arthur theme shows that in all the extant materials relating to that romance there is not a trace of its having been connected with a *Perceval-Queste*. We have, to be sure, in the *Didot-Perceval* a brief (and, to my mind, worthless) Mort Arthur in the same MS. as a *Perceval-Queste*, but the connection is purely mechanical; they stand in no vital relation.

Let us examine, however, the above-mentioned allusions which are supposed to prove that at one time a *Queste* of which Perceval was the hero actually occupied in the series the place which in the Vulgate MSS., as we have them, is filled by the *Queste* of which Galahad is the hero. There are three such passages<sup>106</sup> and Dr. Sommer, for example, speaks of these three references "which ignorant and careless scribes failed to suppress after they had become meaningless"—that is, after a *Galahad-Queste* had been substituted for the original *Perceval-Queste*. Let us see what they are:

1. In a passage not far from the beginning of the *Lancelot* (G. Brauner, *Der altfranzösische Prosaroman von Lancelot del Lac*, I. Branche, p. 48 and Sommer, III, 29) it is said that only two ladies

<sup>106</sup> They are quoted by Dr. Sommer, p. xiii of the Introduction to his *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, I. Cp. also P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, IV, 87.

in Logres (Arthur's kingdom) compared with Guinevere in beauty. The one was Heliene-sanz-per—"Et l'autre fu fille au Roi Mehaig-nie, ce fu li rois Pelles, qui fu peres Perlesvax a celui qui vit apertement les Granz Mervoilles del Graal, et acompli lo Siege Perilleus de la Table Reonde, et mena a fin les aventures del Reiaume Perilleus Aventureus, ce fu li regnes de Logres. Cele fu sa suer, si fu de si grant biaute que nus des contes ne dit que nule qui a son tens fust, se poist de biaute a li apareillier, si avoit non Amide en sornon, et an son droit non Heliabel."

This is the reading, it would seem, of the best MSS., although not so universal as one might infer from the fact that only one variant MS. is cited by Brauner, who claims to have prepared his edition from all the known MSS. He has gone through them all to a certain extent, it is true, and has worked out their genealogy to discover which are the best but he does not quote all variant readings.<sup>107</sup>

2. We have a reference to "li conte de Perceval" in two *Lancelot* MSS.—Lansdowne 757 (British Museum) and MS. 751 (Bibl. Nat.) The words are:

"Et le grant conte de lancelot couient repairier en la fin a perceval qui est chies et la fin de toz les contes as autres cheualiers. Et tuit sont branches de lui por ce quil acheua le grant queste. Et li contes de perceual meismes est une branche del haut conte del graal qui est chiez de tout les contes. Car por le graal se traueillent tuit li bon cheualier dont lan parole de celui tans."

3. A single MS. No. 754 (Bibl. Nat.), has also the following passage in which Perceval is said to have delivered Merlin from the confinement to which he had been committed by Vivien through the spell which she won from him. Here it is declared that no one ever saw Merlin after his confinement until he was delivered by Perceval, "qui vit la grant merueille del graal apres la mort de Lancelot si com li contes vos deuisera ca auant." There is some error here, for according to the *Queste* and *Mort Artu*, Perceval's death preceded that of Lancelot by a number of years.

Now, of the references I have cited the last two have evidently

<sup>107</sup> How far short of the pretensions of its title-page this edition (still in progress) of Professor Wechssler's pupils falls has been vigorously exposed by E. Brugger, *Zs. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit.*, XL, 37 ff. (1912).

little importance, since they are found merely in two MSS. and one MS. respectively. Only the first then requires serious consideration. It is to be remarked at the outset that there is an error of statement even in this reference, for it makes Pelles the father of Perceval, whereas in the Grail-romance, *Perlesvaux*, he is his uncle and in the *Queste* and last division of the *Lancelot* he is the father of Galahad's mother—so is not connected with Perceval at all. This error to a marked degree weakens the authority of the passage. But even overlooking this, are we justified on the basis of such a single passage in drawing the large inference of Brugger, Sommer and others that the cycle of the prose romances was once arranged with reference to a Perceval-*Queste* instead of a Galahad-*Queste*? Against this inference it is to be remembered that in the extant MSS. the Galahad-*Queste* is the only one actually preserved—moreover, that references in all the MSS. which contain parts of the cycle, and which are nearly a hundred in number, imply that the *Queste* member of the cycle is a *Galahad-Queste*. The references to Galahad in these MSS., as we have them, run through the whole cycle. In view of this state of things, is it not better to seek some other explanation for the passages in question? May not the writer by a confusion of memory be mixing here the Galahad-*Queste* with the *Perlesvaux* in which Perceval was the Grail hero? The Seat Perilous does not figure in the *Perlesvaux*—it belongs to the Galahad-*Queste*—but all the rest applies equally to the two versions. Writers are guilty of such confusion of memory, and to me at least it seems more natural to explain the above-quoted passage in this manner than to build up the huge hypothesis which is advocated by Brugger and others. Moreover, the form of Perceval's name here, "Perlesvax," accords with the supposition that the writer had in mind the romance which we call by that name. The passage, after all, may have stood in the *Lancelot* before that romance was combined with the cycle and have been left there through inadvertence after the combination, though it did not harmonize with the Galahad-*Queste*. As we have seen above, the *Lancelot* had a history before this combination. That it had already undergone expansion can hardly be denied, so the passage under consideration may well have been inserted in its earlier development.

As a matter of fact, Brugger does take these allusions as refer-



ring to the *Perlesvaus*, but to the *Perlesvaus* as an integral part of the cycle before it was supplanted by the *Galahad-Queste*. But, as I have already observed, how could the *Perlesvaus* have ever formed a part of a cycle even remotely resembling the Vulgate? For as I have already had occasion to remark more than once, in this romance Guinevere, contrary to the general tradition of the Arthurian romances, dies long before the end on account of her son Lohot whom Kay has treacherously slain. How can one find a place for such a romance in a cycle that concludes with the *Mort Artu*—the subject of which is the intrigue of Lancelot and Guinevere, the detection of that intrigue, the wars that follow, Mordred's treason, the final battle between Arthur and Mordred, together with Guinevere's flight to a convent, where she dies as a nun? The two conceptions of Guinevere's end are manifestly incompatible and, as far as I can discover, Brugger has made no attempt to reconcile the contradiction. He would say, of course, that the *Perlesvaus* in its original form differed from that of the extant MSS. Arguments of this kind, however, have to be used always with caution, and the death of Guinevere as we find it in the MSS. of the *Perlesvaus* is evidently an integral conception of the romance. No reason whatever for asserting that it was not has ever been brought forward. Sommer's theory that the Perceval romance referred to is not the *Perlesvaus* but some lost *Perceval-Queste* is at least not open to this criticism. I do not believe, however, that either supposition is correct. Altogether, in my judgment, there is no need of resorting to these complicated theories which assume from the inception of the prose-romances a successive series of combinations of which there is no manuscript evidence.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Since the above pages were written, Brugger's article embracing a discussion of these *Perlesvaus* allusions has appeared, *Zs. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit.*, XL, 37 ff. (see especially 47 ff.). He examines the readings of the various *Lancelot* MSS. in detail, but his discussion does not affect the explanation which I have offered in the above as to how these allusions got into the cycle. The assumption of the series of antecedent hypothetical cycles lies at the basis of what he says here also, but I have already given my reasons for not believing in this assumption.

## THE SOURCES OF THE ROMAN DE LA VIOLETTE

THE *Roman de la Violette*,<sup>1</sup> which was probably written between 1225 and 1230,<sup>2</sup> belongs to the Cycle de la Gageure. A general study of this cycle was made by Gaston Paris and the results of his investigations have been published by M. Bédier.<sup>3</sup> The present brief article is concerned only with the immediate sources of the *Violette*.

The plot of the poem is as follows:

The author, Gerbert de Montreuil (the name is given in line 6636), begins by telling how much *savoir* is to be preferred to *avoir*, then, after praising the story which he is about to tell, he names it and dedicates it to the Countess of Ponthieu (1-66). There was formerly in France a certain King Louis, young and handsome, who honored knights and fair ladies. One Easter he held court at Pont de l'Arche; numerous lords and ladies attended, carols were sung and danced. Among the courtiers was Gerart de Nevers, renowned as a singer; he sings and tells of his love for the fair Euriaut. Lisiart, the traitor, offers to wager his lands against Gerart's that he can render Euriaut unfaithful. In spite of the King's remonstrances the wager is made. Lisiart disguises himself as a pilgrim and goes to Nevers to see Euriaut. He is unsuccessful in winning Euriaut's love, but Gondrée,<sup>4</sup> Euriaut's duenna, offers to aid him. She bores a hole through the wall of Euriaut's room, thus Lisiart sees her at her bath and notices the mark of the violet on her breast; he goes back to court and offers his knowledge of the violet as proof of Euriaut's infidelity. Gerart sends his nephew, Geoffroi, to bring Euriaut to court. She arrives and a long description is given of her beauty and of her costume. Euriaut is accused

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Francisque Michel, Paris, 1834.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ro.* XXXII, 539 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ro.* XXXII, 481-551.

<sup>4</sup> Rochs (*Ueber den Veilchen-Roman*, Dissertation, Halle, 1882, p. 5) sees in this name a possible connection with Cundrie in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parsival*; see also below, note 5.

by Lisiart and Gerart in grief is forced to acknowledge her guilt and the loss of his lands. Gerart rides away with the girl to punish her. They enter a forest and he is about to put her to death with his sword when she warns him of the approach of a great serpent; he kills the serpent and then, as she has saved his life, he gives up the idea of putting her to death and merely abandons her in the forest, where she is found by the Duke of Metz and his followers (67-1127). The Duke falls in love with her and wishes to marry her, much against the will of his followers. Euriaut refuses, but the Duke is so much in love with her that he takes her away to Metz (1128-1282). Gerart in the meantime complaining of woman's deceit decides to go to Nevers to see what has become of Lisiart. He first goes to a jongleur's house and there disguises himself as a jongleur. In this costume he arrives at his former castle in Nevers, where he sings before Lisiart and Gondrée. He overhears them as they tell of Euriaut's innocence and their own treachery. Gerart leaves at once in search of Euriaut (1283-1515). From this point to line 5108 the poem has the characteristics of the ordinary roman d'aventure. These adventures were added by Gerbert to the principal motif of the gageure. The first tells of the rescue of a lady whose castle and lands were coveted by Galerans,<sup>5</sup> Lord of the Gorgersans; Gerart kills Galerans in single combat and, wounded, is nursed back to health by the lady, who falls in love with him. Gerart leaves her, however, intent on his search for Euriaut (1516-2265). He falls ill in the house of a bourgeois of Châlons whose daughter, Marote, one day sings a chanson de toile in which occurs the name of Euriaut (this song has been preserved only in the *Violette*). This name arouses Gerart and he leaves,

<sup>5</sup> Langlois, *Table des Noms propres*, cites thirty characters of this name occurring in the chansons de geste. Cf. the following from Gaydon (*Anciens Poètes de la France*, vol. 7, ll. 6917 ff.), where three names found in the *Violette* occur in three successive lines:

Berars a mort Galerant gorge enflee  
Et Viviens, Garin le fil Gondree,  
Girars, Humbaut a la teste meslee . . .

In preparation for the fight with Galerans Gerart puts on a hauberk which once belonged to Alexander the Great and a helmet which formerly belonged to Esclamor de Baudaire (in the Provençal version of *Fierabras* mention is made of a Saracen chief, named Esclamor d'Amiata).

taking away a hawk which Marote has given him. He next saves Duke Miles of Cologne from the Saxons who are besieging his city.<sup>6</sup> Miles' daughter, Aiglente, and her maid, Florentine, fall in love with Gerart. After fighting valorously against the Saxons, Gerart is brought back wounded to the castle. The two jealous girls quarrel, but by a magic potion, as in the Tristan legend, Aiglente wins Gerart's love and makes him forget Euriaut until one day when hawking his falcon brings down a lark which has around its neck the ring he had given Euriaut (she had slipped the ring over the bird's head one day at Metz and the bird had flown away).<sup>7</sup> The sight of the ring counteracts the love-potion and Gerart continues his search for Euriaut, after remaining about a year at Cologne. Meantime Euriaut at Metz had spurned the advances of a knight named Meliatir. In order to avenge the insult Meliatir murders the Duke's sister while she is sleeping with her friend Euriaut and places Euriaut's hand on the dagger<sup>8</sup> in order that she may be falsely accused of the murder (2502-4417). Gerart, after leaving Aiglente, meets a knight who has been wounded in an unsuccessful attempt to save his wife from an enemy. Gerart punishes the enemy, rescues the lady and conducts the wounded man to his castle.<sup>9</sup> Gerart next rescues a maiden from a giant, Baudaligans, who is suffering from a disease that can be relieved only by eating human flesh; the giant is about to take the girl and her brothers from their father when Gerart kills him in single combat. Gerart continues his search for Euriaut and meets a number of people going to Euriaut's trial, for she has been accused of murdering the Duke's sister (4418-5156). Gerart joyfully accompanies these people and, on arriving at the scene of the trial just as Euriaut

<sup>6</sup> See *Jean Bodels Saxonlied*, ed. by Menzel and Stengel (in *A. und A.*, vols. 99 and 100); on p. 259 mention is made of a Duke Miles of Cologne besieged by the Saxons; there is also in this poem an Aiglente (Aiglande), sister of Guiteclin.

<sup>7</sup> The *Escoufle* is suggested; however, in the *Violette* the bird with the ring serves to unite the lovers instead of to separate them; see P. Meyer's edition, *S. A. T. F.*, vol. 34, p. xxxii, where other poems with this motif are mentioned.

<sup>8</sup> Rochs, *l. c.*, p. 8, calls attention to a similar motif in the Old English poem *Offa and Thrydo* (see H. Suchier, *Ueber die Sage von Offa und Thrydo*, in Paul and Braune's *Beitr.* IV, 1877, p. 516).

<sup>9</sup> In connection with such an episode, which is suggestive of many of the Arthurian adventures, it should be remembered that the author of the *Violette* is identical with the Gerbert who was the continuator of the *Grail*.

is offering her last prayer<sup>10</sup> before being burned to death, he demands a trial by combat. This is granted and he as champion of Euriaut forces Meliartir to acknowledge his guilt (5157-5650). Gerart next goes to a great tournament held at Montargis in which he compels Lisiart to confess his treachery before he is put to death. Gondrée is punished by being boiled to death. The lovers are married amid great rejoicing and then return to Nevers. The patroness, Marie de Ponthieu, is again praised and the poem closes (5651-6656).

The *Roman du Comte de Poitiers*<sup>11</sup> begins with an eulogy of Pepin, in whose reign the story is placed. Gerart (cf. the hero's name in the *Violette*), Comte de Poitiers, comes with other nobles to court amid great feasting. The Duke of Normandy, hearing him speak of his charming and beautiful wife, offers to wager Normandy against Poitou that he will be able to render the Count's wife unfaithful. The wager is accepted and the Duke goes to Poitiers where he finds the Countess seated beneath a tree with a large company. The Duke presents himself as a friend of the Count and is invited to dine. His crude and ardent advances during and after dinner anger the Countess, who repulses him. The Duke turns away and is met by the Countess' duenna, who offers to serve him in return for money and jewels, which are gladly promised. The duenna succeeds in getting the Countess' marriage ring, ten strands of her hair and a bit of her dress, all of which she gives to the Duke. He takes these objects to Paris as proof of the infidelity of the Countess. The Count in his anger knocks out two of the Duke's teeth and quotes a proverb:

Il est fols qui sor piere seme.

Salemons fu honis par feme (358),

which is also given in the *Violette*:

<sup>10</sup> The prayer covers 150 lines; besides the prayers of Lothaire and of the Duchesse de Bouillon in the *Chevalier au Cygne*, there is one by Olivier in *Fierabras* (*Anciens Poètes de la France*, vol. 4, ll. 920 ff.) strikingly like that of the *Violette*.

<sup>11</sup> Ed. Fr. Michel, Paris, 1831; the influence of the *Comte de Poitiers* on the *Violette* has already been pointed out by Rochs, *l. c.*; he does not, however, allude to other important influences mentioned in this article.

Salemons, ki molt par fu sages,  
Rechut par femme mains damages (1285).<sup>12</sup>

The Count sends his nephew, Geoffroi (cf. the name of the nephew in the *Violette*), to Poitiers to fetch the Countess. The Countess arrives at court and in spite of her protestations she is deemed guilty because of the evidence of the three apparent favors. Pepin decides that the Duke has won the wager. The Count takes his wife away. After riding two days and two nights they come to a forest where they dismount. The Count is about to put the Countess to death, when she cries out to warn him of an approaching lion. The Count kills the lion and then, as the Countess has saved his life, he abandons her in the wood without putting her to death. Her grief. She is found by Harpin, a nephew of the Count. Harpin takes her to his castle. After abandoning his wife the Count encounters a great serpent which he kills (in the *Violette* the serpent appears instead of the lion and the second unnecessary episode is omitted). After a peasant has refused to exchange clothes with him, he persuades a pilgrim<sup>13</sup> to do so, and thus disguised he sets out to find the Duke and to avenge himself. The Count finds the Duke at Poitiers, where he is living with the old duenna, who has become his mistress; he learns from their conversation that his wife is innocent and in joy sets out to find her. He chances to come to Harpin's castle almost at once (the *Violette* here introduces the long relation of Gerart's adventures, which is not derived from the *Comte de Poitiers* nor from the *Cycle de la Gageure*). Harpin is about to marry the Countess against her will. Joy of the Count and Coun-

<sup>12</sup> The phraseology of the *Comte de Poitiers* is elsewhere suggested in the *Violette*. In the scene where the heroine is abandoned in the wood the Count tells her in his anger:

On vous devoit ardoir en cendre  
Con laron qui enble par fosse (512),

and in the *Violette*, when Euriant is found by the Duke of Metz, she tells him:

Si sui fille a .I. caretier,  
Encor servi d'autre mestier,  
Car. I. larron fossier sivoie (1199).

<sup>13</sup> In the *Violette* Gerart is disguised as a jongleur, which is better adapted to his character of a singer; the pilgrim's guise is, however, used in the *Violette* by Lisiart when he visits Euriant.

tess on meeting again. Now that the Count is sure of his wife's innocence, she begs him to avenge her insult. They go to Pepin's court, where they find the Duke and the duenna. The Count accuses the Duke of treachery and in the resulting trial by combat the Count triumphs. The Duke is finally hanged, and the duenna, after having her eyes put out, is relegated to an *hostellerie*. The Count regains his lands (1-1229).

In lines 1230-1719 it is related how Count Gui, the son of the Count and Countess, became Emperor of Constantinople; this part of the poem has no influence on the *Violette*.

A comparison of the summaries of these two poems belonging to the *Cycle de la Gageure* shows that the *Violette* is derived directly from the *Comte de Poitiers* by an amplification of lines 1-1229. The style of the *Comte de Poitiers* is cruder and the poem was apparently written for a more primitive society. Apart from the style, the important changes in motifs are: The title, the knowledge of the mark of a flower on the girl's body instead of the possession of certain alleged presents, the introduction of songs<sup>14</sup> in the context, and the description of certain adventures which the hero has in his search for the heroine. Of these all but the last are derived from the *Roman de la Rose* (*Guillaume de Dole*),<sup>15</sup> a roman d'aventure of the same cycle, written probably about the year 1200. The portion of the *Rose* which is connected with the *Cycle de la Gageure* extends from line 2920 to line 5941 (the end). The *Rose* does not, however, belong to the division of the cycle which comprises the *Violette*; in the *Rose* the girl herself proves her innocence, whereas in the *Violette* and in the *Comte de Poitiers* the hero learns of her innocence from other sources, which is an essential variant in the stories of this cycle.<sup>16</sup>

The minor adventures introduced in the *Violette* are not marked by striking originality, but are such as might have been suggested to a poet on reading the romans d'aventure and the epics of the period, e. g., *La Chanson des Saxons*, *Fierabras*, *Tristan*, The

<sup>14</sup> See my article in *Studies in Honor of A. Marshall Elliott*, J. H. U. Press, Baltimore, vol. I, pp. 129 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Ed. Servois, *S. A. T. F.*, vol. 33.

<sup>16</sup> See *l. c.*, *Ro.* XXXII, pp. 481 ff., where a classification of the versions may be found.

Arthurian Stories, perhaps also *L'Escoufle* and *Gaydon* (the date of the latter, however, may be a little later than that of the *Violette*).<sup>17</sup>

The characteristics of the author of the *Violette* are, therefore, good taste, refinement and grace, rather than striking originality, and the poem follows the *Rose* in form, style and certain motifs, but its plot is derived directly by amplification from the first part of the *Comte de Poitiers*.

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<sup>17</sup> Gaston Paris, *La lit. fr. au m. âge*, Tableau chronologique.



## MISCELLANEOUS

### OLD FRENCH ESTOVOIR

IN his *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*, Godefroy defines *estovoir* as follows: "v. *impers.*, *falloir*, *être nécessaire*, *convenir*." The purpose of this note is to call attention to two occurrences of *estovoir* used as a personal verb.

"Sire," fait el, "bien devons querre  
Comment nostre fuis tiegne terre,  
Et qu'il ne perde pas s'honor  
Por l'amistié de Blanceflor;  
Mais qui li porroit si tolir  
Qu'ele n'en *estéust* morir,<sup>1</sup>  
Cou m'est a vis plus bel seroit."

(Du Mériel's edition of *Floire et Blanceflor*, I, 305-12.)

Quant vint el demain par matin,  
Si ralerent tuit al devin,  
Et demandent quel la feront,  
Et il de par les deus respont,  
Que de lor aler est neienz,  
Se Eolus, li deus des venz,  
Nen esteit primes apaiez,  
Qu'uns Greus li fust sacrefiēz:  
*Uns d'els i estoveit morir*,  
Se ja s'en deveient partir.

(*Le Roman d'Énéas*, 1011-20.)

In an article on the etymology of *estovoir*, Walberg says: Pour terminer, je ferai remarquer que, à la différence du verbe français, le rhétorom. *stuvair* est personnel: en haut-engad on dit, par exemple, *eau stu partir* = "il me faut partir, je dois partir." The examples cited above show that the use of *estovoir* as a personal verb was also known in Old French.

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<sup>1</sup> MS. A reads: Quil ne len esteust morir.

## PHONOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

### I.—*Ansere* IN SPANISH

Speaking of Latin consonant-groups, Menéndez Pidal says:<sup>1</sup> "Ya en latín vulgar *NS* se reducía á *S*, . . . siendo excepción rara el aragonés que dice *ansa*, *pansa* *pansu* (y asimila á éstos *ursu* por \**urcsu onso*). Más que aragonesas, hemos de creer voces tardías *ánsar ansere*, *manso*, *mansedumbre* (semiculta también por conservar la protónica . . .)." I do not understand how *pansa* could come from *pansu* (a misprint for *pansa*?); but the other cases can all be considered natural developments. In Portuguese the extension of nasalization is common: *mãe* < *matre*, *mim* < *mihi*, *minha* < \**mia* < *mea*, *muíto*<sup>2</sup> < *multu*, *nem* < *nec*, *ninho* < \**nio* < *nidu*, and dialectally *mãjor*<sup>3</sup> < *maiore*, *mon*<sup>4</sup> < *amore*, *nonte*<sup>5</sup> < *nocte*. Changes of the same kind are to be found in Spanish, such as *almendra*, *mancha*, *manzana* beside *mazaneta*, Asturian and Andalusian *muncho*. We may therefore assume similar developments in *un(a) ansa* < *un(a) asa*, *un onso* < *un oso*, *manso* < \**maso* (probably with voiceless *s*) < *mansue*. Evidently *un ánsar* could have developed in the same way, though another possible source of the *n* is the word *ganso* (= German *gans*): compare Rumanian *popór* < *populu*, with stress-change due to *noród*, a synonym of Slavonic origin.<sup>6</sup> It is rather amusing to notice that the Spanish Academy's *Diccionario* makes *ganso* a derivative of *anser*.

It seems hardly right to call *mansedumbre* bookish, merely on account of the second vowel, especially as Menéndez Pidal himself admits that parallel forms, like *hospedado* and *pedregoso*, may be considered normal. In each of these the loss of the second vowel would have involved a consonant-change too; presumably the dislike

<sup>1</sup> *Gramática histórica española*, 85, Madrid, 1905.

<sup>2</sup> Vianna, *Portugais*, 54, Leipzig, 1903.

<sup>3</sup> *Revista lusitana*, vii, 43.

<sup>4</sup> *Revista lusitana*, vii, 249.

<sup>5</sup> *Revista lusitana*, vii, 250.

<sup>6</sup> *ROMANIC REVIEW*, i, 433.

ov such great alterations, if thay ever existed, woz hwot protected (or restoard) the longer forms. The so-cald 'law' for the loss ov weak vouels iz by no means a simpl matter; in meny cases it woz at ferst enforst and afterwards repeald: *crece* < *crez* < *crescit*, *dulce* < *dulz* < *dulce*, *nueve* < *nuef* < *noue*.

## 2.—*Niue* IN HISPANIC AND PROVENCIAL

In Inglish thær ar two time-worn terms expressing lihtness: *fether* and *snow*. In erly Romanic speech the use ov 'snow' woz favord by the likeness ov *lëue* and *niue*, and in some rejons it led to the riming ov thees werds. The clôs *e* ov *neve*, kept in Italian and implied in French *neif* > *noif*, thus became open in Portugees *leve como a neve*, Provencial *leu com la neu*, and shows the uzual breaking in Spanish *lieve como la nieve*. Modern Catalan *e* iz clôs in *neu*; but it may hav formerly bin open, for the Catalan derivativs ov *dëu* and *lëue* hav clôs *e*, aparently az a normal development.

In his *Phonology and Morphology* (p. 16), Prof. Grandgent ses that the open *e* ov Prov. *neu* woz du to the vouels ov *breu*, *greu*, *leu*. I think this statement justifies the remark ov A. Thomas (*Romania*, XXXIV, 332); heer, az elshwær, the idëa ov influence seems rather straind. In vew ov the Horacian lines

uidēs ut altā stet niue candidum  
Sōracte nec iam sustineant onus  
siluae labōrantēs gelūque  
flūmina constiterint acūtō?

it iz clear that the Romans may hav ocazionaly asociated *gravis* with *nix*. But in the mōst thickly settld porcions ov Romania, the burden ov hevy snows woz not a common anoyance; and in the south ov France, especialy, the climet can hardly be cald arctic. I thærfoar dout the probability ov *greu*-influence on *neu*, tho the posibility cannot be gained. The asociacion ov *brevis* with *nix* seems even moar unlikely. Do we ofn say *short rain* or *short snow-storm*? Thees expressions sound unuzual to me; the reason for thair rarity appears to be that a very long storm iz notewerthy, hwile a short wone iz not. And furthermoar, if *neu* woz afected by *breu* and *greu*, the same principl wood hardly aply to the Hispanic ecwivalents. Span.

*breve* and Port. *breve* ar bookish; i cannot find eny evidence ov a popular \**brieve* in Spanish. The form *grieve* iz recorded, but i suspect it ov being a Gallic loan-werd. Thus it seems simplest to asume *leue*-influence in all three langwejes.

### 3.—PROVENCIAL *r* FOR *n*.

Provencial commonly has *-rgue* insted ov *-ngue* < *-nicu*. In *Romania*, XXXIV, 333, speaking ov this development, A. Thomas ses: "ce changement de *n* en *r* est probablement lié à la présence du son explosif *g* après lui." We ar not tôld hwy *g* cauzd *n* to become *r*. The reazon seems plain, however, if we consider the sounds insted ov the spelling. In *-ngue* < *-nicu*, the velar sound  $\eta$  replaced dental *n*, on acount ov the folloing *g*. In erly Romanic speech, az in modern Italian, Provencial and Spanish, the sound  $\eta$  woz the ôny nazal that cood stand befoar a velar consonant ov the same werd. To avoid a chanje ov the apical-velar groop *ng* to the velar-velar groop  $\eta g$ , it woz necesery to replace *n* by an oral sound. A similar formacion ov *r* from *n*, in contact with a labial, iz seen in *carbe*, a variant ov *cambe* = Italian *cânape* or *cânapo*. These werds, hwich cannot be directly conected with *cannabe*, seem to be parcialy Jermanic: compare English *hemp* < *hænep*, reprezenteng \**hanap*-. In *marsip* = *massip* = *mansip*, the chanje ov *n* to *r* woz an alternativ to its disappearance.

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## REVIEWS

Dante Alighieri, *La Divina Commedia*, Edited and Annotated by C. H. Grandgent, Professor of Romance Languages in Harvard University. D. C. Heath & Co., Publishers [1913].

During the last thirty years greater progress has been made in Dante studies, and in every branch of research, than in the preceding four centuries. These few years have seen the publication of the most important of the older commentaries, that of Benvenuto da Imola, critical editions of the *De vulgari eloquio* and of the *Vita Nuova* due respectively to Rajna and to Barbi; concordances to the *Divina Commedia*, to the minor Italian works, and to the Latin works, the results of the industry of Fay, Sheldon and Rand; studies devoted either to the elucidation of difficult passages such as those of Moore, D'Ancona and Novati, or those devoted to literary and philosophical interpretation such as have been written by Flamini, Busnelli and Vossler; treatises on the poet's influence in various literatures such as Farinelli's remarkable masterpiece of literary criticism, *Dante e la Francia*, and Toynbee's conscientious compilation, *Dante in English Literature*. Recent publications in related fields of study such as Egger-Holder's edition of the Chronicle of Salimbene, and important studies and publications upon the early history of the Franciscan order, and the beginnings of Italian language and schools of poetry, have added to our information in regard to the times and conditions under which Dante lived and wrote.

There has been an equal progress made in editions of the *Divina Commedia*. Only twenty years ago those most popular were reissues of Fraticelli's, Bianchi's and Camerini's editions, of which the first was published in 1864, and the other two in 1868. In these the use or non-use of Witte's critical studies furnished an equally unsatisfactory text; as for the commentaries on the text they almost justify Voltaire's remark about earlier commentaries: "C'est peut-être une raison de plus pour n'être pas compris." Casini's edition, published in 1892, forms a striking contrast to these imprints, as it was the production of a scholar who brought into play his philological training, in the use he made of the older commentaries and of modern critical studies. The single volume edition of Scartazzini, which appeared the next year, had the faults incidental to an erudition more industrious than perspicacious, and the overloaded notes were not changed for the better in successive editions, of which each was "riveduta, corretta e notevolmente arricchita." Scartazzini was unfortunate in almost invariably choosing the wrong reading of mooted passages, and the corresponding comment, or in supplying his own comment which would fit the preferred reading. Torraca's edition, first published in 1905, was a relief with its concise notes, which showed its editor's accurate knowledge of early Italian, and his wide acquaintance with medieval literature. His one fault is his overfondness for the *lectio difficilior*, and his consequent rejection of explanations of the older commentators which do not square with textual readings which are linguistically justifiable. With the publication of the *Paradiso* Professor Grandgent completes his edition,

which is commendable in every way. He has made a happy combination in basing his text on that of the last edition of Moore's Oxford Dante, and in adopting the general plan of Torraca's commentary. But he has not hesitated to question or deny the authority of either of his predecessors with information he has collected in his own readings, or with interpretations due to his independent judgment.

But Professor Grandgent has done something more than furnish a satisfactory text and running commentary. His introduction of thirty pages is not the usual jejune account of Dante's life and works. It sets forth very concisely and clearly the sources of the poet's moral, theological, and eschatological systems, and of his spiritual and poetical inspirations; it defines the place of the *Divina Commedia* in the literature of its own time and of the world; it emphasizes the perfection of its external structure and the originality of the verse form. A couple of pages are devoted to an account and an estimate of the value of the manuscripts, editions, and commentaries of the poem. Each *cantica* is prefaced by a few pages devoted to an exposition of its subject and of its treatment, and each canto is preceded by an argument of its contents. It can be said without hesitation that these subsidiary aids, in which there is nothing superfluous, give the reader a clearer comprehension of the poem, as a whole and in detail, than he would be able to get in any other of the countless editions of the poem. For every general view and every specific statement one finds the best and most recent authorities, which make a valuable bibliographical guide for more detailed study. Professor Grandgent shows at once good sense and a delicate literary feeling in his critical judgment, a fine discrimination in his interpretations, and his translations of difficult passages are as pleasing as they are correct.

Now and then Professor Grandgent misses an important point, perhaps intentionally for the sake of brevity, or, again, because one of ten thousand Dante notes has escaped his attention. Thus the verse which tells how Semiramis

Tenne la terra che il Soldan corregge (*Inf.* v 60),

needs more of a comment than: "The lands in Egypt and Syria which the Sultan now rules." It should have been noted that Dante included Egypt under the great queen's rule, because he here failed to make the common medieval distinction between the two Babylons: "Babylonia antiqua a Nembroth gygante [fundata]" and "Babylonia altera, id est Memfis [i. e. Cairo] super Nihim" (*Liber floridus*; *Not. & Extr.* XXXVIII, 632, cf. 611; cf. also P. Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand dans la litt. fr.*, II, 207, n. 1; *Jourdain de Blaive*, 2146; cf. p. lviii; W. Lithgow, *Rare Adventures*, ed. 1906, 270; P. Toynbee, *Dante Res.*, 128, 292). Again, the problem of the stream Eunoe (*Purg.* XXVIII, 123 ff.; XXXIII, 127 ff.) should not be dismissed with the remarks that the conception is the poet's own devising, and that he constructed the name "out of the Greek *εὐνοία*, or directly from *eu*, 'well,' and *noûs* or *noos*, 'mind.' One must believe that Dante found and shaped to his own use an account of the Orphic doctrine, according to which the initiate found in Hades two springs, that of Lethe on the left, and that of Mnemosyne on the right. The former he avoided, the latter he drank of, so that he might reign with the other heroes (Rohde, *Psyche*, II, 389-390; Weil, *Journ. d. Savants*, 1895, 219-220; 309-310; 319). One may be as sceptical as Parodi and D'Ovidio about accepting a postulated reading of a possible Orphic

inscription, which makes *E[br]ola* a synonym of *Mnemosyne*, but the pagan conception has survived in the work of the Christian poet (cf. K. Burdach, *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1910, 634-4), who would have found nothing objectionable to his own idea of the meaning of the word he picked up, in the definition of a medieval glossary; "*Ebrula* : favor, benivolentia" (*Corp. gloss.*, II, 318, 38). The contrast of the conceptions of memory and oblivion was emphasized for the Middle Ages in the Rabbinical story of the rings of memory and oblivion, which Moses had made as a device to rid himself of his Ethiopian wife Tharbis. This story was first told in the Occident by Petrus Comestor in his *Historia scholastica* (*Exod.*, ch. vi; Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CXCVIII, 1144), a work which had such a vogue, as a whole or through such stories as this (cf. *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XXXVI, 145 ff.; *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Oesterley, pp. 287, 714; Herbert, *Cat. of Romances*, III, 207), and gained its author a place among the theologians in the heaven of the sun (*Par.*, XII, 134). The interpretation of the two rings as "*oracio et jejuni-um*" (*Gesta Rom.*, pp. 287-8) throws light on the allegory of the two streams in the Earthly Paradise, especially when we are also told elsewhere that:

"Certe debemus dare carni annulum oblivionis, ut abstrahatur a delectacionibus, que sunt secundum sensum, ut sic obliviscantur delectaciones carnales, sed annulum memorie debet anima sibi retinere, ut videlicet in memoria jugiter habeat penas infernales et novissimum vite sue, ut sic peccatum caro obliviscatur."

Such allegorical explanations show why Dante has his penitent sinners taste of both Lethe and Eunoe,

e non adopra

Se quinci e quindi pria non è gustato.

One wonders, too, why Professor Grandgent has not thought it worth while noting the evident use Dante made of the *Arbor vite crucifixae* of Ubertino da Casale, the latest of the literary sources of the *Divina Commedia* (cf. *e. g. Par.*, XI, 28-42; 64-72; XII, 37-46; *Arbor*, v, 2-3), however poor an opinion the poet may have had of Ubertino's virtues as a leader of the Spiritual Franciscans (*Par.*, XII, 124). An index of proper names should be added to the reissue of this edition, so that it will not be necessary to refer to other editions, inferior in every way to this one, which is as well suited for the general literary public as for class use.

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*Les Obres d'Auzias March*. Edició crítica per Amadeu Pagès. Volum I. Introducció. Text crític de les Poesies I a LXXIV. Institut d'Estudis Catalans: Palau de la Diputació. Barcelona, MCMXII.

*Auzias March et ses Prédécesseurs*: Essai sur la poésie amoureuse et philosophique en Catalogne aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Par Amédée Pagès, Docteur ès Lettres, Professeur au Lycée de la Rochelle. Paris, Librairie Honoré Champion, 1912. Le 194<sup>e</sup> fascicule de la Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études.

In these works we greet some of the long-promised results of studies on the chief of the Old Catalan poets—studies begun in Paris under Morel-Fatio in 1886 and first reported on in *Romania* in 1888. This first volume of March's





inscription, which makes *E[di]ola* a synonym of Mnemosyne, but the pagan conception has survived in the work of the Christian poet (cf. K. Burdach, *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Ak.*, 1910, 634-4), who would have found nothing objectionable to his own idea of the meaning of the word he picked up, in the definition of a medieval glossary; "*E[di]ola* : favor, benivolentia" (*Corp. gloss.*, II, 318, 38). The contrast of the conceptions of memory and oblivion was emphasized for the Middle Ages in the Rabbinical story of the rings of memory and oblivion, which Moses had made as a devise to rid himself of his Ethiopian wife Tharbis. This story was first told in the Occident by Petrus Comestor in his *Historia scholastica* (*Exod.*, ch. vi; Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CXCVIII, 1144), a work which had such a vogue, as a whole or through such stories as this (cf. *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XXXVI, 145 ff.; *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Oesterley, pp. 287, 714; Herbert, *Cat. of Romances*, III, 207), and gained its author a place among the theologians in the heaven of the sun (*Par.*, XII, 134). The interpretation of the two rings as "oracio et jejuni-um" (*Gesta Rom.*, pp. 287-8) throws light on the allegory of the two streams in the Earthly Paradise, especially when we are also told elsewhere that:

"Certe debemus dare carni annulum oblivionis, ut abstrahatur a delectacionibus, que sunt secundum sensum, ut sic obliviscantur delectaciones carnales, sed annulum memorie debet anima sibi retinere, ut videlicet in memoria jugiter habeat penas infernales et novissimum vite sue, ut sic peccatum caro obliviscatur."

Such allegorical explanations show why Dante has his penitent sinners taste of both Lethe and Eunoe,

e non adopra

Se quinci e quindi pria non è gustato.

One wonders, too, why Professor Grandgent has not thought it worth while noting the evident use Dante made of the *Arbor vitae crucifixae* of Ubertino da Casale, the latest of the literary sources of the *Divina Commedia* (cf. *e. g. Par.*, XI, 28-42; 64-72; XII, 37-46; *Arbor*, v, 2-3), however poor an opinion the poet may have had of Ubertino's virtues as a leader of the Spiritual Franciscans (*Par.*, XII, 124). An index of proper names should be added to the reissue of this edition, so that it will not be necessary to refer to other editions, inferior in every way to this one, which is as well suited for the general literary public as for class use.

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*Les Obres d'Auzias March*. Edició crítica per Amadeu Pagès. Volum I. Introducció. Text crític de les Poesies I a LXXIV. Institut d'Estudis Catalans: Palau de la Diputació. Barcelona, MCMXII.

*Auzias March et ses Prédecesseurs*: Essai sur la poésie amoureuse et philosophique en Catalogne aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Par Amédée Pagès, Docteur ès Lettres, Professeur au Lycée de la Rochelle. Paris, Librairie Honoré Champion, 1912. Le 194<sup>e</sup> fascicule de la Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études.

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works (quarto, 426 pp.) contains an Introduction of 181 pages, followed by 74 out of his 128 poems; the remaining poems and a body of notes will comprise a second volume soon to appear. The *Introducció*, which was presented by the author for his *doctorat*, has been also printed separately by the Institut de Estudis Catalans. Simultaneously with this critical edition of the works from Barcelona in its appropriate Catalanian attire, there comes from Paris a volume in French of 470 pages, intended to portray Auzias March, the man and the poet, in his historical and literary setting.

The *Introducció* discusses those topics that pertain to the constitution and understanding of the text: the manuscripts, thirteen in number; the nine editions, ranging from 1543 to 1909, only the first five of which were based upon the MSS.; the translations, almost all in Spanish, of which seven were renderings of the complete poems; the commentaries, one of which by Tastu about 1830 had formed the subject of a former article by Pagès—*Notice sur la vie et les travaux de Joseph Tastu*, Montpellier, 1888, in-8, 44 p. (Extr. de la *Revue des langues rom.*, XXXII); the classification of the MSS. and of the five earlier editions; the principles the editor has followed in the constitution of the text; the orthography and the versification; and finally, the classification and the chronology of the poems. For a detailed study of this last question, one must consult: *Étude sur la chronologie des poésies d'Auzias March, Romania*, XXXVI, 1907, pp. 203-223.

To the poems that follow (44 to 60 lines each) are prefixed arguments of three to six lines, and at the foot of the large pages are given the variant readings of the MSS. and the five earlier editions. It should be added, however, that the thirteenth manuscript is in the possession of the Hispanic Society of America and has not been directly utilized in the determination of the readings. A discussion of the critical text must await the second volume.

As for the work on the life and times of March, much might indeed be said. Our first feeling is one of sincere gratitude to the author for this first of critical attempts to revivify, in the light of the totality of the documents, the circle of men and ideas in which the *chevalier*, Auzias March, moved. The documents abound, such as they are; but deeds, testaments, financial statements, accounts of lawsuits are dead things and unfortunately there is a total lack of those vital monuments—correspondence and autobiography. Even the poems serve but too often to convey the posing moments of the poet; the soldier, king's falconer and passionate gentleman that the documents disclose him to have been, hides behind the melancholy, philosophical troubadour. The son and nephew of poets of the late Provençal school, much of his inspiration was an inherited tradition; the *trobar clus* was his model and this explains much of his wilful obscurity and lack of warm, frank sentiments. In many respects, then, the task of the investigator was not a grateful one: the labor was great and the results hardly commensurate. Nevertheless, Pagès has taken his work very seriously: the papers and the poems have been scrutinized microscopically; the gold has been beaten out rather thin. There is much repetition, because the same facts have to do duty from various points of view; the result is a book which we should not care to do without but which is longer than it is enlightening.

The problematic character of much of the data casts an air of unreality over the first part—*Auzias March et sa Famille*. In Chap. IV—*Enfance et Jeunesse d'Auzias March*—we read: "Auz. March naît, vers 1397, probablement dans une

maison du *Carrer major*; peut-être même dans une de celles que son quadrisaïeul avait reçues, en 1249, de Jacme I<sup>er</sup> le Conquérant. . . . Aucun texte n'affirme expressément que notre poète a vu le jour à Gandie. . . ." (Previous biographers have given the date of his birth as 1395 and the place as Valencia.) Farther on, referring to the father, Pere March, the author says: "Marié une première fois, il a eu, comme nous avons cru pouvoir l'induire de plusieurs faits, quatre fils. . . . Auzias n'a jamais parlé de son père. . . ." Again, with regard to the mother: "Tout ce que nous savons de celle qui veilla sur ses premières années se réduit à quelques lignes d'actes officiels. . . . Quelles furent" (speaking again of the son) "son enfance et son adolescence? Nous ne pouvons guère que le supposer ou plutôt le deviner d'après les sources. . . ." And later: "Nous ne savons ni où ni comment l'instruction lui fut donnée. . . ." Between these (and many other such) is a running narrative whose local color and historical verisimilitude are obtained by industrious research and a legitimate use of the imagination.

In the Second Part (pp. 123-192) are treated the three divisions of the Old Catalan literature: the era of transition (1335-1430); the *âge d'or* (1430-1459), which corresponds to the active period of Auzias March; the decadence (1460-1500). The chief concern here, however, is to show what a large share in it belongs to the ancestors of March: Jacme March, his uncle (c. 1335-c. 1396); Pere March, his father (died c. 1413); Arnau March, his cousin (?), whose poems date from about 1409-22. They were all poets of the troubadour tradition, whose language at first Provençal, becomes more and more Catalan; it is only with Auzias March that the latter tongue entirely supersedes the *limousin*. Pagès seems to have been convinced by his study of the predecessors of March and of the latter's works in particular (Part III) that in all essentials this last and greatest of the Marchs continued the tradition of his ancestors. He thus vigorously combats the hitherto generally accepted opinion of scholars that Auzias March was "the Catalan Petrarch." He diligently collates all the references that might be Petrarchian, he sifts them and finds them wanting as to conclusive proof of his literary bondage; he is sure that Dante exercised a greater influence over March than did either Petrarch or Boccaccio, in fine, he concludes that this best of Catalan writers, being even more of a moralist than a poet, was indebted to the same sources as the great Italian poets—the scholastic philosophy and the troubadours. But March did not succeed as well in giving immortal form to certain aspects of this heritage: his range is narrow, his didactic preoccupation leaves his poetry frigid, his obscurity at times outdoes his Provençal models.

It is difficult under any conditions to write a work about a man that will really reflect him; how much more so, when, as in this case, both the documents and the poems are so utterly impersonal! However, we now have an adequate introduction to the poems themselves, whose chief interest for us will probably lie in the language—"une langue bien catalane, sonore, cadencée, vigoureuse." It has not yet been our good fortune to see an article on this subject by Pagès: *Observations sur l'utilité d'une édition critique d'Auzias March pour l'étude de la langue et de l'orthographe catalanes* in the *Communications* to the Primer Congrès Internacional de la Llengua Catalana, Barcelona, Octobre de 1906. Barcelona, 1908, in-8°, pp. 519-521.

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## NOTES AND NEWS

It is significant of a widespread and growing interest in the literary problems connected with the Roland legend, that the *feuilleton* of the Paris *Temps* for January 9, 1914, should be devoted to giving an excerpt from the closing pages (446-453) of vol. iii of Professor Bédier's *Légendes épiques*. These glowing paragraphs are at once so characteristic and so engaging, that they are here reproduced in full, together with the prefatory note by which they are accompanied in the *Temps*.

M. Joseph Bédier vient de publier le tome troisième et le tome quatrième et dernier de son ouvrage intitulé: *les Légendes épiques, recherches sur la formation des chansons de geste*.<sup>1</sup> Il y a étudié avec un soin particulier la légende de Roland. De cette étude M. Joseph Bédier a bien voulu résumer ici les grandes lignes et la conclusion.

La plus ancienne forme connue de la *Chanson de Roland* nous est représentée, comme on sait, par le célèbre texte du manuscrit d'Oxford, c'est-à-dire par un poème de quatre mille vers écrit dans les premières années du douzième siècle et signé de ce nom, Turolde. Mais, à en croire nombre de critiques, bien d'autres poèmes auraient précédé celui-là: Roland aurait été célébré, dès le lendemain de sa mort, dès l'an 778, en des "cantilènes" ou en des poèmes épiques, lesquels, répétés et amplifiés d'âge en âge, "aboutirent" enfin, après trois siècles, au poème de Turolde.

Ce poème ne serait donc qu'un "chapelet," ou un "bouquet de cantilènes," ou un remaniement d'un poème déjà vingt fois remanié.

C'est de la même façon que sous l'influence de Wolf, de Herder, des frères Grimm et des romantiques allemands, on a tenté d'expliquer la formation de l'*Iliade*, de l'*Odyssee*, des *Nibelungen*, et de maintes autres épopées, dites "primitives" et "populaires." C'est de la même façon que depuis les temps d'Uhland et de Fauriel, on prétend expliquer, outre le *Roland*, toutes les chansons de geste. Bien qu'elles datent toutes, sous les formes où nous les avons, du douzième et du treizième siècle, on veut y reconnaître le dernier aboutissement, l'écho affaibli d'un travail poétique commencé des siècles plus tôt. Nos romans de chevalerie représenteraient des "survivances" d'une plus ancienne épopée carolingienne, héritière elle-même d'une plus ancienne épopée mérovingienne. Selon une formule célèbre, que l'on rencontre pour la première fois dans un écrit d'Uhland, daté de 1834, "l'épopée française est l'esprit germanique dans une forme romane" — en sorte que, pour rendre compte de la *Chanson de Roland*, il faudrait remonter jusqu'à Charlemagne, et bien plus haut encore, jusqu'à Chilpéric et à Clovis, et bien plus haut encore, jusqu'aux Germains de la *Germanie* de Tacite.

À l'encontre de ces théories, à l'encontre des critiques qui si souvent ont prétendu que "l'auteur de la *Chanson de Roland* s'appelle légion," M. J. Bédier a revendiqué les titres du vieux poète Turolde, a mis en relief la cohérence du poème signé de ce nom, son harmonie, son unité. Ce ne sont pas, lui semble-t-il, des compilateurs enfilant en chapelet de petits chants lyrico-épiques, ce ne sont pas des remanieurs, remaniant des remaniements de remaniements, qui ont produit cette œuvre d'une simplicité si complexe, si subtile, si classique.

Ceci dit, nous laissons la parole à M. J. Bédier:

Je ne nie pas qu'une plus ancienne *Chanson de Roland* ait pu exister, différente et plus fruste. J'ai montré que le poème de Turolde est fait "de main d'ouvrier," rien de plus; mais c'est aussi le cas de l'*Iphigénie* de Racine, et quand on l'a reconnu, il n'en reste pas moins que d'autres *Iphigénie* ont précédé celle

<sup>1</sup> Champion, éditeur, 1908-1913.

de Racine, et que Racine les a exploitées; pareillement, avant Turol, un autre poète moins doué a pu, j'en conviens, essayer le sujet.

A quoi donc ont tendu mes recherches? 1° A montrer qu'il n'y a dans le poème de Turol nulle trace de "cantilènes" antérieures et que la théorie de la lente élaboration de la *Chanson de Roland* à partir du huitième siècle, à travers des versions bretonne, angevine, ou autres, est sans base; 2° à décourager les critiques qui se servent du poème de Turol pour rebâtir ses modèles hypothétiques. Racine a exploité les plus anciennes *Iphigénie*; mais pour des critiques littéraires ou pour des philologues qui, transportés dans une île lointaine, ne connaîtraient que son *Iphigénie* et ne conserveraient nul espoir de se procurer des versions plus anciennes, qui n'auraient même nul témoignage de leur existence, ce serait temps et peine perdus que d'essayer de les reconstruire; ce qu'ils reconstruiraient n'aurait nulle chance de ressembler à l'*Iphigénie* de Rotrou ou à celle d'Euripide. Et quand ils auraient accumulé les combinaisons conjecturales et les systèmes, celui-là serait dans la vérité qui viendrait leur dire: "Chassez enfin cette obsédante préoccupation des versions antérieures; elle est stérile. Prions les dieux qu'ils nous les révèlent; en attendant, puisque nous avons du moins ce peu de chose, l'*Iphigénie* de Racine, tâchons de nous contenter de ce peu de chose. Elle offre assez de cohérence et d'harmonie pour qu'en tout état de cause il apparaisse que Racine a repensé les versions antérieures; les repensant, il les a recrées. Recréer et créer sont termes exactement synonymes. N'appelons pas Racine 'le dernier rédacteur,' le 'remanieur,' mais de préférence, le poète." C'est ce que je dis de la *Chanson de Roland*: ce qui en fait la beauté, comme de l'*Iphigénie* de Racine, c'en est l'unité, et l'unité est dans le poète, en cette chose indivisible, que jamais on ne revoit deux fois, l'âme d'un individu.

Assurément, entre le poème de Turol et les plus anciennes fictions sur Charlemagne et sur Roland, bien des choses sont interposées: d'autres légendes, d'autres poèmes peut-être qui retraçaient certains épisodes des "set anz tuz pleins" passés par Charles en Espagne, une *Prise de Nobles* peut-être, ou une *Chanson de Basant et Basile*; d'autres romans, qui ont pu lui fournir les personnages d'Ogier le Danois, de Girard de Roussillon, des douze pairs; d'autres légendes en tout cas, et d'autres poèmes, qui lui offraient le type du roi-prêtre Charlemagne, menant en croisade une armée de preux. Et plus notre analyse aura fait apparaître que le poème de Turol relève d'un art déjà complexe, plus elle aura rappelé qu'un genre littéraire ne débute pas par son chef-d'œuvre et que Turol eut des modèles, trouva une technique déjà constituée avant lui. Mais la question est de savoir si, pour susciter ces modèles et constituer cette technique, trois siècles, cinq siècles furent nécessaires, ou si ce ne fut pas assez des cent années de ce onzième siècle, qui, dans les divers domaines de l'action et de la pensée, fut l'âge créateur entre tous. Dans l'école adverse, a-t-on rien fait pour expliquer la naissance des premières chansons de geste et la formation de cette technique, quand on s'est borné à dire que des "chanteurs" enthousiastes durent "chanter" Floovant dès le temps de Dagobert, et "chanter" Roland dès le temps de Charlemagne?

Pour que des éléments légendaires, vagues et amorphes, qui végétaient dans les églises de Roncevaux ou dans les églises de la route de Roncevaux, naquit la *Chanson de Roland*, il est inutile et vain de supposer qu'il y ait fallu des siècles, et que des "chanteurs" sans nombre se soient succédé. Une minute a

suffi, la minute sacrée où le poète, exploitant peut-être quelque fruste roman, ébauche grossière du sujet, a conçu l'idée du conflit de Roland et d'Olivier. Seulement, ayant conçu cette idée, pour la mettre en œuvre, et je ne crains pas le mot, pour l'exploiter, il ne s'est pas contenté de "chanter"; il lui a fallu se mettre à sa table de travail, chercher des combinaisons, des effets, des rimes, calculer, combiner, raturer, peiner. Ainsi font les poètes d'aujourd'hui; ainsi ont fait les poètes de tous les temps. Ils se vantent quand ils disent qu'ils chantent comme l'homme respire, et qui les en croit se trompe; ils travaillent; "c'est un métier de faire un livre, comme de faire une pendule": il n'y a pas d'autre théorie vraie pour rendre compte des ouvrages de l'esprit. La *Chanson de Roland* aurait pu ne pas être; elle est parce qu'un homme fut. Elle est le don gratuit et magnifique que nous a fait cet homme, non pas une légion d'hommes.

Je suis donc tenté de prendre précisément le contre-pied de la doctrine si souvent exprimée au dix-neuvième siècle, en ces termes, par exemple, par Renan :

On ne songe pas assez qu'en tout cela l'homme est peu de chose, et l'humanité est tout. Le collecteur même n'est pas en une telle œuvre un personnage de grande apparence. Il s'efface. Et les auteurs des fragments légendaires, ils sont presque toujours inconnus. Ah! que cela est significatif! Les érudits regrettent beaucoup qu'on ne sache pas leur nom en toutes lettres et syllabes, leur pays, leur condition, s'ils étaient mariés ou non, riches ou pauvres, etc. En vérité, j'en serais fâché, parce qu'alors on dirait très positivement l'*Iliade* d'Homère, le *Roland* de Turolde, etc. Ce qui serait surtout très insupportable si ces poèmes étaient parfaitement délimités, et qu'on pût dire: "Turolde composa telle année un poème de quatre mille vers." Alors on attribuerait ces poèmes à un homme, et cet homme y a été pour si peu! Ce serait une fausseté historique. C'est l'esprit de la nation, son génie, si l'on veut, qui est le véritable auteur. Le poète n'est que l'écho harmonieux, je dirais presque le scribe qui écrit sous la dictée du peuple, qui lui raconte de toutes parts ses beaux rêves.

Je dirai au contraire: j'aimerais savoir le nom de l'auteur de la *Chanson de Roland*, en toutes lettres et syllabes, son pays, sa condition, etc., comme j'aimerais en savoir toujours plus long de la vie de Racine, et pour les mêmes raisons; Turolde fut pour peu de chose dans la *Chanson de Roland* sans doute, comme Racine fut pour peu de chose dans *Iphigénie*, mais pour autant. Certes son œuvre, comme celle de Racine, ne s'explique que par la collaboration et la complicité de son temps, et c'est pourquoi je me suis appliqué de tout mon effort à la replacer en son temps, à évoquer à cet effet certaines circonstances historiques, à rappeler les faits psychologiques généraux qui suscitèrent, en la même période que la *Chanson de Roland*, les croisades d'Espagne, puis les croisades de Terre-Sainte. Mais ne tombons pas dans les théories qui veulent partout mettre des forces collectives, inconscientes, anonymes, à la place de l'individu. Un chef-d'œuvre commence à son auteur et finit à lui.

A peine si nous savons le nom du poète de la *Chanson de Roland*. Du moins nous savons qu'il vécut à la fin du onzième siècle et au commencement du douzième, au temps des dernières croisades d'Espagne et de la première croisade de Terre-Sainte. C'est l'esprit de ce temps qui inspire et soutient son œuvre. En attribuer tel épisode, tel motif, tel sentiment à tel temps, à tel autre temps tel autre motif, épisode ou sentiment, ce ne sera jamais qu'un jeu laborieux et arbitraire. Certes l'amour du danger, le désir de la gloire, la tendresse du compagnon pour son compagnon, le dévouement du vassal à son seigneur et du seigneur à son vassal, l'esprit de sacrifice, le souci de l'honneur du lignage, ce sont

là des sentiments ou trop généralement humains, ou trop généralement français, ou trop généralement féodaux pour que tel d'entre eux n'ait pu s'exprimer en quelque poème dès une très haute époque; mais ce qui est le propre de la *Chanson de Roland*, c'est qu'ils y apparaissent tous, et tous en plein épanouissement, et reliés entre eux par une idée dominante, par l'idée des croisades, celle d'une mission héroïque de la France: voilà ce qui n'est pas concevable avant la fin du onzième siècle. La primitive *Chanson de Roland* ne peut dater que de ce siècle au plus tôt; et si nous n'en sommes pas à vingt ans près quand il s'agit de dater une chanson de geste, encore importe-t-il de ne pas l'antidater de trois siècles.

A peine si nous savons le nom de l'auteur de la *Chanson de Roland*: du moins nous savons qu'il fut un "Franc de France," et nous retrouvons en son œuvre ce qu'il y a de plus spécifiquement national en notre poésie, le sens classique des proportions, la clarté, la sobriété, la force harmonieuse. Nous y reconnaissons l'esprit de notre nation, aussi bien que dans l'œuvre de Corneille. Ce Turolde qui, voilà huit cents ans, a trouvé pour notre patrie la caresse de ces noms, "douce France," "France la libre," nous témoigne avec quelle simplicité s'est faite l'unité française. Sa "douce France" est précisément la nôtre, avec les Lorrains comme aujourd'hui, avec les Gascons, avec les Normands, avec les Provençaux comme aujourd'hui. Charlemagne est pour lui, par réminiscence érudite, l'empereur des Bavares, des Frisons, des Saxons; mais il est le roi de douce France; ce sont les Francs de France qui sont les plus proches de lui dans ses conseils (*Par cels de France voelt il del tut errer*), et les vingt mille de Roncevaux sont tous des Francs de France: ils ont seuls le privilège de mourir avec Roland. Donc, nous assure-t-on, le poème de Turolde représente "l'esprit germanique dans une forme romane." Une telle formule l'aurait surpris. Vainement on lui aurait remontré, comme fait Léon Gautier (les *Épopées françaises*), que "1° l'idée de la guerre est toute germanique dans nos poèmes"; que "2° la royauté, dans nos épopées, est toute germaine"; que "3° la féodalité y est d'origine germaine"; que "4° le droit germanique a laissé sa trace dans nos chansons de geste"; et que "5° l'idée de la femme n'y est pas moins germaine." Il eût répondu qu'il se pouvait bien, mais qu'il n'en était pas moins un Franc de France.

Il y a dans la correspondance de Jacob Grimm une parole que j'ai la faiblesse d'admirer. Une théorie de Gœrres voulait que les *Nibelungen* ne fussent pas d'origine allemande, mais scythique: le bûcher le Brünhild, assurait-il, s'était d'abord allumé sur le Caucase, et Jacob Grimm ne pouvait s'en consoler. Il écrivit donc à Gœrres: "Si l'on met en question l'origine de notre poésie héroïque, j'avoue que je n'abandonnerai pas volontiers, de prime abord, le sol connu, les rives de notre Rhin bien-aimé. S'il me fallait admettre une origine scythique, cela me ferait le même effet que s'il me fallait abandonner ma religion pour une autre religion plus ancienne." Pareillement, je ne conviendrais pas sans de bonnes raisons que les chansons de geste soient d'origine germanique, et ne connaissant à l'appui de cette hypothèse que des raisons sans force, je ne rendrai notre *Chanson de Roland* aux Germains que lorsque les Allemands auront d'abord rendu aux Scythes leurs *Nibelungen*.

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professeur au Collège de France.

Professor Abel Lefranc, of the Collège de France, and director in the École pratique des hautes Études, is spending three months at the University of Chicago as the new exchange professor from France. Professor Lefranc will give two courses at the University during the winter quarter. The first course, "Explication de Rabelais," will be for graduate students only; the second course, "Molière et les grandes questions de son temps," will be open to the public.

Edward Tuck of Paris has presented a fund to Dartmouth College to establish an assistant French professorship destined to aid in "strengthening the bonds of friendship existing between the United States and France." Mr. Tuck, who was a member of the class of 1862, has given more than \$1,000,000 to the college for instruction alone, besides the Amos Tuck School of Finance and its endowment. The new assistant professorship is to be filled by a native Frenchman selected by the French Ministry of Education.

A Harvard graduate has recently made an endowment in Harvard University for the maintenance of a professorship of Latin-American History and Economics, and for such other purposes as the President and Faculty shall determine will best further instruction under this professorship. Two years ago E. C. Hills, visiting professor, gave a course dealing with the literature of the Spanish American countries; and at present Professor J. D. M. Ford carries on courses of research in this subject. During the spring and summer of last year, Professor Ford and Professor W. E. Rasporf (now a member of the staff of the University of Geneva) accompanied an expedition of the Boston Chamber of Commerce as envoys of Harvard University duly accredited to the leading educational institutions of South America. Professor Ford was invited to become visiting professor at the University of Chile for the fall term of 1913,—an invitation he was unable to accept,—and to make overtures for a permanent interchange between Harvard and the University of Chile.



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